

IMAGO TEMPORIS

Medium Aevum

8 (2014)

IMAGO TEMPORIS

Medium Aevum

VIII

2014

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Published by

‘Espai, Poder i Cultura’ Consolidated Medieval Studies Research Group
(Universities of Lleida and Rovira i Virgili)
www.medieval.udl.cat

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Layout: Edicions i Publicacions de la UdL

Cover design: cat & cas

Printed in INO Reproducciones, SA

ISSN 1888-3931

e-ISSN 2340-7778

DL: L-115-2008

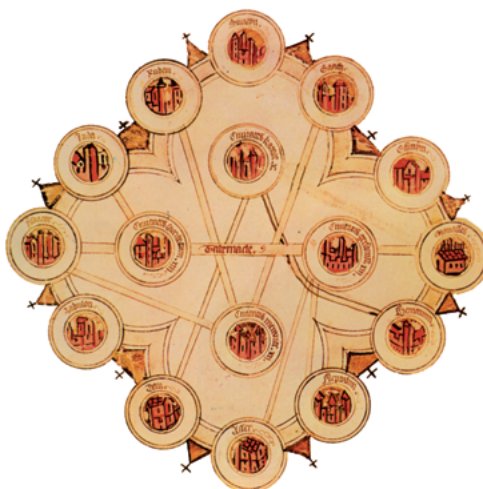
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I PART

THE PAST INTERROGATED
AND UNMASKED

REFLECTIONS ON THE EVOLUTION OF HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOCIETY

JACQUES LE GOFF AND DANIELA ROMAGNOLI

ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES EN SCIENCES SOCIALES AND UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PARMA
FRANCE - ITALY

Date of receipt: 2nd of June, 2014

Final date of acceptance: 10th of September, 2014

ABSTRACT

This dialogue with Jacques Le Goff was completed on Tuesday, 25th March 2014, a week before his death. This is his last text. He had celebrated his 90th birthday on 1st January, in full and brilliant activity. As he spoke repeatedly about his professional and personal history, the purpose of this dialogue was to reflect on the last decade of his life and his work. In these years, he has published three volumes and a number of articles, interviews and prefaces. Here he has reconsidered some of his main research topics, among others: the “long Middle Ages”, the criticism of the concept of renaissance, the rejection of banal arithmetic periodisation in terms of centuries, the political and social relevance of the European Union and the need for an economy that looks after the needs of the poor.

KEY WORDS

Middle Ages, Periodisation, Europe, Economy, Future.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Medium Aevum, Periodi, Europa, Oeconomia, Futurum.

Daniela Romagnoli (D.R.): Jacques Le Goff, you have just turned 90, and you're still fully active, despite some physical mobility problems. It is enough to think of the two books published in 2011 and 2014 respectively, without counting a good few years' uninterrupted activity like the broadcast *Les lundis de l'histoire* on France Culture, which began in 1968, or your activity in distilling—if I can put it like that—*Annales*. That means you are in a position to have a bird's eye view of the evolution (if indeed it is evolution) of, on one hand, historiography and, on the other, society—two things that are entirely independent. These are the two areas where I would like to ask you a few questions in my attempt not to repeat the biographical details you have already given to Marc Heurgon in his conversation *Une vie pour l'histoire*¹. I do not want to forget, far from it, the exemplary methodological achievement you have offered by linking your experience of life to your deep motivation for research (and perhaps not only historical research) in your essay *L'appétit de l'histoire*². Nor do I want to forget the moving tribute to the memory of your wife, a tribute which is, at the same time, the work of a historian, because, as you have stressed, it is also the story of a Franco-Polish couple during politically difficult years³.

I would therefore like to ask you, before we get to the heart of this interview, whether you would like to add a few reflections on the latest decade of your life.

Jacques Le Goff (J. Le G.): I have to say that the last decade of my life has been marked, first of all, by the ineffaceable sadness and solitude of the loss of my wife Hanka in 2004, and also by the opportunity I have had to be able keep on working, carrying out fully my activities as director of a monthly broadcast on France Culture and, working at a greater distance but, even so, having something of a presence in running the journal *Annales*. I think, then, that this last decade has been for me a decade of great, unmitigated sadness but fortunately that has not prevented the continuation of quite serious activity in my field as a historian.

D. R.: After historians opened their doors to the so-called human sciences, notably anthropology and sociology, and after the exciting period of *Faire de l'histoire* and *La Nouvelle histoire*⁴, what happened? There was, of course, a return to political history (which does not mean the history of events: let us recall your article *Is Politics still the Backbone of History?*⁵), and the return, or rather restoration, of biography. We are thinking, of course, of your *Saint Louis*.

Do you see significant developments in historiography in recent years?

J. Le G.: History undoubtedly evolves and changes, and historiography is subject to what I would call a reality, rather than a law. During the preceding half century

1. Heurgon, Marc. *Jacques le Goff. Une vie pour l'histoire. Entretiens avec Marc Heurgon*. Paris: La Découverte, 1996.

2. Nora, Pierre, dir. *Essais d'égo-histoire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1987.

3. Le Goff, Jacques. *Avec Hanka*. Paris: Gallimard, 2008.

4. Le Goff, Jacques; Nora, Pierre, dirs. *Faire de l'histoire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1974; Le Goff, Jacques. *La Nouvelle histoire*. Paris: Retz CEPL, 1978.

5. Le Goff, Jacques. "Is Politics Still the Backbone of History?". *Daedalus*, 100 (1971): 1-19.



there was a fashion for the notion of mentality, whose ambiguity I did underline. It seems to me that, for some time, the emerging notion has been the history of feelings, the history of passions, and I have to say that, as I see it, this also presents an ambiguity which makes me, not hostile or defiant but prudent and critical, whatever the contribution this new direction can offer.

D. R.: Do you think your work has been able to suggest approaches and open up common perspectives for other sectors of research, beyond the Middle Ages?⁶

J. Le G.: Quite frankly, I don't know. I think my works, which are, of course, as you have just emphasised, essentially devoted to the Middle Ages, have, behind the Middle Ages, a greater ambition, if I might make so bold a claim. The essential theme is time and my reflections and research could, therefore, perhaps provide clues—I wouldn't say more—to the history and historiography of other periods before and after the Middle Ages. And I have also recently tried to place the Middle Ages in a much larger historiographical task: the general division of history into periods. I have therefore, if I might make such a claim, opened up medieval paths to the past and to the present.

D. R.: Your "long Middle Ages" does not seem to have been successful enough, despite the words of the medievalist Jean-Philippe Genet: "Nous sommes de plus en plus nombreux à adhérer, avec plus ou moins de nuances, au long Moyen-âge de Jacques Le Goff"⁷.

Unless the abolition of the concept of the Middle Ages—another rarely practised approach—ultimately runs in the same direction. In the second part of the 20th century there were historians of different educational backgrounds and schools of thought, ready to deny that there had ever been such a thing as the Middle Ages: Lopez, Barraclough, Guenée, Cardini...⁸ Moreover, an Italian medievalist who you know very well and I think hold in high esteem, Massimo Montanari, has abandoned the concept and even the words "Middle Ages". In his works they are not to be found, they are not a historical reality, but a concept first negative, then positive, then the two together, but always

6. The meeting in Cambridge in 1994 (cited in the Introduction to this interview) of numerous medievalists from various countries did an extensive overview. See also: Rollo-Koster, Joëlle. "Jacques Le Goff (1924-...)", *French Historians 1900-2000: New Historical Writings in Twentieth Century France*, Philip Daileader, Philip Whalen, eds. Oxford (UK): Blakewell, 2010: 371-393.

7. Genet, Jean-Philippe. "Être médiéviste au XXI^e siècle", *Être historien du Moyen-âge au XXI^e siècle*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008: 9.

8. "Vien da chiedersi se il termine Medioevo abbia ancora senso": Roberto S. Lopez, 1951; "There never was a Middle Ages": Geoffrey Barraclough, 1955; "Tout médiéviste sait aujourd'hui que le Moyen-Age n'a jamais existé, et encore moins l'esprit médiéval": Bernard Guenée, 1980; "Il Medioevo è sempre altrove": Franco Cardini, 1988; Heers, Jacques. *Le Moyen-Age. Une imposture*. Paris: Perrin, 1992; "There is no such thing as the Middle Ages": Alexander Murray, 1996; all cited in: Romagnoli, Daniela. "Il medioevo: la lunga strada di un concetto storiografico", *Le vie del medioevo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Parma 28.9-1.10 1998*. Milan: Electa, 2000: 434-439.



nothing more than an idea⁹. Is this, perhaps, a type of choice that would be in line with your long Middle Ages? What do you think?

J. Le G.: This is clearly a complex problem. I think there is a distinct period between the relatively far-off periods we call Antiquity—but which, I think, should also be looked at more closely—and the period known as the modern age. What I question among the currently most widely accepted periodisation—accepted not only in the West and in Europe in particular but, I think, in the scholarly and intellectual universe throughout the world—is the notion of the Middle Ages. Personally, the notion itself does not bother me: the essential thing is to respect reality and, I think, getting rid of the Middle Ages is not a good way of doing this. I'm not going to hide it, I regret that a historian whom I hold in such high esteem as Massimo Montanari should be getting rid of the Middle Ages. The period that corresponds to the Middle Ages is there. Why not carry on calling it the Middle Ages? Firstly, the expression is established by habit and, secondly, it indicates that, despite everything, the role played by the period is, to some extent, one of passage. Curiously, for me, the expression Middle Ages means the opposite of what it might have been expected to say. People have wanted to see it as a period which, if not dark, as in the English expression “the Dark Ages”, is a period that cannot be given any principal characteristic other than the fact that it lies between two periods which would have richer significances. However, I believe the Middle Ages does have that sense of passage, that sense of transition and, therefore the term expresses very well what the Middle Ages have, in fact, been for me: a period of progress that dares not speak its name. Curiously, the Middle Ages hid its progress under the notion of renaissance. When they made progress, they thought they had to attribute this, above all, to the survival or new life of a past which was undoubtedly rich in values. Therefore, to express their awareness of what really can be called progress, the Middle Ages resorted to a kind of fear of the future and concealed it under the term renaissance. I am, therefore, quite happy with the Middle Ages and, although the “long Middle Ages” have not, it is true, succeeded in winning a place in the normal periodic division, I will continue to argue for their recognition.

The renaissance, as you know, has two moments of victory and two creators, if I can put it like that. The first is Petrarch, in the 14th century, who moreover invented not the notion of Renaissance but that of the Middle Ages, which leaves room for the notion of Renaissance. It seems to me full significance is not given to the fact that the Renaissance was actually born in the 19th century, created by Michelet. And it is the well-deserved glory of Michelet—a great writer, a great poet more than a great historian—that has led the renaissance to an easy triumph over the rather unpoetic, uninspiring “long Middle Ages”. But it's there for me. I'll give you what, at my age, is almost a final message: I would ask that the notion of the long Middle Ages should be retained.

I have just published a little book on the division of history into periods in which I indicate how the important aspects that define a new period in history are not

9. Montanari, Massimo. “L'invenzione del Medioevo”, *Storia Medievale*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2002: 268-279.



fulfilled in the West until the mid-18th century. I would like this finding to be well studied and adopted. Periods, of course, have sub-periods and, as there is a habit of using the word renaissance for the sub-periods of the Middle Ages—as we have talked about the Carolingian renaissance and the 12th-century renaissance— why not talk about a great Renaissance within a long Middle Ages. I do not deny that there were changes in the 15th and 16th centuries; I do not believe them to be far-reaching enough to provide a change of period, but they do bring about a sub-period whose importance I would not deny either. I think that, taking advantage of the fact that the expression Middle Ages invited the discovery of “modern times” starting quite early on, Michelet, with all his panache, was able to impose that notion of renaissance which I think is among many brilliant and attractive follies he put forward in his work.

D. R.: All this raises supplementary questions for me which I hadn't thought about to start with. There could be, let's say, something of a semantic problem: the Middle Ages are understood as something between two other periods—the one which came before and the one which came after. But there is no period that is not in the middle between the past and the future, except, for believers, the first day of creation and the day of the last judgment.

Of course, I also thought of Petrarch and the fact that he spoke, or rather wrote, a word that has marked the negative judgment on what we call the Middle Ages in order to express contempt for contemporary artistic and literary values, guilty as they were of being too far removed from the splendour of Antiquity: *tenebrae* or darkness. But there is also the need to exalt the “new” culture, perhaps for less noble—or rather political— reasons, stressing the exit from darkness thanks *to* and for the benefit *of* patrons. This led to the consequences you were talking about just now.

Division into periods is a kind of classification which in itself is always a means rather than an end and, as such, it can or sometimes it must, in fact, be changed. In terms of the Middle Ages, how can we talk about a “transition” when it was a transition that would last centuries?

J. Le G.: This is, in fact, a complex question because I can see at least three separate questions combined in it. Firstly, there is the notion of passage. I will take the liberty of absolutely opposing the opinion you have put forward about any period being a passage, a transition between one period and another. It seems to me that this point of view, which is a point of view involving the banal arithmetisation of time, is almost entirely insignificant when it comes to understanding the evolution of the world and humanity over time. As I have just said, the way I see it, the Middle Ages also mean progress, but progress that does not want to declare itself. This, in a way, confirms its character as an enriching period of passage, which includes innovations but does not want to impose them. We need to wait until the mid-18th century—the period which, once again, for me is the end of the long Middle Ages—for the beginning of a new period that we could call modern times, with the arrival of the notion of progress, which did not manage to emerge during the Middle Ages.



Then, the second problem involves the way this form of periodisation which suggests, for instance, the Middle Ages, as it suggests Antiquity or Modern Times, is particularly linked to an essential event in intellectual history and, I would almost say, the history of societies: the transformation of history from a simple recital into a subject of knowledge. In my latest little book, I insist on the extreme importance of the transformation of history into a subject for study in universities and schools, which we can say—and this was put forward in particular by the great French philosopher Marcel Gauchet—was practically achieved, if not imposed, by about 1820. The Middle Ages therefore find their place more easily and significantly in teaching than in the other sector of history. Finally, while the division into centuries, which dates, as you know, only from the 16th century, works very well from around the 17th century onwards, this is another type of periodisation. It does not replace the division into periods like the Middle Ages, but it is added to it to provide an additional tool for history teaching and, therefore, the number of centuries a period can have is not fixed in advance. I think, as I have tried to show in my latest little book, that a period has to be defined by a far-reaching change in the economic sphere, in the intellectual sphere and in the social and political sphere. So I recognise the end of the medieval period with the end of famines in the rural economy, the birth of the industrial economy, the emergence of free thought, as opposed to religion, in the great *Encyclopédie*, and the social and political upheaval of the French Revolution. The Middle Ages can, therefore, be the long Middle Ages for intrinsic reasons.

D. R.: When you talk questions proliferate, and it is difficult to stay on the track one had imagined! I'd like to return for a moment to the subject of the Renaissance, the one with the capital R, invented in the 19th century by Michelet. Where does Burkhardt and his *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* fit in?

J. Le G.: The place given to Burkhardt and his great book, whose interest, richness and quality I would stress, has been, I think, an error of vulgarised, bad historiography. The Renaissance did not assert itself with Burkhardt, but with Michelet, and Burkhardt's renaissance is not, moreover, a Renaissance opposed to the Middle Ages like Michelet's. Instead, it is a diverse, rich renaissance, absolutely interesting and enriching the historical reflection contributing anything decisive about the frontiers between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. One final remark: for Burkhardt the Renaissance does not have a capital R, it comes with a small r: it is the renaissance of the arts in Italy, but not a great period (the Renaissance) coming in.

D. R.: One more question, still linked to the meaning of history. History is change. Historians may, or, on the right circumstances, must, alter their points of view and conclusions: is this the case with your thinking about Michelet, a person you have spoken and written about on repeated occasions in terms that have been at very least positive or even admiring?



J. Le G.: I am not ashamed to say that my thinking about Michelet has evolved, in particular since the relatively recent publication (1995) of his courses at the Collège de France. I've seen two aspects that have destroyed the admiration I had for Michelet. His championing, which I see as inappropriate, of the Renaissance, and his terrible anti-Semitism. And I am now convinced that this contributed to the spread of anti-Semitism in France in the 19th century. I continue to think that Michelet is a top class writer —passionate, original and brilliant— but I must say that, from the point of view of values, I wouldn't trust him very far, not as a historian or in considering societies made up of those —all of us— who Lucien Febvre has described as being half-breed¹⁰.

D. R.: Your last three books —which I must say in passing show that in 90 years laziness is something that is completely foreign to you— deal with sacred time, money, and periodisation¹¹. Is there a single approach here, or are these reflections that are absolutely independent of one another?

J. Le G.: I think a true intellectual worker doesn't have separate thoughts or research. So, I confess that you can find some of the same themes there, the same obsessions that have marked my work since a long time. There is them there in a reflection on time stimulated, if I can put it like that, precisely by the Middle Ages and its original nature, I repeat, as a historical period: the Middle Ages is unique. Then, in the already large area to which I restricted my research, which is Europe —the West— there is a very important event which I have been interested in since the beginning of my research, as I published a little book on the merchants and bankers of the Middle Ages¹². This is the appearance, spread and development of money, which raises essential problems from the economic sphere to the moral and religious sphere. I was also already interested in this problem, which has also followed me throughout my intellectual life: money and life¹³; and the breakdown into periods also comes into this perspective from a very particular point of view because I started thinking about the problem of links between the Middle Ages and the renaissance, while at the same time, I realised it was an essay for setting out what was important in history. What are the areas where the essential changes occur allowing us to talk about the move from one period to another? Moreover, although I hadn't sought to deal with this essentially historiographical aspect, I rediscovered the importance for me of the thought of Karl Marx, because I saw there the fundamental role of the economy and, at the same time, the limits of that role which I think oblige any historian worthy of the name to go beyond the economic sphere.

10. Febvre, Lucien; Crouzet, François. *Nous sommes des sangs-mêlés*. Paris: Albin Michel, 2012.

11. Le Goff, Jacques. *Le Moyen Age et l'argent: essai d'anthropologie historique*. Paris: Perrin, 2010; Le Goff, Jacques. *A la recherche du temps sacré. Jacques de Voragine et la Légende dorée*. Paris: Perrin, 2011; Le Goff, Jacques. *Faut-il découper l'histoire en tranches?* Paris: Seuil, 2014.

12. Le Goff, Jacques. *Marchands et banquiers du Moyen Age*. Paris: Publications Université de France, 1956.

13. Le Goff, Jacques. *La bourse et la vie. Economie et religion au Moyen Age*. Paris: Hachette, 1986.



D. R.: That makes me think of the fact that vulgar Marxism, as you have called it long time ago, belongs to those who have never read Marx's *Das Kapital*, a work in which he deploys clear historical sensitivity and is not rigidly schematic—for example in the succession of the production methods—and in which no form of crystallised theory can be found. I think also of the great Marxist historian Witold Kula and his studies of the economy of the feudal system where he introduces a coefficient into the analysis of the revenues of Polish feudal lordships which, in his view, is an essential one: the coefficient of human patience¹⁴.

J. Le G.: Yes. I've had the chance to meet two great and very intelligent Marxists: Witold Kula, with whom I've been linked by deep friendship, and Pierre Vilar.

D. R.: Now we'll move on to the second part of this discussion.

Un mouvement de progrès et d'espoir, avec ce qu'il faut d'imaginaire pour que vraiment un phénomène historique soit réussi. S'il n'y a pas du cœur, de la passion, du rêve, ce n'est que la petite monnaie de l'histoire.

That's the way you spoke of your memories of the formation of the Front Populaire in 1936, when you were just 12 years old¹⁵. And here is one of the fundamental principles of your life as a historian: your civic passion, your participation in the life of your times, your rejection of an unlikely ivory tower in which a historian would isolate himself to achieve an objectivity as chimerical as it would be dishonest, and opposed to the exercise of comprehension and transmission of collective memory, which is basically the historian's task.

You have therefore experienced, and not merely as a spectator, decades of events and changes as radical as they have been rapid. You have also sometimes expressed your opinions in articles or press interviews, not only in France, on specific problems but always drawing on more general issues.

I think that we resume this reflection starting from Europe at a moment when the worst spectres are materialising (let's think of the Nazi organisations appearing almost everywhere) and when some believe that the solution to the general crisis lies in rejecting the Euro and leaving the European Union. What do you think?

J. Le G.: I think that would be a catastrophe because, in a world that is said to be in the process of becoming globalised—something which, as I see it, should not be exaggerated because, while it is true there is increasing and closer communication between the different regions of the world and the different civilisations, diversity still remains the most important reality—it is true that blocks of a kind are forming

14. Kula, Witold. *Teoria ekonomiczna ustroju feudalnego. Próba modelu*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962.

15. Le Goff, Jacques. *Une vie pour l'histoire. Entretiens avec Marc Heurgon*. Paris: Editions la Découverte, 2010 (1st ed. 1996): 25.



which have differing degrees of influence on Europe and the world. This is already true of the United States and it is true of the Middle East, particularly with China; Africa is in the process of trying to establish a kind of unity, and the emerging countries like Brazil and India are also in the process of gathering international strength. Under these conditions, if Europeans remain divided into nations they will be increasingly dominated, and the European nations will lose a large part of their strength and influence. For me, a united Europe is almost a lifebelt also because it is founded on common elements in the areas of economy, intellectual life, education and politics. I think, then, that we should instead speed up and strengthen the European Union and, as the current situation probably requires nations to be maintained, this Europe of nations must have common political institutions that are more efficient and solid.

D. R.: You have talked about the economy —the crisis. Don't you think that it was, I wouldn't say desired, but at least profitable for all kinds of financial powers? Or should we be thinking of the somersault of a kind of capitalism that has no future and, as such, must change or die?

J. Le G.: First of all, what is clear is that we are in a particular phase of capitalism marked by financial domination, and I think this shift towards finance which is translated into the dominance of the banks is at the origin of the crisis. Not just in Europe but in the whole world, we have not yet come out of it. I think we need a re-evaluation of capitalism and, in particular, for the banks to be placed under surveillance.

D. R.: At the end of your self-history essay which I have already referred to, you wrote that "l'historien ne maîtrisera jamais le futur, même s'il doit s'y préparer et y préparer les autres". In the light of everything you've just said, are you still convinced of this? And how do we prepare such a future?

J. Le G.: I am now more than ever convinced that no-one knows the future, including historians who, although we might call them specialists in time, cannot predict what is to come. Futurology was briefly a kind of false human science, but it contributes nothing to humanity. Nor do I think that there is any meaning to history, but there are clues, because history consists of creations and innovations based on heritage. We must therefore get ready to pass on inheritances to the men and women of the future, rich heritage, honest inheritances and, the most egalitarian possible. And, in particular, I believe that one of the activities destined to prepare a better future is the fight against poverty. I note with satisfaction that the latest statistics given by the international press show progress in this struggle against poverty.

D. R.: There is also a reflection to be made on the search for firmer moral and cultural basis for society, as well as on which means and in which directions schools and the education of young citizens can be reorganised and improved, because I believe you still think there is something fundamental there.



J. Le G.: There's no doubt about that. School is something fundamental and we can easily also see that in countries we might call in inverted commas relatively backward, when schools do come into operation this ensures the basis of a better future as we see, for example, in Africa. Schooling must therefore make progress throughout the world, because it is the basic principle, together with a degree of economic growth and progress of democracy, for a better future. I repeat: the three bases of a better future seem to me to be the progress of democracy, the spread of schooling and economic growth.

D. R.: Economic growth however raises perhaps some problems of general principles. Can we think of a society founded on unlimited growth, where we continue to super-produce and super-consumer?

J. Le G.: First of all, I don't think we are in a society where we super-produce and super-consume, except perhaps in certain limited areas. The essential thing seems to me to equalise economic growth so the countries which are behind can catch up with the economically more developed countries. The expression "emerging"—emerging countries—and the reality of growth in these countries is also based on the increase in such economic growth. But for that to happen the essential thing is a reduction in inequalities. Just as in political and educational areas, equality in the field of economic growth is a necessity for the general progress of humanity.

D. R.: We could close this discussion here. I will however take the liberty of highlighting that, at the age of 90 and after going through and actively experiencing a long, very tumultuous and certainly not an easy period, you are, despite everything, prepared to end on a hopeful note.

J. Le G.: I'm an optimist, so I think that being hopeful almost forms part of the nature and of the destiny of humanity. I also see that there is some progress. One of these elements of progress particularly strikes me and that is the progress of Europe. Of course it is less than we might hope, but when the Nobel peace prize has come to reward the almost certainty that internal wars in Europe have been eradicated, I believe that the Nobel committee has noticed real and capital progress. I think, then, that hope is not only necessary, it is based on reality. However, we must not ignore the fact that there is still a considerable amount to be done. I repeat: there are problems of poverty that must still be reduced and war is sometimes almost endemic. When I look at a really warlike situation, like the one in Syria, or a situation I would call a "cold"—but worrying and unjust—conflict, such as, for example, the division between South Korea and North Korea, I think that there is still a great deal to be done and that the men and women of today and tomorrow must cultivate, promote and improve progress. They must also not only pay great attention to, but be ready to fight situations of injustice, turmoil and violence which are still too numerous and too serious in large parts of the world.



JACQUES LE GOFF'S ROUND THE WORLD TOUR

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Date of receipt: 2nd of June, 2014

Final date of acceptance: 10th of September, 2014

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the dissemination of the work of Jacques Le Goff in an international perspective, through the presence of his works in university and national libraries chosen as samples in all continents. In addition, and perhaps more than the original editions, translations into the languages of the various countries are interesting, as obviously reaching an audience both broader and less specifically trained than the “insiders”. Another important point is the time of diffusion, not only of Le Goff’s work, but also of 20th century French historical thought —the so-called “Annales school”— and the overcoming of barriers between historiography and other human sciences, such as anthropology and ethnology; the differences between diverse cultures are evident and relevant.

KEY WORDS

Historiography, Middle Ages, Annales, Diffusion, Translation.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Historiographia, Medium Aevum, Annales, Diffusio, Traductio.

Jacques Le Goff celebrated his 90th birthday on the 1st of January 2014. This essay is certainly a tribute to this great medievalist but not in any celebratory sense. My intention is rather to supply a few more elements for understanding the meaning and popularity of the work of a historian who never shut himself up in a so-called ivory tower or closed himself off from the contemporary world around him. Mine are just a few extra elements because a truly thoroughgoing overview would require me to bring in other skills and other academic and geographical disciplines in order to open up our field to the issues dealt with, and the methods used, by Le Goff. Could this be a proposal¹ ?

There is nothing surprising about the fact that the books of great historians are to be found in University and national public libraries in their original version, written as it is frequently the case in such common languages as English and French. However, their translation into the languages of the various Countries may give greater cause for thought. It is, in fact, normal to require specialists to possess some multilingual reading skills but the same cannot be expected of people with more cultural curiosity than tools to satisfy it or of students who are not always accustomed to employ languages other than their own. It is thus useful to provide here even a statistically approximate idea of the presence of books by Jacques Le Goff, or at least of some of them, in Countries (although certainly not in all of them!) of all continents. It is important to highlight that the choice of examples, whilst not random, is necessarily limited for reasons of time, space and sometimes availability of data. The purpose of this exercise is to gain an understanding of whether its results bear witness to the ability of such publications to move out of the specialist field and appeal to a readership which is both wider and not educated so specifically for them. As a general principle, the answer to this question must be positive. It is not unusual for history books to be read and appreciated by non-specialist readers. And we should not forget that this is due to a considerable extent to the ability (and desire) to write history also for those who are still new to the interest and the appeal it can have, with special focus on the young.

Another aspect which is clearly of great importance is the time-scale of the dissemination of Le Goff's work but also (and for specialists the two are not easy to distinguish) of French 20th-century historiographic thought. I'm thinking here, clearly, of the so-called Annales school and the overcoming of the barriers between history and the other human sciences (no-longer a fashionable term) such as anthropology and ethnology. In some cultural contexts, such as the English speaking sphere, there was in fact delay and resistance until the end of the 1970s and beyond. This was also the case in Germany, whose historiographical tradition held out for some time against new tendencies. The schematic Marxism of the countries of "real

1. I wrote these words before Jacques Le Goff's long life came to an end on the 1st of April of this year, 2014. There is no celebratory intention in this essay, as I mentioned above, nor is it intended as a memorial. The debate with this great historian will go on for quite some time to come at least as long as the innovative quality of his work survives. It is perhaps, however, now time to reflect on the popularity of his work when the dividing line between "before" and "after" is now upon us. I am grateful to Flocel Sabaté for his attention to, and valuable suggestions for this article.



Socialism" was also an obstacle, however distant from Marxist thought it was, and there is therefore nothing surprising about the fact that in the Balkan world, for example, translations of Le Goff's work only started to make an appearance at the beginning of the 21st century. Even countries like Spain and Portugal have only recently opened up to the most recent historiography after the end of the Franco and Salazar dictatorships led to greater openness to cultural innovation in general and historiographical change in particular.

But it was precisely the **United Kingdom**, however markedly late, that felt the need for a panoramic overview of the work of this great medievalist, on the occasion of his 70th birthday, in the form of a conference in 1994 under the guidance of Miri Rubin in Cambridge, the results of which were published three years later². On that occasion, a range of scholars dealt with some of the most recurrent themes in Le Goff's work (money, saints and miracles, kingship, the body, intellectuals, etc.) but a considerable part of the volume was devoted to Le Goff, the *Annales* and national historiographical traditions. A number of European countries were considered (Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, Spain and Hungary) as well as the United States and Russia.

Exactly twenty years after this initiative, it is clear that Le Goff's work has spread to the extent of taking on an intercontinental dimension, as its presence in the Americas (a particularly significant example is Brazil, as we will see) and Asia (we will look at the example of Japan) shows. As far as Europe is concerned, it has been possible to add here a few considerations on Norway here and, at least partly, on the rest of Scandinavia and a few Countries in east-central Europe. However, the Cambridge conference proceedings are still a highly useful outline as far as the approach is concerned as well as in terms of the historiographical value of the essays contained in them.

As Miri Rubin wrote in her introduction only "the later 70s saw Le Goff's work achieve wider recognition and familiarity through translation" but this was certainly not a uniform process. In the English speaking world in particular, it was only in the 1980s and 90s that an increasingly up-to-date translation of the works of the historians from the *Annales* school and in general of French medievalism is evident. As far as the United Kingdom is concerned, if we look back we find that Bloch's *La Société Féodale* (1939) only came out in London in 1961 and *Les Rois Taumathurges* (1924) not until 1973, in London once again, at the same time as the English translation of Braudel's *Méditerranée* (first French edition 1949). It is true that there were a few early examples, but these were perhaps closer to traditional themes than those proposed by the "Nouvelle Histoire"; for instance the translation of Georges Duby's *L'économie rurale et la vie des Campagnes dans l'Occident Médiéval* (1962) came out in London in 1968 while *Le Dimanches de Bouvines* (1973) had to wait until 1990. Better luck had Guillaume le Maréchal (French 1984, English 1985) and *L'Histoire de la vie privée* (with Philippe Ariès) which came out simultaneously in French and

2. Rubin, Miri, ed. *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of medieval History*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997.



English (1987-91) although this was already well into the 1980s. As far as Le Goff is concerned, Miri Rubin was kind enough to answer a few of my questions, starting with the relationship (if there was one) between the popularisation of the Annales school and Le Goff's influence on English language historiography. Rubin's opinion is that

while Le Goff is always mentioned as related to the Annales school, he is usually not prominently cited as a main proponent such as Bloch or Braudel. He has much more of a unique voice and is a great synthesizer [...]. When I arrived in the UK [from Israel] in the 1980s the influence was very limited. This surprised me because medieval historians in Israel were so aware of the Annales, had contacts with Jacques Le Goff and admired the Annales school in general. I believe I helped make him better known in the UK [this is certainly true, D.R.] The translation of *Birth of Purgatory* was very important and this is much discussed; the study of St. Louis has had some influence; his classic articles are still widely cited —on time, on popular culture and learned culture. It is as if in every niche of scholarship he has written on, he has followers³.

Allow me a quick aside here on the subject of **Israel** to report the presence of the work of a great many French historians, and Le Goff in particular, in its public and university libraries such as the National and University Library of Israel in Jerusalem or the Tel Aviv University Library although only in French or in the English translation.

It is true that the book *La Naissance du Purgatoire* prompted a great deal of debate and not only in the English speaking world —for which it was translated in both London and Chicago in both London and Chicago just two or three years after the original publication. But it is equally true that the reverberations caused by Saint Louis were far weaker and later; nevertheless a number of reviews of it were published in both the United States and the United Kingdom when it came out as an e-book in 2009: e.g. *American Historical Journal* and *New York Review of Books*, 2010; *Heythrop Journal* (Oxford, 2011). However, apart from a few translations in the 1980s and 90s, also outrageously late (*La Civilisation de l'Occident Médiéval*, 1964, came out in the UK and the USA only in 1988), the process seems to have speeded up since 2000. For example, *L'Europe est-elle Née au Moyen Âge?* was translated and turned into an e-book in 2005; *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent*, 2010, came out in Cambridge in 2012 and *À la recherche du temps sacré*, 2011 was translated in 2014. A new translation of *La Civilisation* was published in 2009 (University of Notre Dame) and this too became a free e-book in 2010.

As far as the **United States** are concerned, Lester K. Little has traced a history of American medieval studies from their dawn in the second half of the 19th century⁴. It does not concern only history strictu sensu, but literature, palaeography, Latin,

3. Rubin, Miri. "Introduction", *The work of Jaques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: IX.

4. Little, Lester K. "Mainstream and Margins of Medieval History in the United States", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 85-98.



Spanish and German studies, art history. Little also refers to American medievalism, heir to the one flourishing in England since the 17th Century and especially during the 18th. "That medieval art history was of the greatest interest to American intellectuals is attested to by the nearly universal sprouting of neo-Gothic and neo-Romanesque (generally in that chronological order) churches, libraries, town halls, universities, banks, and, not least, homes of the affluent"⁵. However, this theme would take us too far from the subject of this essay and there are already a great many publications on medievalism in both Europe and the United States⁶.

American medieval studies developed in the shadow of its German counterpart. Specialists teaching in the great universities —Cornell, Stanford, John Hopkins, Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, Princeton— met with the German school also during study trips to Germany. World War One weakened this philo-Germanism considerably. University students interested in medieval studies were sent to such alternative European countries as France, Belgium or England. The Medieval Academy of America was founded in 1925, the first issue of *Speculum* was published in 1926 and the great Charles Homer Haskins and his pupils, such as Lynn White and Joseph R. Strayer, rose to prominence. The main interests were focused on politics, law, institutions, all centered mainly in the High Middle Ages. The 1930s and 1940s were the years of European intellectuals fleeing ideological and racial persecution from Nazism and Fascism to the United States. Historians such as Roberto López, Ernst Kantorowitz, Hans Baron and a considerable number of others led to a significant renewal of research subject matter but not of the methodological framework which remained fundamentally tied to the German model. Beginning in the 1950s and 60s, the great expansion of the North American universities brought with it an exponential increase in the number of medievalists and lastly the legacy of Bloch and Febvre inspired interest in American intellectual circles. Thanks to Lawrence Stone, the social sciences (anthropology, psycho-analysis, demography, statistical analysis, sociology, etc.) entered Princeton and invitations to French colleagues of the *École des Hautes Études* to come to the university for semesters or whole academic years began. It should be remembered, however, that in contrast to medieval historians, it were early modern era specialists who opened the path to the proposed subjects and methodologies of the *Annales* and Past and Present. Braudel's translations date from the 1970s and it was only in 1979 that, in a review of *The Territory of the Historian*:

Stone gave a much needed analysis of the recent developments in French historiography, if only to dislodge the notion that statistics and graphs were all that the *Annales* were about [...]. Stone's remarks on the attention being given to mental habits, symbols, folklore and such made a timely introduction for the books of Jacques Le Goff, which began to appear in English in 1980⁷.

5. Little, Lester K. "Mainstream and Margins...": 87.

6. Among the most recent: Pugh, Tison; Weisl, Angela Jane. *Medievalisms. Making the Past in the Present*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

7. Little, Lester K. "Mainstream and Margins...": 94.



For the whole of the 1980s, in fact, reviews focused on French historians including Le Goff (*The Birth of Purgatory*, *Medieval Civilisation*, *The Medieval Imagination*, *Your Money or Your Life*. In the latter case it is not clear —and it was unclear to Le Goff himself — why the words “or your life” were chosen when the original title was *La Bourse et la Vie*).

It is true that the welcome given to the work of Jacques Le Goff in the USA was at the very least uneven and sometimes highly critical, as Maurice Keen’s words confirm (called by Little: “an open-minded historian trained in another school who is at times perplexed by Le Goff but is also willing to hear him out”):

The matters into which Le Goff leads the student of history are those on which there will always be room for debate and very seldom room for proof. He is not interested in problems whose solution can be pinpointed by critical accuracy in the sifting of the records. That, I think, is the reason he can sometimes give the impression of being one who starts more hares than he can hunt to the finish. It is also, I suspect, part of the reason why his interests have tended to concentrate on what makes the past, and especially the mentality of the past, different and foreign from that of the present, rather than on similarities of outlook on and reaction to the perennial problems with which the human condition confronts men. He likes the seas that are hardest to chart, and that is why a historian trained in a more positivist school, like myself, will as a reader find himself hankering from time to time after the markers that narrative history, and the debates over it, used to put down in order to make the past more understandable. The reader will be amply compensated nonetheless by the excitement and mental stimulus of voyaging, with Le Goff as his pilot, into some of the stranger waters of time gone by⁸.

It is now several decades since medieval history in the USA does not limit itself to a closed inner circle. Just think of the colossal conferences in Kalamazoo (biennial from 1962 to 1968, annual since 1970) which Le Goff, invited to hold an introductory lesson in 1987⁹, labelled “Champagne fairs of medieval studies”.

Many American universities have enviable and much envied libraries and, above all, source material collections (reprinted and, in more recent years, digitalised) giving students the opportunity for a thorough training although contact with original sources is in any case irreplaceable. Equally irreplaceable is a knowledge of Latin which is unfortunately increasingly rare in Europe too. But it was also thanks to Latin and her frequent visits to the French archives that it was precisely an American scholar, Elizabeth A.R. Brown, whom Le Goff judged to be the greatest specialist in French medieval kingship. Regarding the history of mentality (the term, as ambiguous as it is —so defined by Le Goff himself— continues being practical), among the pioneers of emotions as a research object we find another American scholar, Barbara H. Rosenwein. On the other hand, Little himself in 1994

8. This quotation comes from a 1989 review by Maurice Keen and it was cited by Little: Little, Lester K. “Mainstream and Margins...”: 95 (note 22).

9. “Why and How to Write the Biography of a Medieval Character: Saint Louis?”.



enumerated readers and emulators of Le Goff's vision of history among whom Lynn White, Teo Ruiz and a considerable number of others.

There is obviously no need to look for translations in a bilingual country like **Canada** where a great many of Le Goff's titles are present in both English and French.

Australia is an English speaking country with important universities, including the two main ones in Sydney and Melbourne. There are a few of Le Goff's works in public libraries, such as the National Library in Canberra, but there are a great many of them (a few dozens) in the universities libraries, with many original French editions. Acquisitions are extremely up-to-date and Melbourne already has a translation (Princeton, 2014) of *À la Recherche du Temps Sacré* (2011) in its catalogue. A further important feature of the Australian universities is the presence of both the *Annales* as a journal and of the works of the first generation of the *Annales* historians (Bloch, Febvre) onwards. Unless I am mistaken, on the other hand, and I sincerely hope this is the case, Le Goff's books for young people are lacking.

In English once again, Le Goff's work is in **New Zealand** too (Victoria University of Wellington, University of Otago): more than twenty between monographs and collective works including the 2011 translation of *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent* (2010). The *Annales* school makes its presence felt here too with about twenty titles by Lucien Febvre, for example.

In the few but intense pages dedicated to Le Goff in **Germany**¹⁰, Otto Gerhardt Oexle complained that "only in the early 1990s, German medievalists have, in fact, come to recognise in Jacques Le Goff's oeuvre an innovative body of work whose future is assured"¹¹. This should, however, not surprise us if we remember that the German translation of Marc Bloch's *Société Féodale* only made its appearance in Germany forty years after the Author's death. In the meantime, however, Le Goff's early books, such as *Marchands et Banquiers du Moyen Âge* (1956) and *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge* (1957), had been recognised as classics.

A further two of Oexle's considerations are also worthy highlighting. The first is the self-critical attitude that every historian should cultivate towards his or her work:

The historian must take note of the subjective determination of his work, of its epistemological foundations, and of the historical traditions, personal, regional and National, that underlie everything he writes [...] the point is [...] to understand more clearly both the significance and the limits of his research¹².

10. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. "Jacques Le Goff in Germany", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 79-84.

11. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. "Jacques Le Goff in Germany...": 80.

12. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. "Jacques Le Goff in Germany...": 79.



Exactly what Le Goff did not forget to practice: “This type of reflection is exemplified, in my view uniquely, by Jacques Le Goff’s essay on ‘Ego-History’ and his book *Histoire et Mémoire*”. The second consideration which I believe was much appreciated and shared by Le Goff himself, and despite the fact that twenty years have gone by since Oexle expressed it, it is still undeniably and perhaps even more true today, is that “there are too few historians studying our continent as a whole, as Jacques Le Goff has recently shown”¹³.

A rapid glance at the catalogues of the main German libraries—including the Humboldt University library—reveals the whole of Le Goff’s work, translations starting in the 1990s and still going on. A great many of his books have been printed more than once (including his books on Europe for children) and the time gap from the original editions have been drastically reduced. *Le Moyen Âge et l’argent* was published in German as early as 2011.

A sharp and in-depth essay by Walter Simmons analysed the resistance to the new French historiography in an area which is anything but uniform, also from the cultural point of view, divided as it was and it is between **Belgium and Holland**, north and south, Flemings and Walloons¹⁴. This is not the place to go step by step through Simmons’s essay where he shows how a potential opening towards Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch’s *Annales*, especially thanks to the availability and support, even if from the outside, offered by Henri Pirenne to the two founders of the journal, did never come true. It is also surprising the lack of immediate historiographical follow-up to the publication of the undoubtedly innovative if debatable and debated book by Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*¹⁵. Marc Bloch’s review of the second German edition (1928) was glowing, as Simmons noted. Later, first Fernand Braudel and then Jacques Le Goff found in the book hints of future *Annales* school research tendencies, both from the point of view of the use of sources other than the traditional documentary ones (always a priority in the historiography of the Low Countries), such as chronicles and narrative literature, not to speak of images,—and from the perspective of what has been referred to as collective psychology. Decades would need to pass before history of emotions was to take its rightful—if not always fully accepted—place in medieval historiography.

I do not know whether attempts have ever been made to parallel one of Le Goff’s early books with Huizinga’s work as regards the use of images as true sources for the historian. The work I have in mind is *La Civilisation de l’Occident Médiéval*, whose images are not illustrations to the text but rather an integral part of the historiographical tale¹⁶. I am also thinking to Emilio Sereni’s pioneering work *Storia del Paesaggio Agrario Italiano*¹⁷ the first step, by images, of a research that should have been completed with a documentary apparatus. In the following decades, the

13. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. “Jacques Le Goff in Germany...”: 79.

14. Simmons, Walter. “The *Annales* and Medieval Studies in the Low Countries”, *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 99-120.

15. Huizinga, Johan. *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1919.

16. Le Goff, Jacques. *La Civilisation de l’Occident Médiéval*. Paris: Arthaud, 1964.

17. Sereni, Emilio. *Storia del Paesaggio Agrario Italiano*. Bari: Laterza, 1961.



use of images as historical sources became commonplace despite prompting some perplexity from art historians, one of a fairly large number of cases of problematical inter-disciplinary dialogue.

As Simmons has highlighted, Belgian and Dutch medievalists finally remained within the institutional history and sources editions sphere and put aside *histoire globale*, comparative history and the history of mentalities until well after World War Two, in fact until the 1970s.

There is certainly not much sense in looking for translations in countries where French and English are commonly used. In fact, Le Goff's books are massively present in the libraries of the Low Countries and there are very few translations into Dutch (for example *Les intellectuels*, 1989 and *La Civilisation*, 2006).

In **Spain**, the harsh repression unleashed under the Franco dictatorship after the Civil War (1936-1939) excluded Spanish research from a leading position and distanced it from the rest of Europe¹⁸. On the one hand historiography lingered discussing feudalism, the *Reconquista*, and the relations of what was to be considered Spanish identity and the otherness of Muslims and Jews, following the debate of the two exiled conservative historians: Claudio Sánchez Albornoz and Américo Castro. On the other hand, at the end of the Franco regime (from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s) there emerged in the universities a reaction against the dictatorship, a reaction marked by a general propensity for a Marxist approach¹⁹. From this position, Authors like Josep Fontana Lázaro developed a virulent criticism of the *Annales*, of the study of mentalities, and of Le Goff himself²⁰, followed later by Américo Castro's criticism of Fernand Braudel and his work *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. The result was a reorientation of Spanish historians towards Anglo-Saxon historiography and German-style scholarship focusing research attention, especially in medieval studies, on the favoured subject of feudalism²¹.

Thus, once again, as Adeline Rucquoi indicated, the first of Le Goff's books to be translated into Spanish — eight years after the original — was not especially influential. It should be noted that it was Argentina which opened the way with *Les intellectuels*, Buenos Aires, 1965 (first French edition 1957), *Marchands et Banquiers*, Buenos Aires, 1969 (first French edition 1956). In the same year, not far from the first French edition (1964), *La Civilisation* came out (Barcelona, 1969) followed by *Le Bas Moyen Âge* (Madrid, 1971), a work for general readership published in German in

18. Claret, Jaume. *El atroz desmoche. La destrucción de la universidad española por el franquismo*. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 2006. In the paper given at the often quoted Cambridge conference, Adeline Rucquoi showed how Spanish historiography and its relationships with the French "new history" had been studied by some Spanish historians between the beginning of the 1980s and the mid 90s such as: Carlos Barros. See: Rucquoi, Adeline. "Spanish Medieval History and the *Annales*: Between Franco and Marx", *The work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...* 123-141.

19. Riera, Antoni. "El temps i l'espai del feudalisme a Catalunya", *El temps i l'espai del feudalisme*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2004: 561.

20. Roura, Lluís; Fontana, Josep; García-Cárcel, Ricardo; Martínez, Carlos; Salrach, Josep Maria. "La història de les Mentalitats: una polèmica oberta". *Manuscrits. Revista d'història moderna*, 2 (1985): 31-54.

21. In the series and in the spirit of *Crítica/historia y teoría*, directed by Fontana, I indicate: Aróstegui, Julio. *La investigación histórica: teoría y método*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1995.



1965 as *Das Hochmittelalter*, in the *Fischer Weltgeschichte* series. The end of the 1970s, but above all the 1980s, saw a widespread opening up to the *La Nouvelle Histoire* (translated in 1988, ten years after the French original) and translations of French historians' as well as Le Goff's: *Tiempo Trabajo y Cultura*, 1983 (French edition, 1977), *Il Meraviglioso e il Quotidiano nell'Occidente Medievale*, 1986 (original Italian edition, 1983) and, once again, *Les intellectuels* but this time in Spain (Barcelona 1986). Then things seem to change. About Le Goff's work, a series of translations followed from the 1990s on, in increasingly shorter time after the original publication, as shows a glance into the catalogue of *Biblioteca Nacional de España*, where are also to be found many original language copies.

Without entering into the merits of these developments in Spanish medieval studies —or rather Spanish language medieval studies, in order not to forget the active presence of Latin America— just think of the huge Internet sounding board and the discussion potential provided, for example, by Carlos Barros's now over a decade long initiative, *Historia a Debate*.

Still in the *hispano-hablante* context, Le Goff's work can be found all over Latin America, translated and published initially by Paidòs, a publishing house founded in Argentina in 1945, then established in Barcelona and Mexico before merging with Editorial Planeta in 2003, with head offices in Barcelona and publishing in Spain, Portugal and Latin America.

Argentina took on special importance when Claudio Sánchez Albornoz emigrated there after the Spanish Civil War, as noted above. In fact, translations of Le Goff's work began there in the 1960s with *Marchands et Banquiers* which was reprinted ten times in Buenos Aires from 1962 to 1984. Naturally, there are also Spanish translations in both public and university libraries.

Mexico is also worth mentioning with translations of books such as *Il Meraviglioso e il Quotidiano* and *Les intellectuels* (both on their second edition in 1986). In Mexico the presence of French medieval studies as well as quite a few of Le Goff's books owes a lot to the constant efforts of Jérôme Baschet, one of Le Goff's closest and most esteemed disciples, with support from Jean Claude Schmitt. Martín F. Ríos Saloma provided an overview of the situation of medieval history in Mexico in an article which analysed four contexts: teaching, dissemination, exhibition organisation and publishing²². The Author argues that, despite some progress "Mexican medieval studies are still in their infancy" above all if compared to very different development in Argentina and Brazil. This is also the situation in other Latin American countries such as **Peru**, for example, where interest in national history prevails despite the pioneering efforts of Gloria Cristina Flórez Dávila²³.

As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, the end of their dictatorships in the first half of the 1970s had an evident effect on the rebuilding of teaching systems

22. Ríos, Martín F. "The State of the Discipline of Medieval History in Mexico". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 4 (2010): 93-116. This new but highly active journal has published a great many reviews about historiography that complement the vision over Le Goff's work.

23. Author, amongst other publications, of: Flórez, Gloria. *Derechos Humanos y Medioevo: un hito en la evolución de una idea*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2010.



and the evolution of historiography in general, and medieval studies in particular, in both Spain and **Portugal**.

An enquiry presented in 2004 (and published two years later) at an *Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo* seminar on Portuguese medieval and Renaissance history is greatly useful as far as Portugal is concerned²⁴. The Author looked at medieval studies in Portugal over the last quarter of the 20th century and its restructuring, which moved in tandem with the reorganisation of teaching, in particular in universities; there also was an increase in the subjects and chronological time frames covered, together with a larger number of historians and the need for contacts with other academic institutions. It is also interesting to note that it was seen as important to underline the increase in the female presence in the world of historical research. The *Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Medievais* was set up in 1984 with its own specialised journal. Universities taking the greatest role would appear to be the ones of O Porto (in conjunction with similar institutions in Spain, Italy and Brazil), Lisbon and Coimbra. However, if on one hand, “despite the effort that was made in the last quarter of the 20th century, there is still much to do in the field of the Portuguese Middle Ages”, on the other hand, openness to *Annales* and the *Nouvelle Histoire* cannot but exert influence on the general and medieval historiography, “that has sought to follow European trends, albeit with some delay in relation to certain issues”²⁵. Actually, the impression given is that a time lag in relationships with the outside world did occur and that this has not been entirely made up, whilst the studies of Paula Pinto supplies an impressive mass of data on Portuguese history produced in various research sectors in precisely those twenty five years following the political and cultural modernisation of the country. If, in line with our purpose here, we look for Le Goff’s work either in the original or in translation, we find very little in French and a little more in Spanish, but the bulk is in Portuguese, starting in the 1970s and clearly accelerating in the three decades that followed for an obviously not final total of a little more than twenty. It should be noted, however, that some of these met with considerable success, as later reprints confirm. This is true of *La Bourse et la Vie*, *Faire de l’Histoire*, *La Naissance du Purgatoire* and *L’Europe racontée aux jeunes*. The most successful, however, have been *Les intellectuels*, *Le Merveilleux et le Quotidien* (reprinted from 1985 to 2010) and, above all, *La Nouvelle Histoire*, reprinted at least five times before 1990.

These Portuguese translations are obviously also present in **Brazilian** libraries (the Rio de Janeiro National Library and university libraries such as that in Campinas SP) alongside many original editions and a few English and Spanish translations. Brazilian translations (which sometimes duplicated Portuguese ones, such as that of *Pour un autre Moyen Âge*, published in Lisbon in 1980 and Petropolis in 2013), began and were already numerous in the 1980s but multiplied in the decades that followed. There are multiple copies of some books (a sign of a large readership) and

24. Pinto, Paula Maria de Carvalho. “Os estudos medievais em Portugal (1975-2000). Organização dos estudos e principais linhas de orientação”. *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 106/2 (2006): 247-271.

25. Pinto, Paula Maria de Carvalho. “Os estudos medievais...”: 252.



many editions were published, such as *Les intellectuels* (5 from 1988 to 2007), *Storia e Memoria* (5 from 1990 to 2003), *La Nouvelle Histoire* (5 between 1990 and 2005). No copies appear to have been bought yet of the books which have come out in France since 2010.

As well as this translation policy as far as studies of medieval history are concerned, fresh impetus has also been given since 2000 to purchases of both studies and original or reproduced sources, some of which have been publicly funded, in particular by the São Paulo state. Moreover it was precisely with the creation of the USP (Universidade de São Paulo) in 1934 that the first and most important centre for medieval studies in Brazil was set up after that, in the third decade of the 19th century and up to the first half of the 20th century, the main interest of Brazilian historians had been in their national history. However, from the 1980s onwards, other centres made themselves felt, such as the two universities in Rio de Janeiro, the Federal and the Fluminense. The setting up of the *Associação Brasileira de Estudos Medievais* dates from 1996: it promotes meetings and conferences and has been publishing *Signum. Revista da ABREM* since 1999. The voluminous issue 5 of 2003 (436 pages) was entirely devoted to a Homenagem a Jacques Le Goff with original articles on matters dear to him, a reprint of his essay on Limbo, a critical review of some of his recently translated works and much more. In 2005, an online journal called *Medievalista* was founded as well. It should be remembered that while Brazilian interests in Middle Ages are still very young, they have opened studies and debates of a methodological character such as a recent international meeting entitled *Pourquoi étudier le Moyen Âge?*²⁶ A wide-ranging methodological and critical essay by Néri de Barros Almeida on Le Goff himself proposed not to highlight the value of Le Goff's work —judged limitless— but rather to identify its motivations and implications on theoretical, methodological and political levels. This is not the place for an analysis of the various aspects of this essay but it is important to emphasise that rethinking Le Goff's work is equivalent, for many Brazilian historians, to retracing the first phase of their training. As the Author notes, in the context of cultural history:

Few historians have been read with as much attention as Jacques Le Goff. Endowed with a unique talent, he saw his writings projected beyond the domain of the study of the Middle Ages, influencing several generations of historians from around the world. He had a particularly marked influence in regions outside Europe, such as Brazil, where his research results imposed themselves as a theoretical and methodological model of medieval studies. It is through some of his best known texts that we intend to develop our thinking, taking him not only as an exponent of the "third generation" of the Annales but as an influential figure in particular in shaping the young tradition of medieval history studies in Brazil²⁷.

26. Méhu, Didier; Almeida, Néri de Barros; Silva, Marcelo Cândido da, eds. *Pourquoi étudier le Moyen Âge? Les médiévistes face aux usages sociaux du passé. Actes du colloque tenu à l'université de São Paulo du 7 au 9 mai 2008*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2012.

27. Almeida, Néri de Barros. "Por uma 'Europa cultural': cultura e política na obra de Jacques Le Goff", *A Idade Média entre os séculos XIX e XX. Estudos de historiografia*, Néri de Barros Almeida, ed. Campinas:



In the words of Sverre Bagge²⁸:

Jacques Le Goff's works are certainly well known in Scandinavia, particularly among the younger generation. The journal *Annales* does not seem to be very much used, as Scandinavians are mostly reluctant to read French, but works by *Annales* historians are often read in English. The history of mentality and historical anthropology have been in vogue since the 1990s, and Le Goff's words about what is common to Caesar and the least of his legionary is frequently quoted and discussed. Of his works his article in *La Nouvelle Histoire*, *Pour une Autre Moyen-âge* and the book about purgatory are the best known. By contrast, there has been less use of his book about St. Louis, perhaps because kingship has been less in the centre of interest in recent years. As a matter of fact, there is a considerable interest in history in Norway, but mostly with a focus on Norwegian and local history, notably the Second World War, and books written in Norwegian. The same applies possibly to the other Scandinavian countries, although not to the same extent.

Until very recent years, there were only two translations of Le Goff's books, both into Swedish. The first, *Att Skriva Historia* in 1978, *Faire de l'Histoire* (1974) became an audio book in 2004, the second, *Ockraren och Døden* (The moneylender and death, but the original title was *La Bourse et la Vie*) published in 1990, was made into an audio book in 2002. This was joined by *Kroppens Historia under Medeltiden* in 2011, a translation of *Une Histoire du Corps au Moyen Âge* (with Nicolas Truong, 2003) which was also turned into an audio book in 2012.

It is worth noting that in Sweden, as in Norway and Denmark (and I also arbitrarily add Finland) there are no other translations into local languages. However, Le Goff's last three books are already available in the original language or in English: *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent* (2010), *A la Recherche du Temps Sacré* (2011, translated into English in 2014), *Faut-il Vraiment Découper l'Histoire en Tranches?* (2014).

As far as the **Baltic republics** are concerned, while the building of the National Library of Latvia is currently underway, in recognition of the fact that Riga is the European Capital of Culture in 2014, apart from a French translation of *Storia e Memoria*, the Lithuanian National Library appears to contain mainly Russian translations of Le Goff's work, some of which have been duplicated in Lithuanian (*L'Europe Racontée aux Jeunes*, *L'Imaginaire Médiéval*, *La Naissance du Purgatoire*), almost all, however, since 2000. Estonia's National and university libraries are much better stocked with original French editions, English translations and a few translations into Estonian also dating from the years after 2000. It is clearly important to remember the effects of the German occupation on these three Baltic states (to whose cultural traditions, moreover, Estonia has ties) and above all of the Soviet occupation from 1944 to 1991.

The relationship between **Russian** historiography and the French school of the second half of the 20th century was the subject of Aaron Gurevich's paper at

Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2008: 1, 74-102, especially, 74.

28. Professor Sverre Bagge of the University of Bergen studies medieval culture and society in Norway and Europe. To these subjects he has devoted a vast number of books. I thank him for the information he kindly gave me.



the Cambridge conference from the starting point of the Moscow observatory and following the common thread of his journey as a medieval historian:

The path of the Soviet Russian historians to the *Annales* has been long and tortuous. For many years our historians have had not enough information about the contemporary Western historiography, and especially about the *Annales* school. In the second half of the 1940s, as students and then as postgraduates, we heard nothing from our professors about Marc Bloch or Lucien Febvre; they may or may not have known Feudal Society and other publications. The prevailing trend in Marxist Soviet medieval studies was that of the agrarian history of the Middle Ages²⁹.

Things started to change in the 1960s when the work of the French *Annales* historians appeared in Russian libraries. However,

during the second part of the 1960s and 1970s the ideological situation in my country was such that historians who tried to use these new approaches to the historical investigation were rather cautious in proclaiming their interest in the *Annales* school, since the official historians, supported by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the chiefs of the Russian Academy and universities, were not inclined to cooperate with French historical thought, but instead saw in the *Annales* their most dangerous enemy. They understood somehow that the *Annales* School of contemporary historiography could be a very dangerous competitor to the so-called Marxist-historical school.

I was lucky to have published the Russian translation of Marc Bloch already in 1973, but I remember that some of the most influential historians in my country were greatly dissatisfied by it and, according to one of them at least, its publication was “a great political mistake”. Other official historians tried to dismiss and minimise the influence of the French historians, saying, for example, that their ideas were not original, and the only trait which differentiated them from other trends in historiography was their good literary style³⁰.

Contacts, even personal ones, with French historians (including, among medievalists, Le Roy Ladurie, Duby, Le Goff) began towards the end of the 1980s and in the meantime, Bloch, Febvre, Le Goff and Ariès's works were translated. If we take a look at the catalogues of the Moscow and St. Petersburg National libraries (incidentally, not easy to consult) and limit ourselves to Le Goff, two aspects emerge —the sometimes truly amazing time lag between the original editions and translations and the very fast making up for lost time which has taken place since the 1990s.

Gurevich's essay is of some interest also for its critical considerations on some of the themes so dear to Le Goff as a French historian —Purgatory, the definition of

29. Gurevich, Aaron. “*Annales* in Moskow”, *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 239-248, especially, 239.

30. Gurevich, Aaron. “*Annales* in Moskow...”: 242.



historical anthropology, the carnival, death (here bringing also Philippe Ariès into the equation). It is important to add that, as we have already seen, some aspects of Le Goff's work were dealt with in Cambridge, apart from considerations of national relevance: time and money, religion and popular culture, intellectuals, kingship, the body. However, the discussion of these themes has no place in this Le Goff's world tour and should in any case be analysed with the benefit of twenty-year's hindsight.

Always at the Cambridge conference, whilst dealing with Le Goff and the *Annales* school's influence in **Hungarian** medieval studies, Gábor Klaniczay was also able to take a look at other cultural and national contexts. The beginning of his text is particularly interesting and worth quoting here:

In 1993, the first class of the recently-founded Medieval Studies Department of the Central European University started its work in Budapest with forty graduate students from sixteen countries mostly —though not exclusively— from the former socialist countries. We began with a questionnaire in which we asked students to name three historians who had been influential in shaping their interest in the Middle Ages. Counting the scores, with no small satisfaction we found Jacques Le Goff far ahead at the top of the list, followed by Georges Duby and by two East European friends of Le Goff, Aaron Jakovlevich Gurevich and Bronislaw Geremek. Distinguished historians of the Slavic and Byzantine Middle Ages like Francis Dvornik and Dmitri Obolenski, or celebrities from neighbouring scholarly disciplines like Ernst Robert Curtius or Erwin Panofsky, took up the rear.

Even though this cannot be taken as representative proof of Le Goff's impact on scholarly circles, his flattering popularity among students has an indicative value. Translations of his works into a large number of East European languages have certainly played an important role in making him well-known. Personal and institutional contacts with him and with other historians of the *Annales* circle must have been even more important. But the principal factor of his popularity must have been above all his ideas and attitudes as expressed in his writings or in stimulating discussions and debates³¹.

Klaniczay drafts a complete if synthetic account of Magyar historiography with its pre-1945 German influences and absence of French references (Bloch, Febvre and the *Annales* remained unknown); then, with the coming of Communism, it came under the influence of Russian Marxism which, even if dogmatic, encouraged new economic history studies.

The first of Le Goff's work to be translated into Central-Eastern European languages was *Les intellectuels* (still in the front rank of Le Goff's work translated around the world): into Hungarian in Budapest 1979; Croatian in Zagreb in 1982; Bulgarian in Sofia in 1993, the promptest having been Poland: Warsaw 1966, soon followed (1970) by *La Civilisation*³². Translations of other works of the *Annales* context also appeared in these years but in limited numbers and with certain serious

31. Klaniczay, Gábor. "Le Goff, the *Annales* and Medieval Studies in Hungary", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 223-237, especially, 223.

32. Klaniczay, Gábor. "Le Goff, the *Annales*...": 224 (note 2 and 3).



gaps. It is, however, important to remember that these are countries in which a reading knowledge of French was commonplace for educated individuals as well as scholars. As Klaniczay has emphasised, however, the interpersonal and inter-institutional contacts for which Le Goff strove early on and throughout his career were of great importance. The *École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales* sent history delegations to Hungary from 1966 onwards, to Poland after 1956 and to Czechoslovakia prior to 1968 (a date of obvious political importance). After Le Goff succeeded Braudel as president of the *École* in 1969 a bilateral agreement was established for regular exchanges between the *École* and the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. These were contacts which involved student exchanges, established in quite a few countries in this part of Europe; actually, similar joint ventures were set up in Prague, Warsaw, Bucharest and Sofia —former Soviet satellite countries— and in Moscow in the 1990s. Books such as *Paysannerie Française, Paysannerie Hongroise: XVIe-XXe siècles*, Budapest, 1973; *Noblesse Française, Noblesse Hongroise: XVIe-XVIIIe siècles*, Budapest-Paris, 1981, *Intellectuels Français, Intellectuels Hongrois XIIIe-XXe siècles* came out, the latter under³³ the guidance of Jacques Le Goff and Bela Köpecsi, Budapest-Paris, 1985.

The visiting *Annales* historians deliberately tried to ease the intellectual hostilities between East and West by proposing themselves as interlocutors. Not blinded by ideological prejudices, they saw very well that under the veil of Marxist dogmas, a number of interesting historiographic achievements were being accomplished.

These French-Hungarian discussions in the 1970s drew upon a similar Polish experience which had started earlier. By this time, many studies and monographs of leading Polish historians were available in French translations³², and their results came to be absorbed by international scholarship as the fruits of an autonomous school of history-writing. The innovative tendencies of Polish historiography had a stimulating effect in Hungary, too³⁴.

It is important to point out that Poland is a special case because it is the country which Le Goff visited early and frequently, first on a study bursary and then for both family and political reasons, as he has himself recalled on many occasions, and in particular in the book to the memory of his wife who was in fact Polish³⁵. However, the close relationship between Polish and French historiographers, in particular, though not solely, as regards medieval studies is too well known to require reiterating here; it will suffice to mention joint publications in the field of medieval archaeology, or the name of Bronislaw Geremek, Author of now classic

33. Gieysztor, Alexander; Manteuffel, Tadeusz. *L'Europe aux IXe-XIe siècles. Aux origines des États nationaux*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1968; Manteuffel, Tadeusz. *La naissance d'une hérésie. Les adeptes de la pauvreté volontaire au moyen âge*. Paris: Mouton, 1970; Kula, Witold. *Théorie économique du système féodal. Pour un modèle de l'économie polonaise XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Mouton, 1970; Geremek, Bronislaw. *Le Salarial dans l'artisanat parisien aux XIIIe-XVe siècles*. Paris: Mouton, 1968; Geremek, Bronislaw. *Les Marginaux parisiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles*. Paris: Flammarion, 1976.

34. Klaniczay, Gábor. "Le Goff, the *Annales*...": 230-231.

35. Le Goff himself talks about this in the *Reflections*...



studies of the world of work and marginalisation in Paris, and an eminent European personality³⁶. Thus the presence of books of Le Goff, among others, in Polish libraries in both original editions and translations can be taken for granted. Neither should it surprise us that translations began to multiply from the second half of the 1980s (the years of the *Solidarność* movement, to which Le Goff gave his most heartfelt support) accelerating in the two following decades and continuing to the present day with shorter time lapses from the publication of the originals. *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent* came out in French in 2010 and in Polish in 2011. It is also perhaps worth pointing out that *L'Europe racontée aux jeunes*, which was published in Polish in 1996, was then reprinted more than once in 2004 and 2006.

Moreover, the Yugoslav vicissitudes seemed to constitute yet another example of the weight of ideological and political problems. The break-up of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia began in 1991 with declarations of independence from **Serbia** by **Slovenia** and **Croatia**. The dramatic events which followed are well-known. Apart from a few exceptions: *Les intellectuels* in Ljubljana and Zagreb, *Pour un Autre Moyen-âge* in Ljubljana, *La Civilisation* in Belgrade, and on top of a few books in the original edition in Ljubljana and Belgrade, Le Goff's work in the respective languages of the three republics increased in volume in the second half of the 1990s and the new century, with reductions in the by then rather marked time gap between the originals and the translations. As everywhere to some extent, European themes make their appearance here too, but only after 2000.

A similar process occurred in the republics born from the dismantling of Czechoslovakia in 1993 but with some evident differences. Two examples: there are many original versions of Le Goff's work in the **Czech** National Library alongside many translations into Czech, dating mainly from the beginning of the new century (however, *La Civilisation* came out in Prague in 1991 and was reprinted in 2005). These include the ever-present *Les intellectuels*, *La Naissance du Purgatoire*, *Histoire et Mémoire* and *L'Europe Racontée aux Jeunes*. A speeding up in the process is also evident: *Le Moyen-âge et l'Argent* was published in Prague in 2012. There are, on the other hand, very few translations into **Slovak** even of Le Goff's main works although the Slovak National Library and the Bratislava University Library contain all the translations published in Prague.

To return to Klaniczay's words:

I am certain that it is around the problem of the definition of Europe, in particular in its concept whose roots go back to the Middle Ages and which renders history a living force to explain and shape the present, that we can find the clues for Le Goff's attraction to Eastern Europe and the attraction of Eastern Europeans to his personality and works³⁷.

36. An example: Geremek, Bronisław. *Les Marginaux parisiens...*

37. Klaniczay, Gábor. "Le Goff, the *Annales*...": 237.



To complete this brief and incomplete panorama, I should add that a dozen or so translations appeared in **Greece** between the end of the 1980s and 2009 and there are two translations in the **Albania's** National Library: *La Civilisation* in 1998 and *Il Medioevo. Alle Origini dell'Identità Europea* (2002, published in Italian in 1996). Le Goff however was preceded by Braudel with two titles translated and two copies of *La Méditerranée* in Italian. Here, as later on, the presence of Braudel was useful to me as a marker for the presence of the Annales school.

In Asia too, large National or university libraries contain Le Goff's books. These latter usually have works in the original language but mainly in English translations; in some cases there are a few translations into local languages. A thoroughgoing analysis would be fairly complex and is still to be done, but at least it is possible to give a few examples, apart from the truly unusual case of Japan. It should be pointed out that the libraries' online catalogues are not always either accessible or updated.

Works by Le Goff are available in **China**, where translations began in 1988 with *La Naissance du Purgatoire* and continued with *La Bourse et la Vie* (two editions in 1989 and 2007). In 2007 were published the translations of *L'Imaginaire Médiéval*, *La Civilisation de l'Occident Médiéval* and *La Nouvelle Histoire*, while Saint Louis came out in 2002 and Saint François d'Assise in 2010. There are also many books by Le Goff in Peking Chinese National Library, in French, English and —to a much lesser extent— German. Fairly surprisingly, *L'Europe racontée aux jeunes* was translated from Portuguese in **Macau** in 1997 and equally surprisingly a translation of *Le Moyen Âge Expliqué aux Enfants* (2008) is also available there, while the Manila University Library in the **Philippines** only has a few books in English.

Another unusual case is **South Korea**. It is well known that this is an extremely dynamic and competitive country because it has chosen to invest in education in all fields (a phenomenon especially visible in Italy with the presence of young Koreans studying to become singers, musicians, orchestra conductors). As far as our subject is concerned, a glance at the catalogues of the Korean National Library and especially of Seoul University Library shows that of the ten books by Le Goff translated into Korean, some are available in multiple copies, as for instance *La Civilisation* with as many as eleven copies, *La Naissance du Purgatoire* with four copies in two editions (2000, 2010); the updating is evident with a 2011 translation of *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent (original edition 2010)*. As in other countries such a long way from Europe, the existence of *Le Moyen Âge Expliqué aux Enfants*, translated in 2008, is perhaps surprising. There are also many titles in English, French and German. Once again, the Annales school atmosphere is symbolically represented by various books by Braudel (including the three volume *Civilisation Matérielle et Capitalisme*) in both Korean and European languages.

As far as **Japan** is concerned, Shunichi Ikegami kindly assisted me in this research with a concise historiographic paper packed with information I think it is essential to present here³⁸. He stated to me the following thoughts:

38. Shunichi Ikegami, whom I thank here, studied in Paris with Le Goff from 1986 to 1988 and is professor of Medieval History at Tokyo University. He has published many books and articles on mentality, the

Jacques Le Goff came to Japan for the first time in September 1976 when he gave a highly influential lecture at the “Maison Franco-Japonaise” in Tokyo, entitled *Histoire et ethnologie aujourd’hui*. It was a real manifesto of historical anthropology and it had the whole audience spellbound. Gradually the effects filtered through to the Japanese academic world thanks to the insistence of his supporters—especially Professor Hiroyuki Ninomiya—inspiring sympathy in many and antipathy from a few. Some people dubbed this phenomenon as “Le Goff’s shock”. His speech dealt with three issues: 1. Which were the relationships between history, ethnology and anthropology in the past and which are now? 2. Which are the characteristics of the ‘new history’ born within this interdisciplinary debate? (specific issues: history and writing; history and time; history and space: the history of historical consciousness). 3. Which new objects made their appearance in the Middle Ages, if we take up a position from the perspective opened by ethnology and anthropology? (themes dealt with: the body and gestures, the Melusine legends, the birth of the idea of purgatory, the relationships between medieval men and dreams). It was through this lecture that Japanese historians learnt the essence of the *nouvelle histoire* which was then flourishing in France under the guidance of the third generation of historians of the so-called Annales school.

In Japan, however, it was social history and not historical anthropology which came to prominence because, from the middle of the 1970s, or perhaps even a little earlier, the new current of research in Japanese historiography, independently developed, was precisely following social history and was beginning to re-interpret the medieval society’s culture and its transformation through the study of marginalisation, folklore tales, juridical culture and so on (the leading figures here were Yoshihiko Amino for Japanese history and Kinya Abe for German history). This “Japanese style” social history—which certainly found powerful support in Jacques Le Goff’s lecture—developed for about ten years. A special mention should be given to the special issue in September 1979 of the journal *Shiso* (Thought), focusing on social history, as well as to the founding of the journal *Shakaishi-kenkyu* (Research into Social History) in October 1982 (until issue n. 8 of March 1988). The latter was highly significant in that it was jointly published by historians and anthropologists under the marked influence of the Annales school.

On the other hand, Le Goff’s lecture offered to the important anthropologist Masao Yamaguchi the theoretical weapons he needed to launch an attack on conservative Japanese historians. In the name of historical anthropology and “in-depth” history, Yamaguchi, in fact, energetically criticised Japanese historians following a trend of naïve positivism or of the economic history referring to the “Grand Theory”. It was harsh criticism which inspired a great deal of interest in the academic community of the day.

From then onwards, many of the books linked to the Annales school were translated into Japanese one after the other. It is no overstatement to say that Le Goff is the most popular European historian in Japan: in fact almost all his works have been translated into Japanese (books, articles, volumes by other Authors prefaced by him). In particular, *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge* (published in Japanese in 1977 as well as *Pour un autre Moyen Âge*) had a very large readership. This book and *Histoire et Mémoire* were heartily welcomed not only by those interested in European history but also by those who loved literature or philosophy.

I think that one of the most famous books by Le Goff in Japan is *La Naissance du Purgatoire*. However, two of his books are especially relevant in Japanese historical

collective imagination and spirituality in the European Middle Ages including a *Romanesque world idea* written in Japanese.



circles. The first is *Au Moyen Âge: Temps de l'Eglise et Temps du Marchand* : as well as by medievalists it is much discussed also by modern history scholars. The second is *Ordres Mendicants et Urbanisation dans la France Médiévale*. Urban history research is traditionally very well developed in Japan but it has been influenced markedly by German historiography and especially by the studies of H. Planitz and E. Ennen. Le Goff's approach was welcomed as a change to the perspective of Japanese researchers on the origins of the European city.

Recently Le Goff's influence has also been felt in research into the medieval imagination. For instance, there is a collection of publications on medieval sources translated into Japanese and edited by me, *Medieval Wonders*, which Le Goff supported in the advertising leaflet; five volumes have been translated so far: *I Otia imperialia*, *II Le Roman de Mélusine*, *III Topographia Hibernica*, *IV La Lettera di Prete Gianni* and *La Lettera di Alessandro Magno ad Aristotele*, *V Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* and *Visio Tugdali*. This series, which will total ten volumes, introduces Japanese readers to the very varied and fascinating world concealed behind the "feudal Middle Ages" or "Christian Middle Ages" that they learn at school.

Finally, I would like to mention here some of the historians who have been personally guided or strongly influenced by Le Goff, starting with Koichi Kabayama, professor emeritus at Tokyo University who dealt with the issue of Western medieval intellectuals refuting *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge*' thesis. His studies led to the publication of *Ideological Universe of the Gothic Era* (1976) and *Paris and Avignon: Knowledge and Politics in Western Middle-Ages* (1990). Mineo Tanaka studied under Le Goff's guidance in Paris and wrote a doctoral thesis entitled *La Nation Anglo-Allemande de l'Université de Paris à la Fin du Moyen Âge*, published in France in 1991. I myself studied under Le Goff for two years (1986-1988) and since my return to Japan I kept publishing books and articles on mentality, imagination, spirituality in the European Middle Ages (my most important book is *Studies on the Mental World in the Romanesque Era*). The Japan Society for Medieval European Studies was founded in April 2009 and now has several hundred members. The most notable characteristic of this academic society is that its members aspire to interdisciplinary research. Here too the influence of the *Annales* school as well as that of Le Goff is evident.

I also owe to Ikegami the information on the many translations of Le Goff's works from 1976 onwards, when French medieval studies came to Japan together with Le Goff himself. In the three decades that followed the number of publications in Japanese has constantly grown, with books being published almost every year during the last decade. Here too, as surprising as elsewhere, we find *L'Europe racontée aux jeunes* (2009).

I was unable to carry out an in-depth enquiry into the situation in **India** but in order not to neglect such a large emerging country, I note here the presence of seven English titles in the National and Delhi University libraries where there are also various copies of books by Braudel (five of *La Méditerranée* for example) and a few copies of the original French editions.

Impossible as it is to give an account of all Asian countries, just as for other continents, I will leave Asia across the **Turkish** bridge where *La Civilisation* was translated in 1999 unfortunately without the images that were such an integral part of the text, not simply illustrations. The work is also present in French with a



few other books by Le Goff in the National Library of Turkey in Ankara and in the Ankara and Istanbul university libraries. *Essais d'Ego-Histoire* (Le Goff was one of the Authors) was translated in 2005; *Les intellectuels*, translated first in 1994 then in 2006, are to be found in Istanbul together with three copies in French, as well as *Le Moyen Âge expliqué aux Enfants*, translated in 2011 and again in 2012. It should also be remembered that the works of French historiography, and the Annales school in particular, are present there: once more, the example is Braudel with many books both in French and in translation. The choice of translating *L'Europe Racontée aux Jeunes* (1997) and *L'Europe est-elle née au Moyen âge?* (2008) was perhaps not a random one, but a great deal seems to have changed nowadays: that's why it should be emphasised that Le Goff frequently expressed his cultural and historical opposition to Turkey's entry into the European Union.

In an article entitled World tour we cannot ignore an entire continent, although it is clearly difficult to talk about one as variegated and challenging as **Africa**. I can thus only produce a few data which are, moreover, fairly obvious. French culture on various levels is a feature of the countries over which France exerted colonial control: thus, we find some of Le Goff's publications in the original language in Algeria, Tunisia and Senegal (but not in Ivory Coast).

There are a couple of books in Cairo University whose catalogues are, however, mainly in Arab. **South Africa** is a separate case where, since the end of apartheid, university life has enormously grown. In the historic universities (Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Western Cape and Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, etc.) knowledge of the first generation of French Annales school historiography has accompanied the arrival of many of Le Goff's books mainly in English and American translations.

I have left **Italy** to the end because it is a peculiar, perhaps unique case. Le Goff himself spoke of Italy as his second motherland because of the ties he formed here during study visits from the time of his first books onwards, in Padua, Florence, Siena and the École Française de Rome, and also because of his remote Ligurian ancestry evident in his mother's surname (Ansaldi), whose grandfather emigrated to France from his home town of Porto Maurizio long before, in the Fascist era, being attached to Oneglia under the single name of Imperia. On one of his Italian trips (to Genoa, for the Columbus year, 1992) Le Goff asked to visit these places, on a sort of pilgrimage which he particularly enjoyed also because it was at the seaside, on the same Mediterranean where he was born and had spent his early years.

However, the real reasons for this exceptionally strong bond are of an historical and cultural nature, as André Vauchez rightly noted at the Cambridge conference, in an essay I will quote here repeatedly:

he has been especially sensitive, above all, to the importance and continuity of city life in Italy, and in particular to the fundamental role played by Italy as a privileged observatory of the Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world. Impassioned by the contacts between civilizations, by change and exchanges, and an attentive observer of existence in all its guises, Le Goff was, perhaps, more able than others to enthuse about a world where rural life was confined to a subaltern role early



on, and where the feudal lords played a lesser part than merchants and jurists: a dynamic, conquering Middle Ages³⁹.

For these Middle Ages Le Goff, in the Reflections... previous to this article, coined an original but at the same time problematical definition prompting debate and in-depth study: "an era of progress which dares not speak its name".

Le Goff's presence in Italy followed the Italian late discovery of French historiography in the first half of the 20th century, long obstructed by the cultural provincialism of the Fascist era and the weight of the school reforms, introduced by Giovanni Gentile (a figure to whom Le Goff was openly hostile for cultural and political reasons), that associated philosophy and history teaching in secondary education, with generally devastating educational effects, as witnessed by high school graduates of my own generation. In French historiography and education, on the other hand, the coupling was instead history and geography, while in Italy human geography (linked in various ways to the human sciences: history, anthropology, ethnology, etc.) only took off from the 1960s thanks to the research and teaching of Lucio Gambi.

Let's remember, moreover, that Marc Bloch's works were translated in the post-second world war period and, if *La Société Féodale* was translated in 1949, ten years after its publication in France (1939), a book as innovative as *Les rois thaumaturges* had to wait from 1924 to 1977. Le Goff's works, on the contrary, did not suffer delayed translations: there have actually been joint French-Italian editions, works that came out in Italy before than in France and even publications only in Italian. One of these last is *Intervista sulla Storia* (edited by F. Maiello, 1983), a selection of essays entitled *Il Meraviglioso e il Quotidiano nell'Occidente Medievale* (1983), *L'Italia nello Specchio del Medioevo* (2000), a collection of the essays published in *Storia d'Italia Einaudi*, 1974. Also Italian is *Il Medioevo Europeo* di Jacques Le Goff, much more than a mere catalogue for the exhibition of the same name in Parma (28th September 2003-6th January 2004, with eighty thousand visitors); the exhibits had been chosen personally by Le Goff, who also selected the Authors of the book's twenty three essays, still relevant, on the themes dealt with in the exhibition⁴⁰. One must not forget his many contributions to the Enciclopedia Einaudi: "Antico-moderno", "Passato-presente", "Progresso-reazione", "Documento-monumento", then brought together in the five hundred pages of *Storia e Memoria* (1982), which has become a classic example of his school of thought, translated into many languages.

Worthy of a separate mention, however, is the only translation into a regional dialect I knew of: *L'Europe Expliquée aux Jeunes*, published in 1999 in Friuli (a region of northeast Italy) as *L'Europe Contade ai Zovins*.

Le Goff also played an important part in consolidating relationships between French and Italian historians also through friendship and esteem with colleagues

39. Vauchez, André. "Jacques Le Goff and Italy", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 71-77 and 76-77.

40. Romagnoli, Daniela. *Il Medioevo europeo di Jacques Le Goff*. Milan: Silvana Editorial, 2003.



of the same approximate age as well as decidedly younger: Giuseppe Galasso, Girolamo Arnaldi, Ovidio Capitani, Claudio Leonardi, Cesare De Seta, Franco Alessio, Umberto Eco, Chiara Frugoni. I also recall his meeting at the *Settimana di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* in Spoleto in 1970 a group of young and very young people—some of whom were still students—destined to enter the ranks of colleagues and friends such as Massimo Montanari and Chiara Crisciani, soon joined by Giuseppe Gatto, Carla Casagrande, Silvana Vecchio and Giuseppe Sergi. And I apologise for any omission, as certain as involuntarily made. In Vauchez's words:

Maturity, and the publication of now classic works, broadened the fame of Jacques Le Goff in Italy, and it could be said that since the mid-1970s he has evolved from an esteemed foreign author to a public figure in the cultural life of the nation. His growing reputation beyond the restricted circles of historians has to be seen in the more general context of the impact of French historiography, which has become a veritable craze in Italy, to the benefit of authors like Fernand Braudel, Georges Duby and Jean Delumeau. But in Jacques Le Goff's case one can speak without exaggeration of a sort of cultural naturalisation⁴¹.

Seminars and debates have been dedicated to Le Goff, some of which have been highly critical, as for the theme of money and of the role of the mendicant orders in medieval economic innovations, a matter still dividing scholars in Italy⁴². His interventions on school and teaching issues have reverberated widely⁴³ and he continued to grant interviews to the most important dailies both on historical themes and current affairs right up to a few days before his death.

His extraordinary communication skills won him in 2008 the *Portico d'Oro* prize, then named after him (Premio Portico d'oro – Jacques Le Goff) in honour of his popularisation of history beyond academic circles⁴⁴. Those who attended his many Italian lectures and conferences, moreover, were able to witness a public appeal that has been likened to that of a rock star, and demonstrations of genuine affection. One particularly significant episode will suffice. In a solemn ceremony on the 21st of October 2000 at the historic Magnani theatre in *Fidenza*, Le Goff was granted honorary citizenship as a token of gratitude for the attention he had paid to its Romanesque cathedral—an extraordinary book of images as he called it—and to the Via Francigena, one of the routes which brought pilgrims from the north

41. Vauchez, André. "Jacques Le Goff and Italy...": 74.

42. See the works of Renato Bordone and the Centro studi sui Lombardi (Asti), of Giacomo Todeschini on the wealth's circulation between Christians and Jews, of Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli on the *Monti di Pietà* (pawnshops).

43. Le Goff, Jacques. *Ricerca e insegnamento della storia*. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1991; Romagnoli, Daniela. "Intervista a Jacques Le Goff sullo studio e l'insegnamento della storia medievale (ma non solo)". *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 108 (2006), excerpt: 1-8; the educational journal *Parliamo di Medioevo. Riflessioni sui secoli delle cattedrali*. Milan: Silvana, 2007.

44. The *Portico d'Oro - Jacques le Goff* prize is awarded every year in Bologna since 2008 during *La festa internazionale della Storia*, now in its 11th year, a great event whose many initiatives target the public as a whole and the young and very young in particular.



of Europe to Rome⁴⁵. On that occasion, he publicly asked that the town abandon the name imposed during the Fascist period in the wake of the passion for the Roman empire (it had been Roman Fidentia) in order to return to its medieval name Borgo San Donnino. This was not possible, but since then the road sign signalling the town entrance reads: “Fidenza - Borgo San Donnino”. Le Goff always kept a photograph of that road sign in a prominent place in his flat. That occasion, which was the last time he left France before health problems reduced his mobility, was prompted by three honorary degrees awarded him (to complete an already long running list) by the universities of Roma La Sapienza, Parma and Pavia. At the end of the traditional *laudatio* at this latter university, the historian of ancient philosophy Mario Vegetti highlighted the importance of Le Goff's work in extending the thematic and methodological range of the historical debate and in striving to overstep interdisciplinary barriers:

For Le Goff, as for the historians of the Annales school, history means the history of society as a whole, a total history which takes into account all aspects of human life: economics, techniques, feeding, social organisation, mentality, feelings and so on. [Le Goff] insisted on the importance of intermediate levels between theological theories and pastoral practice, between folkloric and learned culture, between research styles and teaching methods; he was careful to identify in every instance the conditions, languages and players making possible the transition from one level to another. Thus Jacques Le Goff has been and is a master for historians of medieval thought. His works have been long since an essential part of the critical heritage for the history of philosophy, theology and science studies, confirming that the interdisciplinary dialogue which he has always hoped for is now an established fact⁴⁶.

Perhaps this is not entirely true, perhaps a great deal still remains to be done, but optimistic Jacques Le Goff would look to the future with trust and hope, just as he always did.

45. Mazziери, Luca; Mazziери, Marco, dirs. *Strade, santi, pellegrini*. Parma: Set22 (video), 2000 (cast: Jacques Le Goff; Daniela Romagnoli).

46. Vegetti, Mario. *Laudatio*. Parma: Università degli studi di Parma, unpublished.



TOWARDS A LINGUISTICS OF HISTORY IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SPAIN: THE IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF HISTORIANS' LINGUISTIC VIEWS AND PRACTICES

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Date of receipt: 5th of June, 2013

Final date of acceptance: 10th of September, 2014

ABSTRACT

This article studies the way in which major Medieval and Early Modern Spanish historiographers' assumptions about language determined their ways of recounting the past. Departing from the idea that chosen principles in the philosophy of language influenced central decisions regarding the philosophy of history since Antiquity, I propose that the adoption of a particular way of understanding meaning (surrogational) was crucial to facilitating and maintaining almost unchallenged for centuries, the convenient possibility of fully and truthfully reporting what "really" happened. Such linguistic assumptions helped Power to determine what History was (or not), who was an historian or who was a "good" one, and to provide moral discourse in History with a sound foundation. These very possibilities articulated historiographical thought and praxis among influential Spanish historians from Lucas de Tuy to Juan de Mariana during the crucial period when Spain evolved from being composed of different kingdoms to a global empire¹.

KEY WORDS

Language, Philosophy of History, Historians, Meaning, Power.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Lingua, Historiae Philosophia, Historici, Significatus, Potestas.

Haec Ysidorus dicit...

Closely related to philosophical convictions about the way meaning is produced, Roy Harris' statement on how insufficiently modern linguistics has been linked to history despite their deep-rooted connections may be applied to the study of Medieval and Early Modern Spanish historiography². From a history of the concepts or Begriffsgeschichte's point of view, Terence Ball reverses the situation but he also emphasises the role of language philosophers and linguists in ignoring or playing down the fact that recorded history is the story of almost continuous linguistic conceptual change: "This neglect seems at first sight surprising, considering that twentieth-century philosophy supposedly took a linguistic turn"³.

In the Spanish context, Emilio Mitre's study of the state of the art in Medieval historiography concentrates on institutional changes, editions, new topics—criminality, everyday life, women, death—, and tendencies—regionalization, and up to date trends, but it does not even mention how the "linguistic turn" has affected the reflection on historical discourse from the mid-sixties⁴. Certainly, George Martin already tried to bring a theoretical semiotic perspective into Medieval historiography aimed at describing historical discourse as a sign⁵. He coined the term "referential hiatus" to refer to the human interval between words and things whereas God arranged things to signify spiritual truth. Based on the semantic model of the Holy Scriptures, which entrusted History with the category of literal, phenomenological and empirical truth, the Medieval historian's task was mainly mimetic:

lograr la máxima transparencia entre el símbolo universal que era su precepto y el signo lingüístico con que estaba condenado a transcribirlo; ser lo menos posible autor, para no competir con el soberano Autor que inscribe su mensaje en las cosas; asegurar, desde su propio lenguaje, el tránsito al orden espiritual⁶.

1. Used abbreviation: BNE, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

2. "It must be admitted at the outset of this inquiry that few historians show any inclination to think that they have anything to learn from linguistics at all" (Harris, Roy. *The Linguistics of History*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004: 9).

3. Ball, Terence. "Conceptual History and the History of Political Thought", *History of Concepts: Comparative Perspectives*, Iain Hampsher-Monk, Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, eds. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998: 76.

4. Mitre, Emilio. "La Historiografía sobre la Edad Media", *Historia de la historiografía española*, Ignacio Gallego, ed. Madrid: Encuentros, 2004: 71-122.

5. Martin, Georges. "El hiato referencial. Una semiótica fundamental de la significación histórica en la Edad Media", *Teoría semiótica. Lenguajes y textos hispánicos (actas del congreso internacional sobre semiótica e hispanismo)*, Miguel A. Garrido, coord. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986: I, 175-185.

6. To get the high transparency between the universal symbol that was his precept and the linguistic sign that he was doomed to transcribe; to be as little as possible author, not to compete with the sovereign Author who posts his message in things; to secure from their own language, the transit to the spiritual order (Martin, Georges. "El hiato referencial. Una semiótica fundamental...": 182).



Nevertheless, it needs to be recognized that most of the major subsequent contributions, such as those of Cruz Montero, Juan Carlos Conde or Corinne Mencé-Caster, which deal with language and history, going beyond positivist and descriptive views, benefit from the textual consequences of the “linguistic turn” but operate exclusively on a discursive or narratological level⁷.

Cruz Montero adopts ideas from twentieth-century post-structuralists and narratologists and traces historically the debate to those authors of the past who treated history according to the principles of rhetoric. However, she only poses the problem in relation to the controversial opposition between literary and historical discourse and even admits that this polemic “is still open at the present”⁸. More relevant to us, for its theoretical insights and the link with ideology, is Juan Carlos Conde’s excellent analysis of universal historiography under narratological views by Barthes, Genette and Ricoeur. The study, nevertheless, limits itself to a narrative dimension by presuming the Barthesian identification between language and discourse⁹. Following closely Genette, Corinne Mencé-Caster also proposes that Alfonsine historical writing and the principles ruling its intellectual organization or *mode de pensée* are essentially *transtextuelle* (linguistic). Still, though she assumes rhetoric to be *moins la dimension ornementale du discours que l’armature scripturale que ces procédés lui offraient pour “construire” son discours et lui conférer son identité stylistique et grammaticale* she considers it (along with the analysis founded on the *elocutio*) an instructive point of departure but not a fundamental anchor¹⁰.

Obviously, I do not challenge the self-evident *existence linguistique* of a historical text as an integral part of the discourse; however, I also believe that Barthes, Foucault, and other narratologists cannot be fully understood without Saussure’s double rejection of meanings coming from an independently aprioristic reality and

7. I understand “linguistic turn” in a post-Saussurean sense. An influential number of subsequent theorists and critics presumed that language is the constitutive agent of human consciousness and the social production of meaning, and that our apprehension of the world, both past and present, arrives only through the lens of linguistic perceptions (See: Spiegel, Gabrielle M. *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2005: 2).

8. Montero, Cruz. *La Historia, creación literaria. El ejemplo del cuatrocientos*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1994: 8. The formal affinities between historical and fictional (literary) narratives had been well explored previously by Paul Ricoeur in *Temps et récit*, vol. II. For his part, Leonardo Funes remarkably points out that even when the present-day approaches of dissolving the limits between historical and literary discourse could seem anachronistic, they are really “a restitution of the historical horizon of the medieval cultural system, given that in that epoch (and until the 18th century) history was still a branch of the arts” (Funes, Leonardo. “Elementos para una poética del relato histórico”, *Poétique de chronique. L’écriture des textes historiographiques au Moyen Âge (Péninsule Ibérique et France)*, Amaia Arizaleta, ed. Toulouse: Framespa-Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2008: 241).

9. Conde, Juan Carlos. “Para una teoría de la historiografía de ámbito universal en la Edad Media: notas sobre su caracterización como relato”, *Teoría y práctica de la historiografía hispánica medieval*, Aengus Ward, ed. Birmingham: Birmingham University Press, 2000: 167-191.

10. Mencé-Caster, Corinne. “Poétique de l’écriture de l’Histoire d’Espagne d’Alphonse X. Dominant rhétorique et écriture hypertextuelle”, *Poétique de la chronique. L’écriture des textes historiographiques...*: 198-200.



of language as a neutral medium of communication¹¹. The same can be said of other anti-essentialist approaches which respond to, question, or go beyond the linguistic turn or the “extremes” to which some post-structuralists had supposedly turned. For instance, conceptual historians such as Reinhart Koselleck, linguistic turn revisionists such as Gabrielle Spiegel, or integrationist linguists such as Roy Harris not only recognise their debt to Saussure but declare the importance of the production of meaning when dealing with the relation between language and history¹². As a result, since different post-linguistic turn approaches to history have revisited the issue of how deeply traditional historical discourse is grounded in a rapport between *res* (things) and *verba* (words), I consider that there is good reason to reexamine, from a modern philosophy of language perspective, the linguistic beliefs on which some primary classic Spanish historians based their discursive accounts of the past as well as some consequences of such views.

Accordingly, this article seeks to highlight how main Medieval and Early modern Spanish historiographers’ assumptions about meaning influenced their thoughts about their task —mainly expressed in prologues, prefaces, dedications—, and their practice of creating signification retrospectively from the *res gestae*. In addition, by reevaluating such texts from the perspective of modern approaches to the philosophy of language, we will better discern their rhetorical nature and many of the ideological implications.

Everything that I state will be observations of general tendencies rather than universal norms, and the epistemological paradigm in which I inscribe this group of historians is not limited to them. My goal is not either to single out historical mistakes by using current knowledge and methodology. For instance, if I call attention to Lucas de Tuy’s statement that Aristotle was born in Spain, it is not to question its veracity or even to exhaust the ideological use of such an account. I do so first in order to emphasise that the decisions leading to consider such an assertion as a truth were eminently linguistic. Additionally, I attempt to initiate a discussion on the reasons why these aprioristic linguistic decisions were never treated as options but as incontestable and taken for granted facts far removed from any philosophical debate. I believe that by pointing out linguistic-based conflicts and ruptures in the discourse of the influential historians, who were essential to build the mainstream Spanish historiographical narrative, it will be easier to outline later the strategies of control behind some of their practices. My remarks are based on several premises. First, I accept as a starting point that basic options in the philosophy of history were grounded on basic options in the philosophy of language before Aristotle’s celebrated definition of history¹³. In other words, mainstream historians in the

11. “In the historical discourse of our civilization, the process of signification is always aimed at “filling out” the meaning of History. The historian is not so much a collector of facts as a collector and relater of signifiers” (Barthes, Roland. “The Discourse of History”, *The Postmodern History Reader*, Keith Jenkins, ed. London: Routledge, 1997: 120-121).

12. Koselleck, Reinhart. “Social History and Begriffsgeschichte”, *History of Concepts...*: 30-31; Spiegel, Gabrielle M. *Practicing History...*: 2-3; Harris, Roy. *The Linguistics...*: 123-133.

13. Harris, Roy. *The Linguistics...*: VII.



Spanish tradition initiated by Isidore (who followed Aristotle) did not embrace—even unconsciously—a philosophy of history and then a philosophy of language to complement it, but rather the other way around¹⁴.

Along with this premise, I claim that these authors adopted or followed a way of understanding the creation of meaning, intertwined with ideology, which best fit their praxis, authority, and purposes. This philosophy of language, traditionally called “realistic” (although I will use Harris’s term “surrogational”), views the meanings of words as standing for things in the external world or ideas in the mind independently from language¹⁵. Surrogational semantics, the hegemonic form *par excellence* since Plato in the West, does not necessarily exclude other views,—for instance, the arbitrary way of relating words and things may also be read in Isidore—but it relegates them to a lower level or deviously neutralises their consequences. Thus, language is seen as a natural category of representing things, which makes it very suited to serve the crucial intention of typical history-writing in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: to present the story of what happened *historia rerum gestarum* as what actually happened *res gestae*; or to put it in philosophical terms, to render constructed meaning as truth¹⁶.

The procedure can be already traced to the *Liber regum* (12th century), considered the first chronicle in a peninsular romance language (Aragonese). As Mencé-Caster argues, the anonymous author put into use syntactic and discursive strategies to create continuity, discontinuity or causality (i.e., between the Visigothic and the Hispanic kingdoms), and eventually to display contemporary events as naturally given. Yet, these writing traits rest on a universe of beliefs that *est lui-même tributaire des univers qui lui préexistent et qu’il prétend supplanter, en donnant au vraisemblable (une version possible de l’histoire) la figure du vrai (la seule version possible)*¹⁷.

Presenting an instrumental and conventional code of communication as entirely referential and realistic became an easy way of talking about absent and past acts without questioning or making them look uncertain or ambiguous. Furthermore,

14. This adds a linguistic implication to statements that, in the past, attempted to offer a philosophical approach to the problem, such as: “The substantive quality of the fact in itself, the adjective qualification that determines its historicity, are themes whose conception falls within the eternal problematicity of the philosophic” (See: Benito, Eloy. “La historiografía en la Alta Edad Media española: ideología y estructura”. *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 17 (1952): 76).

15. Harris, Roy. *The Linguistics...*: 3-4. This linguist uses the more complete denomination “surrogational” because this view of meaning treats words as surrogates for something else: things (reocentric semantics), or ideas (psychocentric semantics), making it possible to talk of things in their absence (Harris, Roy. *The Linguistics...*: 4-5, 69). Surrogationism attributes a primarily referential function to language, in the sense of being based on referential values rather than differential values among signs or contextual circumstances. Language is mainly a mirror, a surrogate of reality; it comes after reality which pictures and stands for, but does not create or constitute.

16. “Whether historians achieved true explanation by such a methodology is a matter of philosophic debate, but normal historians believed that they established a pattern that is more than mere contiguity or contingency” (Berkhofer, Robert. “The Challenge of Poetics to (Normal) Historical Practice”, *The Postmodern History Reader*, Keith Jenkins, ed. London: Routledge, 1997: 143).

17. Mencé-Caster, Corinne. “Rhétorique et idéologie dans le *Liber regum*”. *e-Spania*. 9 June 2010. Université Paris-Sorbonne. 17 May 2013 < <http://e-spania.revues.org/19472>>.



this view of meaning led to the ultimate ideological sophistication of justifying the actual existence of metaphysical realities such as God, Virtue, Good, and Evil as historical agents. As a result, I maintain that the surrogational conception of language, along with the world-views encapsulated in it, constitutes one of the key devices enabling much of the ideological support that historical discourse performed for entities related to Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain¹⁸. Leaving aside the most concrete services such as the legitimization of dynasties (e.g., the Trastamaras) kingdoms (e.g., Castille versus Leon or other European kingdoms), political systems (e.g., the modern state), or expansionism (e.g., the *reintegratio Hispaniae, Tingitania*), Surrogationism is also fundamental in two primary ideological operations that require substantializing language to stand for abstractions¹⁹. First, this view of meaning helped maintain social and political stability by preserving (e.g., through providentialism) the “metaphysical optimism” which allowed individuals to feel transcendently safe within the Creator’s design²⁰. Second, by means of what David Quint has defined as “narratives of power”, rulers were able to defend themselves from their critics, to enhance their image and to implement their will²¹.

In Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Aristotle’s *De interpretatione* provided the most influential theory on how language works and how meaning is produced. This treatise adopted a more refined surrogational pattern than Plato’s. According to Aristotle’s theory, Forms do not exist separately in “another place”, but the human mind stores the impressions of things, and these are identical for everyone. Words stand for ideas in the mind instead of representing things in the external World, and although the relation between sounds and impressions is arbitrary (*ad placitum*), it is natural (*naturaliter*) between impressions and things²². This is the semantic view behind the celebrated and overtly linguistic distinction between poetic and historical statements in the *Poetics*: the historian’s words mirror particular past events as they actually were, while the poet’s words reflect universal events as they could be or should have been²³.

A similar connection between language and history can be found in writings of the patriarch of Spanish historiography, Isidore of Seville. For Isidore, a Christian, language was a divine creation. His authoritative and renowned *Etymologies*

18. The ideological purposes behind essentialising language are better understood when discourse deals with “the conditions under which the world presents itself as real, about the way institutions and historical practices become regimes of truth and of possibility itself” (Spiegel, Gabrielle M. *Practicing History...*: 11).

19. The *Begriffsgeschichte* also relates ideological control to linguistic abstraction through the concept of “Ideologiesierbarkeit”, explained by “the increasing susceptibility of concepts to abstraction from their concrete social and historical referent” (See: Hampsher-Monk, Iain. “A Comparative Perspective on Conceptual History. An Introduction”, *History of Concepts...*: 2).

20. See: Benito, Eloy. “La historiografía en la Alta Edad Media...”: 61.

21. See: Kagan, Richard L. *Clio and the Crown*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009: 6.

22. Aristóteles. *Tratados de lógica (Órganon)*, ed. Miguel Candel. Madrid: Gredos, 1988: II, 35-36.

23. Aristóteles. *Poética*, ed. Valentín García. Madrid: Gredos, 1974: 1451a, 21-38. As Roy Harris points out: “It is not that one of them pays attention to the truth while the other ignores it, but that the poet is concerned with a different level of truth from the historian” (Harris, Roy. *The Linguistics...*: 49).



assumes that words have a “force” (*vis*) which can be grasped through etymological interpretation, so “for when you have seen whence a word has originated you understand the thing more quickly”²⁴.

Such was the main purpose of his encyclopedic work, namely, to show where words come from in order to understand their “force”, and eventually to attain knowledge of the things themselves and of God: “Etymology may power Isidore the search engine, but his motivation is to (know and show how to) implant and harvest Truth from Words”²⁵. In line with the views of our article, John Henderson also points out the ideological goals of Isidore’s “powerbook”: “Isidore’s lexicographical, indexical, sign-fixated world nevertheless serves a specific Iberian catholicizing politics within a durable Mediterranean cultural habitus”²⁶. In any case, in exchange for a linguistic universalism in which encyclopedic definitions remained valid and comprehensive for all of Christendom, he needed to consider words as cosmetic containers of timeless meanings and Surrogationism allowed him to do just that.

As for History, Isidore endorsed the Christian, temporal, and *auctoritas*-based historiographical model articulated by Eusebius in which History becomes the expression of God’s will²⁷. Nevertheless, he makes the distinction among *historia*, *argumentum* and *fabula* under the above linguistic suppositions so that, when he writes history, he conceives his duty as truthfully connecting words and things by basing his conclusions on authoritative primary sources of information: “A history (*historia*) is a narration of deeds accomplished; through which what occurred in the past is sorted out [...] And in history, “plausible narration” (*argumentum*) and fable differ from each other. Histories are true deeds that have happened”²⁸. In fact, Isidore opens his *History of the Goths* by relating “with truth” the word “Goths” to “protected” (*tecti*) based on the fact that “any nation that has harassed Roman power so much [...] whose times we must briefly set forth in succession, and, drawing our information from the chronicles, ‘we must relate their names and deeds’”²⁹. Finally, following Aristotle, Isidore also binds History to the natural order (*ordo naturalis*). In

24. Isidorus Hispalensis. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, eds. Stephen A. Barney, William Lewis, Jennifer Beach, Olivier Berghoff. Cambridge (UK)-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006: I, 29. In his study, Martin also resorts to the Isidorian (and Ciceronian) traditions, whose terms (*historia* and *fabula*) were glossed during the Middle Ages by emphasising truth in the former: “The firmness and convergence of the definitions, the categorical nature of the distinctions, could well hide from us the complex imaginary construction they are based on, and that, under the term of history, organises the relation of three notions: language, things and truth” (Martin, Georges. “El hiato referencial. Una semiótica fundamental...”: 176).

25. Henderson, John. *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville. Truth from Words*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2007: 210.

26. This scholar is referring specifically to the construction of the Visigothic era as the continuation of the late Roman imperial rule with a political purpose (Henderson, John. *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*...: 7).

27. See: Conde, Juan Carlos. “Para una teoría de la historiografía de ámbito universal en la Edad Media...”: 180-181.

28. Isidorus Hispalensis. *The Etymologies*...: I, 41, 44.

29. Isidorus Hispalensis. *History of the Kings of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi*, eds. Guido Donini, Gordon B. Ford. Leiden: Evert Jan Brill, 1966: 3.



both cases, the *ordo* is not something imposed *a posteriori* by language but rather the sequential reflection of the natural/divine order of things³⁰.

The model of Historiography's dependency on surrogational semantics described above is more Western than specifically Spanish; it may be seen, for instance, in Thucydides, and sometimes has continued to be replicated until today. Its endurance and influence has caused tensions even among current theorists such as Koselleck, well-known for conducting a rather extensive critique of historico-philological criticism because, according to him, it disregards that historical reality only exists in shapes of language³¹. Nevertheless, the surrogational pattern enjoyed a remarkably well-defined progression among the major historians who created the mainstream Spanish historiographical discourse during the long time that elapsed between Isidore and Juan de Mariana's work at the end of the sixteenth century, despite the "tensions" caused by the repressed challenge from humanist historiography resulting from the influence of rhetoric and historical philology in the sphere of history-writing.

The basic assumptions behind this package can be tracked from Isidore to Lucas de Tuy, Jiménez de Rada, Alfonso X, López de Ayala and others, with Pablo de Santa María bridging the gap to the fifteenth century: *Y estos nombres fueron puestos a cada una destas tierras por ciertas causas e razones, según San Isidro en las Etimologías las pone [...]*³². His son, Alfonso de Cartagena, exploited internationally its possibilities and was the decisive transitional figure between the abovementioned authors and the historians under the Catholic Monarchs and the Habsburgs. Into this latter category we can include the *letrados* Sánchez de Arévalo, Alfonso de Palencia, Diego Rodríguez de Almela and Hernando del Pulgar, aristocrats such as Diego de Valera, humanists such as Nebrija or Lucio Marineo, or the later historians Florián Ocampo, Ambrosio de Morales and Juan de Mariana. To this extent, the texts of these authors

30. "And for that reason, histories are called "monuments" (*monumenta*), because they grant a remembrance (*memoria*) of deeds that have been done. And series (*series*) is so called by an analogy with a garland (*serta*) of flowers tied together one after the other" (Isidorus Hispalensis. *The Etymologies...*: I, 41).

31. Koselleck, Reinhart. "Linguistic Change and the History of Events". *Journal of Modern History*, 61/4 (1989): 661-666. Remarkably, in his insightful linguistic reconsideration of *Begriffsgeschichte*, Hans Bödeker echoes claims that the theory of the concept is inaccessible because it remains properly unexplained in terms of linguistic philosophy. The main problem is the distinction between concept and word, since for Koselleck concepts are nothing more than words with a special historical meaning, thus making the distinction a matter of degree of incorporation of the context (qualitative). Sometimes concepts are used as units of the expressive side of language, very much a special class of words. On the other hand, concept is also defined as a unit of the content side of language. As a result, Bödeker concludes "some of Koselleck's expositions on the concept of *Begriffsgeschichte* give the impression that a concept has referential qualities only [...]. More clearly among others than Koselleck, the danger of a problematic realistic ontology appears which fixes objects as entities [...]. To be more precise, there is a risk of *Begriffsgeschichte* losing its cognitive function of recognizing historical reality as a structure of consciousness —tied to language, which affords accessibility— and thus of object-construction as well" (Bödeker, Hans E. "Concept-Meaning-Discourse. Begriffsgeschichte reconsidered", *History of Concepts...*: 60-62).

32. And these names were put to each of these lands by certain causes and reasons, according to Saint Isidro, who puts it in the Etymologies [...] (de Santa María, Pablo. *Suma de las crónicas*. BNE. Ms. 1279, f. 121b).



that I will employ to exemplify the surrogational model do not necessarily explain it more accurately than other texts of the time. Nonetheless, while still recognizing the differences among these historians, we can see a clear textual continuity in their use of sources, ideological and narrative patterns (e.g., *laus Hispaniae*, *Neo-Gothicism*) and intertextuality as well as an almost unanimously admitted debt to and admiration for Isidore.³³ But the more compelling reason for my choices is the relevant role that, in my opinion, these historians played in the hegemonic discourses of legitimization for kingdoms, modern state and empire building, political propaganda, moral instruction, and even the representation of America's "reality" for Europe.

A useful way to illustrate this model and to outline some of its ideological implications within the aforementioned group of historians is to articulate their linguistic assumptions in relation to the major possibility facilitated by surrogational semantics, namely, the operational. Next, I will deal with the other two resulting possibilities: the discriminatory and the applicational. This primary possibility, which I call "operational", rests on the undisputed supposition that it is possible to grasp and narrate what really happened, that is, the total truth of the events from the past³⁴.

According to this view, there are stories waiting to be reported and, though it is a difficult and arduous mission to uncover them, they can be told undistorted by an honest historian working diligently with God's sponsorship: "And therefore, I, Pero López de Ayala, with God's help, I understand it as continuing so the most truly I could from what I saw"³⁵. Difficulties usually turn into excuses, thereby enlarging the *captationes benevolentiae*. For instance, Diego Enríquez del Castillo blames the problems on the "disloyal knights" who stole his original papers in Segovia, so that

33. For example, Juan de Mariana (like Isidore) not only accepts that Tubal, the grandson of Noah, was a primeval inhabitant of Spain (Mariana, Juan de. *Historia general de España*, Joaquín Ibarra, ed. Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra. 1780: I, 13), but he edited some works of Isidore himself in 1599, and the *Chronicon Mundi* of Lucas de Tuy in 1608. For the medieval assimilation and ongoing productivity (Tuy, el Toledano, Alfonso X...) of the Isidorian model, see: Funes, Leonardo. "Elementos para una poética del relato histórico", *Poétique de la chronique. L'écriture des textes historiographiques...*: 244-250.

34. See: Harris, Roy. *The Linguistics...*: 77. Along these same lines, I agree with Funes on "that the procedure for expanding the functionality of the historical texts —of the didactics in the broad sense to the legitimation of a power and the consolidation of a vision of the past— is paradoxically related to the fictionality and that the construction of this truth is the closest to misrepresentation and falsehood, does not diminish the primacy of the requirement for veracity that sustains them, only complicates and enriches it" (Funes, Leonardo. "Elementos para una poética...": 272).

35. López de Ayala, Pedro. *Crónica del Rey don Pedro y del Rey don Enrique, su hermano, hijos del rey don Alfonso Onceno*, ed. Germán Orduna. Buenos Aires: Seminario de Edición Crítica y Textual "Germán Orduna", 1994-1997: I, 97. "And from other writings that, read with effort on parchments and skins, with more work I collected, I have endeavoured honestly, to the best of my ability, to build the history of Spain" (Ximenii de Rada, Roderici. *Historia de rebus Hispanie sive historia gotica*, ed. Juan Fernández. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987: 7). Martínez de Toledo, author of a biography of Isidore, also invokes the Virgin Mary's intervention when writing the *Atalaya de las Crónicas*, a compilation that he expects to finish truthfully: "With the help of our Lord God, without which nothing can be begun, arranged or finished" (Alfonso Martínez de Toledo. *Atalaya de las crónicas*, ed. James B. Larkin. Madison: The Hispanic Seminar of Medieval Studies, 1983: 2b).



now he has to rely on memory; and Martínez de Toledo explains his limitations with the theory of the four humors: *emendando e corrigendo según mejor se les entendiere e vieren, que non pudo de mi salir más sangre que la exigencia de la conplisión demandó*³⁶. However, the basic premise, founded on an explanation of meaning in terms of reference to events and objects from the non-linguistic world, is never questioned³⁷.

The unproblematic possibility of reporting the truthful events derives really from an epistemology—allowed by surrogationism—that sanctions objective knowledge, and makes the historian's task just an extension of the general knowledge of things³⁸. Frequently, factual knowledge even incorporates God's plans or the accurate intentions of ancestors. For example, López de Ayala's self-attributed reputation of being able to correctly interpret the motivations of historical personalities is well-known. On the other hand, Alfonso de Cartagena in the *Anacephaleosis* knows for a fact that both Castile's independence from Leon and the later union to the same kingdom are the result of divine design, thus the *reintegratio monarchiae Hispaniae* (later used for Castille and Aragon) obtains the most reputable sponsor possible³⁹. The Divinity, then, ends up acquiring a double function: extradiegetic—that is, the historian's sponsor—and diegetic—an historical actor: "See as the powerful who after they will see in the reading of this Chronicle, wherever they look upon, they will see the works of God and his power"⁴⁰.

It is no wonder that, in this context, the problem of sources is normally avoided in the reception of oral and written texts as documentary representations of reality⁴¹. Our authors widely overlook the fact "that no history ever agrees entirely with what is said prior to or during the events", as well as the contradictions and distortions derived from writing down, copying and revising oral tradition⁴². Here, in order to guarantee their reliability, they commonly borrow the old Herodotean hierarchy grounded on the direct correspondence between facts and words. This hierarchy works under the surrogational presumption that both the *de visu* testimonies of authors and witnesses, as well as first hand oral reports close to the events (*ex auditu*),

36. Enríquez, Diego. *Crónica del Rey don Enrique el cuarto*, ed. Aureliano Sánchez. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994: 132; Martínez de Toledo, Alfonso, *Atalaya...*: 1983: 3a.

37. Even though Alfonso de Cartagena admits that historical truths always have "a mixture of falsehood and scum", he implies that by "purifying and filtering" (*acrisolar*) it would be possible to come up with the truth (Cartagena, Alfonso de. *La anacephaleosis de Alonso de Cartagena*, ed. Yolanda Espinosa. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1989: 1098).

38. See: Alfonso X. *Primera crónica general de España (Estoria de España)*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Gredos, 1977: 3.

39. Cartagena, Alfonso de. *La anacephaleosis de Alonso...*: 1124.

40. Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica del Rey don Juan el segundo*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: 274.

41. As Benito Ruano points out with regard to the sources in Medieval history, although the origin of knowledge, the precondition of credibility, and the reason to suffice authenticity are multiple and uneven, most of the time the collectors do not worry about it methodologically (Benito, Eloy. "La historiografía en la Alta Edad Media...": 85).

42. Koselleck, Reinhart. "Linguistic Change and the History...": 662-665.



are linguistically unprocessed historical matter⁴³. This is the case, for example, of the anonymous author of the *Crónica del emperador Alfonso VII* (*Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*), who justifies the use of “actual facts as I learned them and heard from those who saw them” versus the typical written sources⁴⁴.

Faith and *auctoritas*, in different ways, sustain what is in fact more a linguistic than historical way of dealing with the topic: “And I beg that those who read this Chronicle, that they testify to what is written herein, because I saw with my eyes the majority, and for the rest, there was very true and full information of prudent men very worthy of faith”⁴⁵. In line with his aristocratic agenda, López de Ayala relates *de visu* and close oral testimonies, faith, and *auctoritas* as having a high social origin. Nevertheless, he never explains why lords and knights and even those “others”, allegedly non-noble, deserve his trust:

*Lo entiendo continuar así lo más verdaderamente que pudiere de lo que ví, en lo qual non entiendo decir sinon verdad: otrosí de lo que acasesce en mi edad é en mi tiempo en algunas partidas donde yo non he estado, é lo supiere por verdadera relación de Señores é Caballeros, é otros dignos de fé é de creer, de quienes lo oí, é me dieron dende testimonio [...]*⁴⁶.

Ultimately, “the truth” (Ayala’s version of it) is a matter of what a “select majority” believe, as we observe in the case of the killing of Gutier Ferrandez by King Pedro I. Contrary to the opinion that the King ordered Ferrandez’s death for meeting don Enrique’s supporters in Tudela, *empero la verdad es este segund que todos lo sabían, que Gutier Ferrandez fue muerto por seer atrevido en dezir al rrey algunas cosas, ca como quier que las dixiese a buena entencion, pero el rrey auia enojo del por ende*⁴⁷.

This whole procedure continued the link to written sources that already existed in Antiquity but was reinforced when Christianity included God’s word as history, and as such “the standards of writing were set in a way that could not be approached

43. John Toews considers one of the premises related to the linguistic turn the belief that “the experience that generates the revising and transforming procedures of creative consumption is never “raw” but always already constituted in meaning (Toews, John. “Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn. The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience”. *American Historical Review*, 92 (1987): 885). On the other hand, a solid defense of language as the site of history’s enactment can be found in Joan Scott. According to this historian, historical experience cannot be separated from discursive formations, since in effect historical experience is a linguistic event itself (Scott, Joan. “The Evidence of Experience”. *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (1991): 792-795).

44. Pérez, Maurilio. *Crónica del emperador Alfonso VII: Introducción, traducción, notas e índices*. Leon: Universidad de León, 1997: 61.

45. Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica del Rey don Juan el segundo...*: 278.

46. López de Ayala, Pedro. *Crónica del Rey don Pedro...*: I, 88 (I try to explain it such as most truly I can, according what I saw, and I just want to say truth; at the same time, I wish to explain events from my time that I cannot see, but that I know by real explanation from Lords and knights and another ones that merited confidence, whom I heard and gave testimony [...]).

47. López de Ayala, Pedro. *Crónica del Rey don Pedro...*: II, 28 (However the truth is this second that everyone knew it, that Gutier Ferrandez was killed for being bold in saying some things to the king, because although he told it from a good willing, the king’s would have become angry for this).



in any other domain of representation"⁴⁸. Who, for example, could question the fact that the words of *Genesis* corresponded to actual and independent historical events? In fact, if the historian's very account aspired to be a post-dated surrogate for an eye-witness or *ex auditu* testimony, the written sources had to be capable of containing truth. That was absolutely necessary with the *res gestae* that were not contemporary with the author. Consequently, when Isidore reminds us that "[a]mong the ancients no one would write a history unless he had been present and had seen what was to be written down since what is seen is revealed without falsehood", he is taking for granted that what is written down can accurately and fully record what was seen and heard⁴⁹.

History became a part of *grammatica*, Clio with her scroll its muse, but in the same way as *de visu* and close oral sources, faith and *auctoritas* (also labeled as tradition) were there, as López de Ayala acknowledges, to underpin the written testimonies within the surrogational construct:

*Diremos dende algunas cosas, especialmente lo que dice la Crónica antiga, é segund que se falla en otros libros antigos que fablan dello, e son auténticos, é aún segund que fincó por remembranza de generación en generación fasta hoy*⁵⁰.

Alternatively, Galíndez mixes faith, authority, social class, as well as oral and written sources in a curious fashion. He accepts as truth the written testimony from Fernán Pérez de Guzmán because *es de creer vió todos los auctores desta Crónica and fue varón noble, prudente y verdadero*⁵¹. Guzmán's source is also *más auténtica* because Queen Isabella, who was chosen by God, thought so⁵².

Only with the issue of intertextuality "resolved" in terms of truth, could Jiménez de Rada in his prologue praise writing as the foundation of History, and regard the research from his writings along with what came to his memory, as a "faithful narration"⁵³. Written sources may be more or less reliable but, thanks to surrogational semantics, their rhetorical or narrative nature is rarely problematic. Even when humanist historians chose the authorities closest in time to the events, selected texts in the original language, and used more reliable textual methods (which sometimes created discontinuities in the surrogational model), most of them

48. Harris, Roy. *The Linguistics...*: 66.

49. Isidorus Hispalensis. *The Etymologies...*: I, 41.

50. "We will say some things, especially what the old Chronicle confirm and according what is stated by other old books devoted to this and that have credibility, and, also, according what was remembered generation by generation until current days" (López de Ayala, Pedro. *Crónica del Rey don Pedro...*: I, 57). Furthermore, Michel García has shown how the priority that Ayala grants to written sources is not unproblematic since he closely controls both the selection of the existing documents and their presentation, using for instance the rhetorical devise of the paraphrase to express how they should be interpreted (García, Michel. "La poétique de la chronique castillane au XIVe siècle", *Poétique de la chronique. L'écriture des textes historiographiques...*: 293-295).

51. "it is to believe that he saw the authors of this Chronicle and he was a noble, wise and true man".

52. Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica del Rey don Juan el segundo...*: 274.

53. Ximenii de Rada, Roderici. *Historia de rebus Hispanie...*: 5.



accepted surrogationism in essence, including Euhemerism⁵⁴. Actually, truth often came to be a matter of scholarly accumulation, as in the case of Florián de Ocampo, for whom the problem disappears simply by the addition of Arabic sources:

*que tornadas otra vez a cotejar estas Corónicas con las Historias de las otras gentes, nadie de las naciones muy diligentes tengan su relación más entera ni verdadera que la tendrán de sí los Españoles en este libro de V.M.*⁵⁵.

When dealing with different versions of the same facts, something common in the *Compendios*, historians such as Diego Rodríguez de Almela or Diego de Valera try to reconcile alternative interpretations. In order to achieve this, they refer to existing facts perceived as historical truths rather than by arguments over the nature of narratives as such, even when their choices are clearly subordinated to royal and/or moral agendas⁵⁶. This includes establishing the most realistic version (verisimilitude) based on different and “decisive” factors. Those involve invoking God’s approval⁵⁷; the use of the Aristotelian happy medium in controversial issues —e.g., Ocampo uses both names, Eusebio Cesariense and San Eusebio, to avoid taking a position in the polemic about Eusebio’s arianist past⁵⁸; or the saddest option, in line with the Orosian *moesta mundi* tradition, to invoke the moral argument. Circumventing the issue by enclosing it in a more essential and undeniable truth is frequent too:

*[...] e ell estando alla en el mandado, tomol el rey Rodrigo ala fija por fuerça, et yogol con ella; e ante desto fuera ya fablado que avie el de casar con ella, mas non casara aun. Algunos dizen que fue la muger et que ye la forçó; mas pero destas dos cualquier que fuesse, desto se levanto destroymiento de Espanna et de la Gallia Gothica*⁵⁹.

Ultimately, according to Alfonso de Cartagena, to historicise consists of matching forgotten or discordant discourses (*verba*) with the truth (*res*) “to reach the truths of our history, some buried under oblivion, others surrounded by a covering of

54. See: Tate, Robert B. *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV*. Madrid: Gredos, 1970: 146.

55. “That, when someone could compare another time these Chronicles with the Histories written by other people, nobody from the very diligent nations have explanations more complete or more truly than the Spaniards could have from this book belonging to His Majesty” (Ocampo, Florián de. *Crónica de España*, ed. Benito Cano. Madrid: Benito Cano, 1791: X).

56. Rodríguez de Almela, for example, campaigning to reinforce the Catholic Monarchs’ power over that of the nobility, follows a shorter version of the rebellion of a group of noblemen against Alfonso X instead of the thirty eight long chapters provided by the *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla* (Rodríguez de Almela, Diego. *Compendio historial*, ed. Concepción Armentero. Murcia: Asamblea Regional de Murcia, 2000: 85).

57. Tuy, Lucas de. *Lucas de Tuy, Chronicon Mundi*, ed. Emma Falque. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003: 85.

58. Ocampo, Florián de. *Crónica de España...*: XV.

59. Alfonso X. *Primera crónica...*: 307-308 (And being in place, the king Rodrigo took the daughter by force, and he lay with her. For this reason, according it is just explained, he should married to her, but it was not done yet. Someone tell that it was the women who forced him, but whatever it was, the consequence was the destruction of Spain and the Gothic Gallia).



discordant writings"⁶⁰, normally under the auspices of political power and more efficiently as the latter gained strength and authority⁶¹. If, from the Derridean perspective, historical texts are conceived as scenes of struggle between opposing tendencies resolved artificially and politically through an act of linguistic domination⁶², in our authors the unquestioned correspondence to extralinguistic reality is the ultimate source of unity and order that makes it possible.

The meaning missed, added, or changed in translation was also considered by our authors an unimportant detail for conveying the complete *res gestae*. This *modus operandi* was facilitated by overlooking the fact that different languages shape different worlds:

Languages do not simply store experiences that outlast the specific situation; we realise that particular languages delimit these very experiences. As a consequence of their own concreteness, these languages allow experiences to be formulated only in certain ways and not otherwise⁶³.

For example, the word "Hispania" is repeatedly used as a synonym of "Spain" in these Medieval and Early Modern historical texts without any second thought, but with the linguistic and ideological implication of the existence of an entity (thing) that continues fulfilling a providential destiny through the ages⁶⁴. This caused "tensions" for some humanists such as Peter Martyr d'Anghiera or Antonio de Nebrija:

*Esto no es verdad en modo alguno, comenta Nebrija, ni son lo mismo Baetica y Andalucía, Tarraconensis y Aragón. Lo cual, sin embargo, no le impide referirse a continuación al rey de Portugal como Rex Lusitanorum, a los navarros como Vascones y a los castellanos como Hispani*⁶⁵.

60. Cartagena, Alfonso de. *La anacephaleosis de Alonso...*: 1100.

61. "Despite this, one's attention is drawn to the way that the multiple judgement of the events, that is reflected in the writings from the first three quarters of the 15th century, merge into one almost uniform one as the power of the monarchy is asserted, the historian transforming its political ends into new visions of the past and the present" (Tate, Robert B. *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular...*: 281-82).

62. Toews, John E. "Intellectual History...": 896.

63. Koselleck, Reinhart. "Linguistic Change and the History...": 657.

64. In the Spanish context, Martin exemplifies and takes these practices back to the *Historia legionensis*, written between 1109 and 1118 to historically support Leon's imperial aspirations. Concretely, this critic sees the use of the double toponyms (old Roman names and the contemporary ones) by the anonymous historian as one discursive device that hides political antagonisms, the different kings' will to power as well as the objective of presenting "Hispania" as a territory or kingdom whose unity must be restored (Martin, Georges. "'Toponimia' y 'avidez de los reyes': doble lexicalización de los territorios hispanos en *La Historia legionensis* (llamada *silensis*)". *e-Spania*, 13. June 2010. Université Paris-Sorbonne. May 2013 < <http://e-spania.revues.org/21740>>).

65. Tate, Robert B. *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular...*: 189. Maurilio Pérez González, the modern editor of the *Crónica del Emperador Alfonso VII*, provides a useful glossary with terms such as *plebs*, *parentes*, *patres*, *principes* whose meanings changed over time without further consideration by many authors.



In spite of that, Juan de Molina, translator of Marineo Siculo's *Crónica de Aragón*, still understands his commission —after showing a long-established surrogational fear of rhetoric— as the truth-based and unproblematic continuation in Spanish of Siculo's archival task: *Sacolo [su trabajo] con toda verdad y fieldad de los muy auténticos originales questan en el archivo de Zaragoza, Barcelona y otras partes*⁶⁶. Finally, in his Spanish translation from Latin, Mariana almost has to apologise for using old-fashioned Castilian terms from his sources that better suit his account: *Algunos vocablos antiguos se pegaron de las cronicas de España de que usamos, por ser más significativos y propios, por variar el lenguaje, y por lo que en razón de estilo escriben Cicerón y Quintiliano. Esto por los Romancistas*⁶⁷.

The dilemma of memory also seems *imperceptible* to our authors. Jiménez de Rada, Alfonso X or López de Ayala reiterate in their Prefaces the consecrated formulae about needing to preserve the memory of the past⁶⁸. But they all avoid the delicate question of the difference between historians' accounts and memories, even when they implicitly invoke it, like the anonymous author of the *Crónica del emperador Alfonso VII*:

*Puesto que la historia del pasado, escrita por los historiógrafos y transmitida por medio de la escritura para recuerdo de la posteridad, renueva los antiguos hechos memorables de los reyes y emperadores [...]*⁶⁹.

Other crucial aspects, such as the social status and political bent of the historian, are not taken into consideration with regard to the purported truth⁷⁰. Finally, supervised history-writing from an official chronicler is not incompatible either with the vision of history as a lamp of truth (*lux veritatis*). As Kagan has shown in the case of official historians, the trust coming from the prince and the title that went with it, "subsequently metamorphosed into authorial authority and ultimately into truthfulness"⁷¹.

The constructed possibility of fully and truly reporting what happened in the past (operational possibility) enables and works together with "the discriminatory possibility", also linguistically rooted, which allows someone to decide what is

66. Marineo, Lucio. *Crónica de Aragón*, ed. Juan de Molina. Barcelona: Ediciones El Albir, 1974: f. III.

67. "Some old words stuck in the chronicles of Spain that we use, being more significant and accurate, by changing the language, and according the style in which Cicero and Quintilian wrote. This by the romancists" (de Mariana, Juan. *Historia general de España...*: I, a1).

68. Ximenes de Rada, Roderici. *Historia de rebus Hispanie...*: 6; Alfonso X. *Primera crónica...*: 3; López de Ayala, Pedro. *Crónica del Rey don Pedro...*: I, 97.

69. "Because the history of the past, written by historians and transmitted through writing to memory of posterity, renews the old milestones of kings and emperors" (Pérez, Maurilio. *Crónica del emperador...*: 61).

70. "It is decisive for the historian's selection whether he belongs to the political, religious, social, or economic entity whose history he portrays, identifying himself more or less critically with it, or whether he is looking on from outside, writing, as it were, *apolis*, as Lucian demanded" (Koselleck, Reinhart. "Linguistic Change and the History...": 662).

71. Kagan, Richard L. *Clio...*: IV, 294.



history and what is not (in a disciplinary and discursive sense), who can be considered historians, and more commonly, how to discriminate among them.

As an extension of the general knowledge of things, definitions of history that underscore truth are the most noticeable. Again, events themselves are repeatedly privileged over their narration, and the discussion about the writing of history shifts almost invisibly from historical verification to the undisputed linguistic possibility of relating events truthfully:

*E porque la Historia es luz de la verdad, testigo del tiempo, maestra y ejemplo de la vida, mostradora de la antigüedad, recontaremos, mediante la voluntad de Dios, la verdad de las cosas [...]*⁷².

The semantic criteria of truth are reinforced by the presumed fact that historical events are somewhat similar to the process of the self-objectification of God's thought, in the same way as the Spirit in Hegelian philosophy⁷³, and in this way a particular historian may assume a prophetic and omniscient viewpoint. Indeed, behind Sánchez de Arévalo's statement that other historians lack sufficient intelligence to envisage the divine plan rests the assumption that he is able to do so⁷⁴.

Discursively, the surrogational view of meaning endorses the exclusion of certain texts from the realm of history because they do not portray things as they actually happened. In other words, when Isidore named Dares Phrygius instead of Homer as the true recorder of Troy's *res gestae*⁷⁵, he is not only giving priority to written records (he thought that Dares was the real author of the *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Trojae historia*) but implying—consistent with the tenets of Aristotle—that historical discourse had a semantics of its own, which allowed a hard-and-fast and universal distinction between historical and non-historical accounts.

Similar reasoning leads to discrimination between good and bad historians, or even between historians and other authors, on the grounds that *verba* do not relate truthfully to *res*. Alfonso de Palencia calls himself a cultivator of truth (*cultor veritatis*) and declares his intention to “destroy with truth itself” the writings of others, whom he considers only “adulators”⁷⁶. Even so, despite his constant use of irony and other rhetorical devices—Palencia was in fact a disciple of the famous rhetorician Jorge de Trebisonda—the semantic assumptions behind his remarks are exactly the same as those of his rival Enriquez del Castillo: *Diré sin dubda ninguna lo que vieron mis ojos, las cosas que sucedieron, la causa de donde emanaron, e también del fin que ovieron*

72. “It is true that the post of chronicler like that of the witness and scribe, is not to judge or explain the events, more singly to recount how they came about” (del Pulgar, Hernando. *Crónica de los señores Reyes Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragón*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Madrid: Atlas, 1959: 229).

73. See: Benito, Eloy. “La historiografía en la Alta Edad Media...”: 55.

74. See: Tate, Robert B. *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular...*: 92-93.

75. Isidorus Hispalensis. *The Etymologies...*: I, 42.

76. Palencia, Alonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. Antonio Paz. Madrid: Atlas, 1973. 3-5.



[...]77. In this respect, Ocampo comments on ancient Greek historians, preferring Thucydides over Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus “for his much truth, good style and diligence”78 are, also, the principle behind blacklisting traditional Spanish “bad historians” such as Bishop Don Pelayo, Pedro de Corral, or Fray Bauberte79.

The same semantic-based premise of truth generated further distinctions among historians embedded in traditional arguments about discourse, and whether it was too rhetorical, long, short, inventive or legendary. The discriminatory linguistic principle also extended to religion—in order to write history accurately the historian needed to be better a Christian—, and even to country of origin. Whatever his motivation, hiring a Spaniard as Royal Chronicler was Nebrija’s recommendation to the Catholic Monarchs, as he did not consider it quite safe to rely on foreigners for historical truth: “And because History is the light of the truth, witness to time, master and example of life, indicator of antiquity, we will tell, through God’s will, the truth of things”80. As a final point, the surrogational craving of *veritas* pushed historians, almost at the same time they tried to move further away from poets, towards those who reputedly owned “the most truthful” narrative of events, especially after the rise of the *letrados* in the fifteenth century: the lawyers. Both the humanist Juan Luis Vives in *De disciplinis* and Galíndez de Carvajal, a *letrado* historian himself, pointed to the same phenomenon at the time: “I do not think, however, that the objectivity of history can be trusted with absolute security to foreigners, and less to the Italians, who are only greedy for glory”81.

As noted earlier, this view of language as a naturally representational category emphasises a concept of discourse as a mere duplicate of an aprioristic natural order of things. Time played a fundamental role in imposing a linguistic-based discursive order which, nonetheless, was permanently presented as a reflection and thus existing on a phenomenological level. Temporal aspects such as linear order, sequence, continuity, and their narratological effects were no more than mirror images of reality. Accordingly, writing—perceived only as a mere container of a past reality—and time were the perfect surrogational cocktail allowing history: *Cronica antiqua series intepretatur, et dicitur a cronos, quod est tempus uel series, siue longum, et*

77. “I will say without any doubt what my eyes saw, the things that happened, the cause of which they emanated, and also the purpose they had” (Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica del Rey...*: 132).

78. Ocampo, Florián de. *Crónica de España...*: III-IV.

79. Bishop Don Pelayo (twelfth century) became the archetype of the bad historian accused of distorting the truth and inventing facts; for this reason, Mariana called his *Chronicon* “fabulis foedum” (Benito, Eloy. “La historiografía en la Alta Edad Media...”: 91). To Pérez de Guzmán, Pedro del Corral, author of *Corónica Serracina*, “That could be better called a truffle or a clear lie”, was definitely, rather than a historian, one of the *hombres de poca vergüenza que relatan más cosas extrañas y maravillosas que verdaderas y ciertas* whom he had criticised earlier” (Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Generaciones y semblanzas*, ed. José A. Barrio. Madrid: Cátedra, 1998: 60). Finally, Juan de Molina considers Marineo a better historian than Fray Bauberte (author of the previous *Chronicle of Aragon*) because the latter “forgetting the truth he abused the pen and made a windy shot in the dark” (Marineo, Lucio. *Crónica...*: fol. iii).

80. Cited by: Hinojo, Gregorio. *Obras históricas de Nebrija: estudio filológico*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1991: 126-127.

81. Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica del Rey don Juan el segundo...*: 274; for Vives, see: Kagan, Richard L. *Clio...*: 6.



*scripter continer opera nobilium hominum*⁸². Again in this case, as Berkhofer maintains: “what is presented as (f)actuality is a special coding of the historians’ synthetic expository texts, designed to conceal their highly constructed basis”⁸³. And even Koselleck, who opposes the post-structuralist concept of time as total linguistic creation, and stands for a natural time pre-ordained by nature, has argued that “all chronologies are products of certain cultures and are, in this respect, relative. This is also true for the Christian chronology, which has been largely universalised”⁸⁴.

In fact, Christianity supported the change from a cyclical view of temporal events to a linear one in order to guarantee Jesus Christ’s birth and its promise of mankind’s improvement as an unrepeatable event. Additionally, it strengthened the Platonic and Aristotelian metaphysicalisation of time by adding a transcendental end to its unidimensional movement. The model, materialised in an Augustinian philosophy of history, was perfected by St. Jerome’s chronology of the Ages and again “further strengthened at the turn of the sixth century into the seventh by Isidore of Seville”⁸⁵. The way to history’s ultimate meaning was in reality sequential and a *continuum*, reproducing without difficulties the teleological and evolutionary progression of God’s providential plan⁸⁶.

Among the narrative possibilities of surrogational linear time the following elements stand out: the accumulative vision of history, the myth of the beginning and the end, and the insertion of *res gestae* into a dual process of progress and decadence. For example, Jiménez de Rada connects history to the depiction of accumulated behaviors and the transmission of certified events and meanings that can be projected into the future, thanks to the “presence” conferred by language:

Because of death, they could not subsist the knowledge that they had been accumulating about the behaviour of the creatures little by little with the help of divine revelation [...], and through the force of efforts of managed to transmit to their descendents the proven facts and the meaning of the figures and, taking

82. Tuy, Lucas de. *Chronicon...*: 10.

83. Berkhofer, Robert. “The Challenge of Poetics...”: 149. Martin also conceives time not like an empirical dimension but *comme facteur structurant de représentations événementielles* and the events of medieval historical discourse as a construction. Though this circumstance is more distinct in legendary accounts such as the *Legend of los Jueces de Castilla* whose *function du temps* he analyses in relation to different ideological goals, this critic makes clear that the practice is deeply embedded in the historical mentality (Martin, Georges. “Contribution à une modélisation de l’événement en fonction du temps dans le récit historique médiéval”, *Le temps du récit*, Geneviève Champeau, Mercedes Blanco, eds. Madrid: Annexes aux Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, 1989: 9 and 19).

84. Koselleck, Reinhart. “Time and History”, *The Practice of Conceptual History*, Todd Samuel, ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002: 106.

85. Patrides, Constantinos A. *The Grand Design of God*. London: Routledge, 1972: 21.

86. “Yet these sources are clearly not continuous, nor is conscious human experience of time continuous [...] Rather, the source of the assumption that the past is in some sense continuous is a literary one” (Kellner, Hans. “Language and Historical Representation”, *The Postmodern History Reader*, Keith Jenkins, ed. London: Routledge, 1997: 128).



the spirit as a guide, they covered the present and anticipated the future through inquiries⁸⁷.

As for the obsession with a referential and unitary origin with its legitimizing purposes can already be observed in Lucas de Tuy and other later medieval historians, although Tate also emphasises its use by humanists⁸⁸. Consistently, the Arab conquest of Spain caused by the degeneracy of the Goths (mainly don Rodrigo), or the reign of Enrique IV *el impotente*, are implanted for political purposes in a pattern of decadence that has a counterpart in don Pelayo or the renascence during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella⁸⁹. As Koselleck has underlined in his historical analysis of the concept of decline, it is usually offered as metaphor of sickness to describe political disintegration⁹⁰. Accordingly, Alfonso de Palencia presents the corruption, lack of unity, and decline of Enrique IV's reign by repeatedly using the medical metaphor of disease (*mal*) for which Isabella's proclamation as heiress to the throne becomes medicine or remedy⁹¹.

As I just illustrated, the temporal template outlined above offered invaluable ideological applications (applicational possibility)⁹². For instance, when Cartagena had to defend the Castilian kings' rights to the Canary Islands in his *Allegaciones* (1437), he did so with the surrogational power of historical narrative to make the events appear continuous, in support of the main legal argumentation. As the legitimate successor of the Kingdom of the Goths, which also controlled the North African region known as Mauretania Tingitana, Juan II had the right to exert control (*dominium*) over all the lands owned by infidels in Africa, including the *Fortunatas Insulas*. To Cartagena, the Arab invasion had never been a loss but a mere reduction of power and sovereignty. For this reason, don Pelayo was actually

87. Ximenii de Rada, Roderici. *Historia de rebus Hispanie...*: 5.

88. Tate, Robert B. *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular...*: 132. To Nigel Love: "Some Historians tend to adopt a manner of speaking in which the collection of materials whose ancestry we are reconstructing, no matter how complex and variable, always at some remove appears to go back to a single ancestral object whose story we find ourselves telling. History emerges as an artifact of the particular synchronic analysis taken as a starting point" (Love, Nigel, "Language, history and Language and History", *Language and History. Integrationist Perspectives*, Nigel Love, ed. New York: Routledge, 2006: 4).

89. According to Beryl Smalley, the problem of decay has its roots in its identification with change and the parallel between the ages of the world and the lives of men. "It was easy to tell the tale of decline, easy and quite enjoyable; historiographers reveled in doling out blame. Changes for the better, on the contrary, called for explanation: how could they happen in a period of decline?" (Smalley, Beryl. *Historians in the Middle Ages*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974: 95).

90. Koselleck also considers both concepts, "progress" and "decline", as something relative and not universal: "The progress of modernity, despite its universal claim, reflects only a partial, self-consistent experience and, instead, masks or obscures other modes of experience for understandable reasons" (Koselleck, Reinhart. "Progress and Decline", *The Practice of Conceptual History*, Todd Samuel, ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002: 219, 234-235).

91. de Palencia, Alfonso. *Crónica...*: 256.

92. An excellent showcase of how temporal narrative order was used to present time as an indisputable and objective criteria to induce hereditary rights (succession) or even claim territories (Tierra de Campos by Leon) can be seen in Martin's analysis of the *Legend of the Jueces de Castilla* (Martin, Georgess. "Contribution à une modélisation de l'événement en fonction...": 11-14).



don Rodrigo's heir. Cartagena's legalistic arguments were partially based on the linguistic conception of history as a sequential *continuum*; consequently, Spaniards were recovering (*recuperare*) the islands instead of occupying them (*occupare*)⁹³.

Nevertheless, the combination of the temporal projection to the past and the future embedded in the linear model, and the surrogational justification of abstract "realities" such as Virtue, Good, and Evil make morality the major factor in the applicational possibility. Chronology was, then, an essential weapon at the service of the exemplary purposes of history: *Los fechos de Espanna faze manifestos en este libro, en guisa que cada cual pueda saber por él muchas cosas venideras*⁹⁴. A language view that conceded the natural and unproblematic transfer of meaning from an earlier linguistic system to a later one could more easily endorse the traditional moral purpose of history. Surrogationism allowed "good", "evil", "prudence", or "magnificence" to remain semantically firm because what they stood for did not alter from one generation to the next. Echoing the position of Titus Livius or Tacitus with regard to Latin, Sánchez de Arévalo and Mariana took for granted that the language of their time was the perfect linguistic tool to describe and judge what occurred in the past. This aspect did not go unnoticed by Tate in his examination of Sánchez de Arévalo's *Compendiosa Historia*, though he limits himself to pointing it out:

*Se supone que un rey visigodo del siglo VII es capaz de responder a los mismos principios éticos que los monarcas castellanos del XV, siendo consideradas las acciones de ambos como orientación significativa para los futuros gobernantes de la Península*⁹⁵.

Not only was *virtus* the same as *virtud*, but someone in the present could learn how to behave virtuously from someone who had lived several hundred years before⁹⁶. As Alfonso de Palencia exposes, this universal pattern had a trans-temporal, trans-geographical and even trans-cultural dimension:

Because the example of the Prince, propagating the plague of tyranny, has not only introduced the contagion among the Spaniards, but also all over the world has opened such a wide path to evil, since the most remote epochs down to the present [...]⁹⁷.

93. Cartagena, Alfonso de. *Diplomacia y humanismo en el s. XV. Edición crítica, traducción y notas de las Allegationes super conquesta Insularum Canariae contra portugalenses de Alfonso de Cartagena*, Tomás González, Fremiot Hernández, Pilar Saquero, eds. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1994: 102-104.

94. Alfonso X. *Primera crónica...*: 2.

95. "It is assumed that a Visigoth king of the 7 th century was able to respond to the same ethical principles that the Castilian monarchs of the 15th century, being considered the actions of both as meaningful guidance for future rulers of the Peninsula" (Tate, Robert B. *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular...*: 91).

96. For a view of the analogical application of historical structures in time as "language preformulated and linguistically transmitted alternatives" see: Koselleck, Reinhart. "Linguistic Change and the History...": 653-656.

97. Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica...*: 5.



The whole possibility was due more to what Lucas de Tuy assumes (that “good things” and “bad things” will be the same) than to what he actually reveals in his writing: *Hoc etiam considerat rex honestus, ut quicquid egerit, siue bonum fuerit siue malum, eo quod scripture perpetuo commendatur, ab hominum memoria non recedat*⁹⁸. Under the presumption that words always have exactly the same meaning, our historians had *carte blanche* not only to tell us what our ancestors did, but to pass judgment on their characters as well. Two centuries after the fact, Juan de Mariana’s moral reasons for the execution of Álvaro de Luna, with his conclusive “justice was done”, are a good example of it⁹⁹. Finally, basing themselves on these judgments (e.g., the sins of Witiza or don Rodrigo), historians could interpret and make sense of *res gestae* (namely, the Arab invasion) in ways consistent with their ideology and conditioned purposes: *E digamos agora onde le vino esta cata et este mal e por qual razão*¹⁰⁰. Along the same lines, according to Tate: *En la Anacephaleosis, la Reconquista se hunde o florece según que el vicio o la virtud prevalezca entre los castellanos*¹⁰¹. It was only in that way, by meaning the same in time to stay operative, that metaphysical vices and virtues became surrogational historical forces after God.

This work has provided a positive response to John Toews’ question as to whether a theory of relational, constitutive meaning can be useful as a clarification for traditional historiographical practice¹⁰². In order to illustrate so, the article has presented a short outline of the ways in which some of the most influential early Spanish historians’ assumptions about language impacted their ideas about history and their praxis in writing accounts of the past. The choice, mostly unconscious, of a surrogational semantics sustained and kept working unchallenged for centuries what I have called the operational possibility in history-writing, as well as the other two resulting possibilities that I have identified: discriminatory and applicational. These possibilities offered to the political powers and to the Church immeasurable opportunities for ideological dissimulation, legitimization, and justification during the crucial period when Spain evolved from being composed of different kingdoms to a global empire.

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98. Tuy, Lucas de. *Chronicon...*: 4.

99. Mariana, Juan de. *Historia general...*: II, 403-404.

100. “And we will say right now from where he received this experience and this evil and by what reason” (Alfonso X. *Primera crónica...*: 314).

101. “In the ‘Anacephaleosis’, the Reconquest sinks or flowers according to vice or virtue prevails between the Castilian” (Tate, Robert B. *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular...*: 99).

102. Toews, John E. “Intellectual History...”: 886.



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THE MIDDLE AGES IN FOUR ENLIGHTENED FRENCHMEN

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Date of receipt: 24th of January, 2013

Final date of acceptance: 15th of January, 2014

ABSTRACT

This study presents the “civilisation-barbarity” paradigm that 18th-century French historiography, referring to the “State” of late-medieval society, associated with the situation of the laws and their enforcement by the authority. We consider that these intellectuals consolidated the pejorative image of the Middle Ages, converting it into an axiom in Western culture. We use revenge and contempt for the medieval as the focus of the analysis.

KEYWORDS

Revenge, Feudalism, Germanic Law.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Vindicta, Feudi, Ius Germanicus.

1. Introduction

The 19th century saw the high point of the conflictive dialectic between civilisation and barbarity, which had been initiated by enlightened philosophers in the 18th century. This radical opposition was neither innocent nor neutral but rather carried an intense moral load, and thus would be a powerful influence on the 19th-century view of the distant and recent past. In this antinomy, there was an integral vision of the reality, in other words, an ideological perspective that belittled any non-European culture. The great aspiration of the European nations of that century was to reject barbarity and become a civilised society. To do so, they needed a set of ideals of unity and virtuous customs, none of which could be instituted without a set of laws wisely and rigorously administered by a strong centralised state, the unique guarantor of order. Absorbed by this environment, the historians looked to Antiquity, particularly the Roman world, where, through the study of the laws, they discovered a society they considered “ordered” by a “State” that enforced the law.

With the power of such ideas, it was to be expected that the 19th-century historiography had already formed an opinion (actually a moral judgment) about the medieval judicial system, as the “Roman State”, fading over the last imperial century, had left the West in a kind of “natural state”, according to certain historians.

Concerned with the correct application of the laws, the traditional history of law tried to discover and study a “Rule of Law” in the early centuries of the Middle Ages, an institutionalism constituted, like the one, it was said, had existed before the ruin of the Western Roman world, and also later in the modern world. However, the medieval epoch saw very varied forms of conflict resolution, notable among which were the ordeals, arbitrations, compositions and revenge or blood feuds.

We present below the paradigm of civilisation and barbarity that the 19th-century historiography, interested in the “State” of high medieval society, associated with the situation of the laws and their enforcement by the authorities. Only this way can one understand that the ordeals and revenge could be a topic of study by historians.

2. The “natural state” of the Early Middle Ages

It is an interpretive theory, a paradigm, a set of ideas organised through a logic or, if one will, a prior framework of references for analysing the events of the past. As usually happens with the past, the theory through which it is interpreted as also responding to the conditions of the historical environment of the historian.

Regarding this theme, the context is the intellectual debate (typically 19th-century, loaded with nationalism) that disturbed both the great German historians who attempted to emphasise the peculiar sense of justice (and not barbarity) of the Germans, and the also the great French historians who sought to demonstrate the strong Romanisation of the Gallo-Roman population in the epoch of the Germanic invasions, compared with the “primitive” customs that the latter introduced



into Gaul. This would have evident consequences in the French historiography dedicated to the history of justice, given that the law historians were little drawn to the medieval period. While the right to revenge was in force in the legal system of the Germans, this common institution of these peoples (*gemeingermanische eine Institution*), they felt that there was not only no judiciary, but even more, claimed the absence of genuine rule of law. This lets us understand why the French left the task of explaining the epoch of the supposed “feudal order” inherited from their ancestors, the Franks, a period that they considered judicial “anarchy”, to their German colleagues.

Given this situation, French historiography concentrated on the epoch after the 13th century, the time when the legal institutions began to acquire a certain organisation at the ecclesiastic level, and also in the municipal field, together with the creation of the royal courts. In this historical setting, the progress that can be appreciated in the procedures used in the courts covered various aspects: improvements in the system of evidence, advances in the way the investigation was carried out and that changed from the accusatory procedure to the inquisitory, in the rise in the extraordinary processes based on secrecy and, frequently, the application of torture to avoid perjury and finally extract a confession. Lastly, editions of legal texts appeared in the 13th century accompanied by scholarly commentaries on customary law, and there was a spread of law commented on by jurists, in other words, wise law developed by experts.

It was therefore more worthy to enter the classic Middle Ages, the moment when law was said to have been born. This was the time when the judicial system was imposed on the social body, giving the judge a fundamental tool for judging, that is that his conviction would from then on be based on a rational investigation. Thus, three essential objectives were pursued in judicial procedures: establish the truth about the crime, determine its author and, lastly, apply the punishment he or she deserved in line with a valid code, all based on the judge’s conviction.

The historiographic paradigm that was imposed in the second half of the 19th century was as follows: the Germanic epoch, a moment when the humans were still morally close to the natural state and governed by instinct, was prolonged into the feudal society, characterised by the incapacity of objective law (the written laws) to overcome the preponderance of subjective (customary) law. From such a situation, it was deduced that during the Middle Ages there could be no legal order as such.

3. Enlightenment

The 18th century was favourable towards the Middle Ages. The dominant thought of this century was given the name of Enlightenment or the Age of Reason, due to the rational spirit, represented by reason itself, being identified with the light or *les lumières*, as its representatives were known. Prior to the revolutionary outburst of 1789, France was the home of this rational environment, whose broad guidelines,



sometimes somewhat confusing, focussed on political and religious freedom as the bases for happiness understood civically.

It goes without saying that the Enlightenment was not free of prejudices. These were due to the posture adopted by the revolutionaries against the changes they drove, and that led to the revolt of 1789 with its legacy of blood and deep changes. For them, rejecting the changes implied many things in reality: accepting the monarchy as it was, recognising the Church and its omnipresent role in society, rejecting rational thought, recognising the hierarchy of the people, identifying them with the past, in other words, maintaining the reigning order and institutions.

On the contrary, accepting the changes implicitly meant strong criticism of a past that was identified with the monarchy and the Church. In other terms, the Middle Ages had to be rejected. In this line, light represented openness to criticism and rational thought, to knowing and understanding the world through reason, and because of this image, the past that clung to faith had to be identified with darkness. So, the enlightened philosophers called for the reforms by condemning the abuses that had been committed in the past, a past they analysed with a range of forceful statements in elegant French. In doing so, they frequently referred to the Middle Ages where they found information that corroborated their thought. A good part of medieval folklore, the image that is still held of this, as Jacques Heers states, was born this way, in the context of the preparation of the Revolution¹.

With all the prejudices highlighted above, and probably as a consequence of this same critical attitude, there is the other face of the Enlightenment. It proposed a different approach to the study of history by introducing two very important elements. Firstly, it was open to new approaches on various themes, and in second place, a critical method was used to interpret the facts previously reconstituted from strictly from the documentary sources. The so-called “scientific” history was then on the rise, and with it, the introduction of the idea of progress developed by Condorcet. They understood that the story of history was presented as a process of uninterrupted progress of humankind for the better. Here it seems we find the explanation for the dramatic criticism of the “medieval obscurantism”. When concerning themselves with feudalism as a powerful oppressive and unjust structure, the enlightened scholars evidently presented the Middle Ages as a regression from the classical epoch. The explanation that arose spontaneously for this kind of a regression of European civilisation was the presence of the religious factor that impeded the rational understanding of the universe. Here then, there is the Catholic Church and its control of consciences.

There is a frankly immense 18th-century literature, of varied value, that it is not possible to deal with here in full. However, I have chosen some representatives of enlightened thought (with the exception of Charles du Fresne Du Cange) who can be included in this anti-medieval current, and I quote those passages from their works that I find most representative.

1. Heers, Jack. *La invención de la Edad Media*. Madrid: Crítica, 1995: 115; Mayos, Gonçal. *La Il·lustració*. Barcelona: Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, 2006.



4. Charles du Fresne du Cange

Du Cange is not really one of the enlightened scholars, but should be considered a precedent of that current who began to study the past based on the documents and the careful establishment of the facts. However, I wish to include him here due to his outlook on the medieval past. Born in 1610, he died in 1688 and was a very erudite French intellectual who composed an impressive dictionary of medieval and modern Latin known as *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitas*², still an essential tool for medievalists when seeking to specify words and discover their semantic connections. In volume X, on commenting the history of the French king Saint Louis written by Jean de Joinville, he inserts a dissertation titled *Des Guerres privées et du droit de guerres par coutume* based on the then-unpublished chronicle by Philippe de Beaumanoir, which dedicated a chapter to these wars that were waged out of custom.

The author begins by emphasising that he mentions this detestable custom (détestable coùtume) given that it is universal in the history of France and other countries. The right to make and declare war was a very widespread social habit, that became a frequent practice among the vassals of these princes, and whose origin must be sought in the Germanic customs,

*Ç'a esté un usage observé et reçu de tout temps parmi les nations germaniques, de tirer la vengeance des injures particulières par la voie des armes, et d'y intéresser toute une parenté*³.

In some passages, the author expresses his very low opinion of this “detestable” custom, emphasising its primitivism of German roots,

L'on voit assez par ce que je viens de remarquer, que l'usage de la guerre par coùtume avoit esté non seulement en pratique sous nos premiers Gaulois, mais encore avoit esté retenu par les François, que leur succédèrent, et généralement par tous les peuples septentrionaux, qui avec le temps s'établirent si puissamment dans les provinces et les terres qu'ils conquièrent dans l'empire d'Occident, qu'on a eu bien de la peine à y donner atteinte, et à l'abolir entièrement. Cependant cette faculté de se faire ainsi la guerre est contraire au droit des gens, qui ne souffre pas qu'aucun autre ait le pouvoir de déclarer et se faire la guerre, que les princes et les souverains, qui ne reconnoissent personne au dessus d'eux. Qu'il est

2. Cange, Charles du Fresne du. *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitas*. Paris: Editions de Niort-Favre, 1883-1887: 10 vols. In 1668, the author republished the work of the chronicler Jean de Joinville, finished in 1307, adding some comments that were included in the *Glossarium* under the title of *Des guerres privées et du droit de guerre par coutume*, and that corresponded to the dissertation XXIX from volume X of the cited edition, p. 100-108. Quoting the sources, he first deals with who can make war and describes these (p. 100-103). He then goes on to mention the four ways of putting an end to these (p. 103-107).

3. “It was a custom always observed and accepted among the Germanic nations to take up arms to avenge individual wrongs and for a whole clan to become involved” (Cange, Charles du Fresne du. *Glossarium mediae...*: 100).



même entièrement opposé aux maximes chrétiennes, qui veulent qu'on laisse la vengeance des injures à Dieu seul, ou aux juges qui sont établis pour les punir⁴.

Moreover, at the end of his commentary, he purported to show that Saint Louis had attempted to limit the private wars (vendettas or blood feuds) that were still rooted in 13th-century French society due to its Germanic, in other words primitive, origins.

5. Montesquieu

Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède and of Montesquieu (1689-1755), was a multifaceted intellectual, better known for his theory of the separation of powers than for his contributions as a historian. His most important works contain historical references that interest us for this theme.

In 1734, Montesquieu wrote an outstanding, erudite and intellectually penetrating work that he titled *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and their Decline*⁵, which contained such comparative interpretations as this,

L'histoire moderne nous fournit un exemple de ce qui arriva pour lors à Rome, et ceci est bien remarquable: car, comme les hommes ont eu dans tous les temps les mêmes passions, les occasions qui produisent les grands changements sont différentes, mais les causes sont toujours les memes⁶.

When he dealt with the decline of the Western Roman Empire, on referring to the War of the images, he slipped into a long anti-ecclesiastical reflection typical of the times about the excessive power that he believed churchmen had acquired,

Voici un étrange contradiction de l'esprit humain. Les ministres de la Religion chez les premiers Romains, n'étant pas exclu des charges et de la société civile, s'embarrassèrent peu de ses affaires. Lorsque la Religion chrétienne fut établie, les ecclésiastiques, qui étaient

4. "It is seen so much because, as I have just said, the custom of using war was a practice not only under our early Gauls, it was kept up by the Franks, who succeeded them, and generally by all northern peoples. In time it became so strongly established in the provinces and lands they conquered in the Western empire that it was very difficult to attack it and stamp it out. However, the ability to make war in this way is contrary to the rights of people who do not accept anyone other than princes and sovereigns, who recognise no one as being above them, having the power to declare and make war. It is also entirely opposed to Christian maxims, which would have revenge for wrongs left to God alone, or to judges set up to punish them" (Cange, Charles du Fresne du. *Glossarium mediae...*: 105).

5. Montesquieu, Charle Louis de Secondat. *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des romains et de leur décadence*, ed. Henri Barckhausen. Paris: Impression Nationale, 1900.

6. "Modern history furnishes us with an example of what happened at that time in Rome, and this is well worth noting. For the occasions which produce great changes are different, but, since men have had the same passions at all times, the causes are always the same" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Considérations sur les causes...*: 3).



plus séparés des affaires du monde, s'en mêlèrent avec modération. Mais, lorsque, dans la décadence de l'Empire, les moines furent le seul clergé, ces gens, destinés par une profession plus particulière à fuir et à craindre les affaires, embrassèrent toutes les occasions qui purent leur y donner part: ils ne cessèrent de faire du bruit partout et d'agiter ce monde qu'ils avaient quitté [...]. Aucune affaire d'État, aucune paix, aucune guerre, aucune trêve, aucune négociation, aucun mariage ne se traita que par le ministère des moines: les conseils du Prince en furent remplis, et les assemblées de la Nation, presque toutes composées [...]. On se saurait croire quel mal il en resulta: ils affaiblirent l'esprit des Princes et leur firent faire imprudemment même les choses bonnes. Pendant que Basile occupait les soldats de son armée de mer à bâtir une église à saint Michel, il laissa piller la Sicile par les Sarrasins et prendre Syracuse, et Léon, son successeur, qui employa sa flotte au même usage, leur laissa occuper Tauroménie et l'île de Lemnos⁷.

The reading that can be deduced from this is that, concerned with being acceptable to God through the influence of the monks, the Byzantine emperors neglected the political tasks they were obliged to fulfil. This was, we could say, the great setback that occurred during the Middle Ages, and meant the collapse of Byzantine society by not having placed limits on the excessive intromission of the ecclesiastic power. In fact, Montesquieu applied the modern criterion of the separation between State and Church to judge the evolution of Byzantine society, a criterion that the West has known for barely two centuries,

La source la plus empoisonnée de tous les malheurs des Grecs, c'est qu'ils ne connurent jamais la nature ni les bornes de la puissance ecclésiastique et de la séculière [...] cette grande distinction, qui est la base sur laquelle pose la tranquillité des peuples, est fondée non seulement sur la Religion, mais encore sur la raison et la nature, qui veulent que des choses réellement séparées, et qui ne peuvent subsister que séparées, ne soient jamais confondues⁸.

7. "Here now is a strange inconsistency of the human mind. The ministers of religion among the early Romans were not excluded from the burdens of evil society and hardly got involved in its affairs. When the Christian religion was established, the ecclesiastics, who were more removed from worldly affairs, concerned themselves with them to a moderate extent. But when, in the decline of the empire, the monks were the only clergy, these men —destined by more particular vows to flee and fear worldly affairs— seized every occasion to take part in them. They never stopped making a stir everywhere and agitating the world they had quitted. No affairs of state, no peace, no war, no truce, no negotiation, no marriage was arranged except through the monks. The prince's councils were full of them, and the nation's assemblies almost wholly composed of them. The evil this caused would pass belief. They enfeebled the mind of princes, and made them do even good things imprudently. While Basil employed the warriors of his navy in building a church to Saint Michael, he let the Saracens pillage Sicily and take Syracuse. And Leo, his successor, who employed his fleet for the same purpose, let them occupy Tauromenium and the island of Lemnos" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Considérations sur les causes...* 150).

8. "The most vicious source of all the misfortunes of the Greeks is that they never knew the nature or limits of ecclesiastical and secular power, and this made them fall, on both sides, into continual aberrations. This great distinction, which is the basis on which the tranquility of peoples rests, is founded not only on religion but also on reason and nature, which ordain that really separate things —things that can endure only by being separate— should never be confounded" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Considérations sur les causes...* 154).



Furthermore, tolerance, so dear to the enlightened, had been lost with the continuous teleological disputes. With the population submerged in exhausting and useless controversies, these would finally have weakened the imperial government. The moralistic tone of Montesquieu's commentary is very 18th century,

Dans les disputes ordinaires, comme chacun sent qu'il peut se tromper, l'opiniâtreté et l'obstination ne sont pas extrêmes. Mais, dans celles que nous avons sur la Religion, comme, par la nature de la chose, chacun croit être sûr que son opinion est vraie, nous nous indignons contre ceux qui, au lieu de changer eux-mêmes, s'obstinent à nous faire changer⁹.

In 1754, Montesquieu wrote the "Essay on Taste" where he analysed the concept of beauty and like ideas. When he refers to the pleasures of truth, he states that the soul requires a certain order and also a certain variety. In this context, to clarify these ideas, he takes an example that reveals his prejudice towards the Middle Ages and positive bias for Antiquity,

L'architecture gothique paraît très variée; mais la confusion des ornements fatigue par leur petitesse; ce qui fait qu'il n'y en a aucun que nous puissions distinguer d'un autre, et leur nombre fait qu'il n'y en a aucun, sur lequel l'œil puisse s'arrêter; de manière qu'elle déplaît par les endroits mêmes qu'on a choisis pour la rendre agréable [...]. Un bâtiment d'ordre gothique est une espèce d'énigme pour l'œil qui le voit; et l'âme est embarrassée comme quand on lui présente un poème obscur [...]. L'architecture grecque, au contraire, paraît uniforme; mais, comme elle a des divisions qu'il faut, et autant qu'il en faut pour que l'âme voie précisément ce qu'elle peut voir sans se fatiguer, mais qu'elle en voie assez pour s'occuper, elle a cette variété qui la fait regarder avec plaisir¹⁰.

Talking about contrasts, he states that the soul loves symmetry. He again compares medieval and Greek art,

Si la nature demande des peintres et des sculpteurs qu'ils mettent de la symétrie dans les parties de leurs figures, elle veut au contraire qu'ils mettent des contrastes dans les attitudes. Un pied rangé comme un autre, un membre qui va comme un autre, sont insupportables: la raison en est que cette symétrie fait que les attitudes sont presque toujours les mêmes, comme

9. "In ordinary disputes each person knows he can be wrong and hence is not extremely opinionated or obstinate. But in our disputes over religion, by the nature of the thing, each person is sure his opinion is true, and we are indignant with those who obstinately insist on making us change instead of changing themselves" Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Considérations sur les causes...* : 152.

10. "The Gothic architecture appears extremely varied, but the confusion of its ornaments fatigues us by their smallness; which makes it impossible for us to distinguish them from each other, and their number prevents the eye from fixing upon any one of them; so that it disgusts us by those very parts which were intended to render it agreeable. A building of the Gothic order is a kind of riddle to the eye which beholds it; and the mind is embarrassed in the same way as when an obscure poem is presented to it. The Grecian architecture, on the contrary, appears uniform, but as it has as many divisions as it ought, and as are proper to make the Mind see precisely as much as it can without being fatigued, and at the same time enough to give it employment, has that Variety which makes it be beheld with pleasure" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Essai sur le goût*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1993: 41-42).



*on le voit dans les figures gothiques, qui se ressemblent toutes par là. Ainsi il n'y a plus de variété dans les productions de l'art*¹¹.

As the variety he pursued in Gothic art gave it its uniformity, it was frequently sought at the expense of contrasts; it resulted in symmetry and a harsh uniformity. This was not only true in sculpture and painting, but also in the style of writing,

*dans chaque phrase, mettent toujours le commencement en contraste avec la fin par des antithèses continuelles, tels que saint Augustin et autres auteurs de la base latinité [...] lorsque vous avez vu une partie de la phrase, vous devinez toujours l'autre; vous voyez des mots opposés, mais opposés de la même manière; vous voyez un tour de phrase, mais c'est toujours le même*¹².

In his best-known work, "The Spirit of the Laws", published in 1748, Montesquieu concerns himself with the formation of France during the High Middle Ages with the arrival of the Germans, who he also calls barbarians, as opposed to the Romanised Gauls who then inhabited the country. He draws a portrait of them in the first chapters of the book XXX, especially in chapter XIX titled "Of Compositions among the Barbarous Nations".

Montesquieu states that before entering the Roman Empire, the Germans in general, and the Franks in particular, lived in that state of nature described by Tacitus, the moment prior to civilisation, and which they abandoned on entering Gaul with the establishment of laws in the times of the Merovingian monarchs¹³. The custom of avenging offences would have been introduced into the medieval West by the Germans, and in the particular case of Gaul, by the Franks. He states that, to limit this dangerous custom, the wise men of the various barbarian nations put a price on the damage caused, which would be paid by the offender. And the laws set this out very clearly, distinguishing the cases and the circumstances,

11. "if Nature requires of painters and sculptors to proportion the parts of their figures, it requires also that they contrast their different attitudes. One foot placed like another, one member extended like another, are insupportable; the reason of it is, because this symmetry makes the attitudes be almost always the same; which we may observe in Gothic figures, which by this almost always resemble each other; thus there is no more variety in the works of Art. Besides, Nature has not made us thus, and, as she has given us motion, she has not formed us in our actions and manners like pagods; and if men thus stiff and constrained are intolerable, what must it be in the productions of art" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Essai sur le goût*...: 45).

12. "in every phrase, contrast the beginning with the end by perpetual antitheses; such as St. Augustine and other authors of the low Latin [...] when you have seen one part of the phrase, you guess at the other: you see words opposed to each other, but opposed always in the same manner: you see a turn of phrase, but it is always the same" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Essai sur le goût*...: 46).

13. *Ce fut par l'établissement de ces lois que les peuples germains sortirent de cet état de nature où il semble qu'ils étoient encore du temps de Tacite* (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. "L'esprit des lois", *Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu*. Paris: Pierre Pourrat, 1834: 494).



*la loi se met à la place de celui que est offensé, et demande pour lui la satisfaction que dans un moment de sang-froid il aurait demandée lui*¹⁴.

The provisions converted German law into a legal status designed to protect the criminal from the acts of vengeance that could be contemplated by the victim or his family,

*Chez les nations violentes, rendre la justice n'étoit autre chose qu'accorder à celui qu'avoit fait une offense sa protection contre la vengeance de celui qui l'avoit reçue, et obliger ce dernier à recevoir la satisfaction qui lui étoit due; de sorte que, chez le Germains, à la différence de tous les autres peuples, la justice se rendoit pour protéger le criminel contre celui qu'il avoit offensé*¹⁵.

Lastly, we can try to summarise his argumentation in the following way: in primitive times, individual revenge between Germans was a common right. However, the legislator did not take long to recognise the danger that these private wars, that converted the country into the battlefield on a daily basis, implied for society. Thus, a pecuniary rate was promulgated, with great thoroughness and precaution, for all the combinations of these offences, from the smallest insult to the most heinous crime. This way, the wise decision was taken that the only right of the offended would be to require the courts to award payment of the compensation set by the law. This led to society intervening in criminal trials in a very different way than under modern legislation. While under the latter, society acts against the guilty, the repentant as well as he who is willing to repair the damage caused at the highest price, in contrast, the Franks contained the victim's anger by channelling his right to demand the compensation established by the law through the courts. However, if he wanted to take revenge through direct acts, he would be considered culpable and a disturbance.

6. Jean Le Rond d'Alembert

In the mid 18th century, together with Denis Diderot, this French sage prepared the publication of the impressive *Encyclopedie* as an authentic *dictionnaire raisonné des sciences et des artes*. D'Alambert (1717-1783) was responsible for presenting the

14. "the law substitutes itself in the place of the person injured, and insists upon the same satisfaction as he himself would have demanded in cold blood" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. "L'esprit des lois...": 494).

15. "The administration of justice among those rude and unpolished nations was nothing more than granting to the person who had committed an offence a protection against the vengeance of the party offended, and obliging the latter to accept of the satisfaction due to him: insomuch that among the Germans, contrary to the practice of all other nations, justice was administered in order to protect the criminal against the party injured" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. "L'esprit des lois...": chapter XX: 498).



famous preliminary discourse where he placed great stress on defining clearly what the editors of this monumental work proposed.

D'Alembert wished to show the state of the sciences and arts, especially philosophy, which was the science called on to create significant changes to the extent that it could deviate from the retrograde influences of the scholastic. Over many centuries, he claims, the human spirit has been buried by the shadow of the so-called "authorities", referring to the great medieval Christian authors, who were not to be questioned. In such an environment, the ancient knowledge remained hidden for twelve centuries,

Les chefs-d'œuvre que les anciens nous avaient laissés dans presque tous les genres, avaient été oubliés pendant douze siècles. Les principes des sciences et des arts étaient perdus, parce que le beau et le vrai qui semblent se montrer de toutes parts aux hommes, ne les frappent guère à moins qu'ils n'en soient avertis. Ce n'est pas que ces temps malheureux aient été stériles que d'autres en génies rares; la nature est toujours la même; mais que pouvaient faire ces grands hommes, semés de loin à loin comme ils le sont toujours, occupés d'objets différends, et abandonnés sans culture à leurs seules lumières? Les idées qu'on acquiert par la lecture et par la société, sont le germe de presque toutes les découvertes. C'est un air que l'on respire sans y penser, et auquel on doit la vie; et les hommes [...] dont nous parlons étaient privés d'un tel secours. Ils ressemblaient aux premiers créateurs des sciences et des arts, que leurs illustres successeurs ont fait oublier, et qui, précédés par ceux-ci, les auraient fait oublier de même. Celui qui trouva le premier les roués et les pignons, eût inventé les montres dans un autre siècle, et Gerbert placé au temps d'Archimède l'aurait peut-être égalé¹⁶.

After the end of Antiquity, Europe fell into a long stage of backwardness, in which bad taste and vulgarity affected culture and intellectuality. The image deserves to be taken into consideration in this historiographic examination,

Cependant la plupart des beaux esprits de ces temps ténébreux se faisaient appeler poètes ou philosophes. Que leur en coûtait-il en effet pour usurper deux titres dont on se pare à si peu de frais, et qu'on se flatte toujours de ne guère devoir à des lumières empruntées? Ils croyaient qu'il était inutile de chercher les modèles de la poésie dans les ouvrages des Grecs et des Romains, dont la langue ne se parlait plus; et ils prenaient pour la véritable philosophie des anciens une tradition barbare qui la défigurait. La poésie se réduisait pour eux à un mécanisme puéril: l'examen approfondi de la nature, et la grande étude de l'homme, étaient

16. "The masterpieces that the ancients left us in almost all genres were forgotten for twelve centuries. The principles of the sciences and the arts were lost, because the beautiful and the true, which seem to show themselves everywhere to men, are hardly noticed unless men are already apprised of them. Not that these unfortunate times were less fertile than others in rare geniuses; Nature is always the same. But what could these great men do, scattered as they always are, from place to place, occupied with different purposes, and left to their solitary enlightenment with no cultivation of their abilities? Ideas which are acquired from reading and from association with others are the germ of almost all discoveries. It is like the air one breathes without thinking about it, to which one owes life; and the men of whom we are speaking were deprived of such sustenance. They were like the first creators of the sciences and the arts who have been forgotten because of their illustrious successors, and who, had they but come later, would themselves have caused the memory of the others to fade. The man who first discovered wheels and pinions would have invented watches in another century. Gerbert, situated in the time of Archimedes, would perhaps have equaled him" (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie", *Oeuvres complètes de d'Alembert*. Paris: E.A. Lequien, 1821 : I, first part, 54).



remplacés par mille questions frivoles sur des être abstraits et métaphysiques; questions dont la solution, bonne ou mauvaise, demandait souvent beaucoup de subtilité, et par conséquent un grand abus de l'esprit. Qu'on joigne à ce désordre l'état d'esclavage où presque toute l'Europe était plongée, les ravages de la superstition qui naît de l'ignorance, et que la reproduit à son tour, et on verra que rien ne manquait aux obstacles qui éloignaient le retour de la raison et du goût; car il n'y a que la liberté d'agir et de penser qui soit capable de produire des grandes choses, et elle n'a besoin que des lumières pour se préserver des excès. [...] Aussi fallut-il au genre humain, pour sortir de la barbarie, une de ces révolutions qui font prendre à la terre une face nouvelle: l'Empire grec est détruit, sa ruine fait refluer en Europe le peu de connaissances qui restaient encore au monde: l'invention de l'imprimerie, la protection des Médicis et de François I^{er}, raniment les esprits; et la lumière renaît de toutes parts. [...] L'étude des langues et de l'histoire abandonnée par nécessité durant les siècles d'ignorance, fut la première à laquelle on se libéra. L'esprit humain se trouvait, au sortir de la barbarie, dans une espèce d'enfance, avide d'accumuler des idées, et incapable pourtant d'en acquérir d'abord d'un certain ordre par l'espèce d'engourdissement où les facultés de l'âme avaient été si longtemps¹⁷.

It will have been noted how wide the range of disqualifying epithets for the medieval past grows (dark, barbaric, frivolity, disorder, slavery, superstition, ignorance, numbness) in one short paragraph. D'Alambert shows himself to be a worthy representative of enlightened thought.

When he refers to the renaissance of painting and sculpture, he indicates that the reason for this rebirth lies in the masters having escaped from superstition and barbarity,

La scholastique qui composait toute la science prétendue des siècles d'ignorance, nuisait encore aux progrès de la vraie philosophie dans ce premier siècle de lumière. On était persuadé depuis un temps, pour ainsi dire, immémorial, qu'on possédait dans toute sa pureté la doctrine d'Aristote, commentée par les Arabes, et altérée par mille additions absurdes ou

17. "Most of the superior intelligences of those dark times called themselves poets or philosophers. And indeed what did it cost them to usurp two titles with which people bedeck themselves at so little expense, ever flattering themselves that they can hardly owe them to borrowed wit? They thought it useless to seek models for poetry in the works of the Greeks and the Romans, whose language was no longer spoken; and they mistook for the true philosophy of the ancients a barbarous tradition which disfigured it. Poetry for them was reduced to a puerile mechanism. The careful examination of Nature and the grand study of mankind were replaced by a thousand frivolous questions concerning abstract and metaphysical beings— questions whose solution, good or bad, often required much subtlety, and consequently a great abuse of intelligence. Added to this confusion were the condition of slavery into which almost all of Europe was plunged and the ravages of superstition which is born of ignorance and which spawns it in turn. If one considers all these difficulties it will be plain that nothing was lacking to the obstacles that for a long time delayed the return of reason and taste. For liberty of action and thought alone is capable of producing great things, and liberty requires only enlightenment to preserve itself from excess. [...] And so one of those revolutions which make the world take on a new appearance was necessary to enable the human species to emerge from barbarism. The Greek [Byzantine] empire was destroyed, and its ruin caused the small remainder of knowledge in the world to flow back into Europe. The invention of printing and the patronage of the Medici and of Francis I revitalized minds, and enlightenment was reborn everywhere. [...] People turned first to the study of languages and history, which had perforce been abandoned during the centuries of ignorance. On emerging from barbarism, the human mind found itself in a sort of infancy. It was eager to accumulate ideas, but incapable at first of acquiring those of a higher order because of the kind of sluggishness in which the faculties of the soul had for so long a time been sunk" (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 57).



*puériles; et on ne pensait pas même à s'assurer si cette philosophie barbare était réellement celle de ce grand homme, tant on avait conçu de respect pour les anciens*¹⁸.

There is an outstanding passage in which he takes exception to the dogmatism and intolerance that was still appreciated in his times. It is well worth presenting it, because it reveals that d'Alembert, like many other enlightened "philosophers", were not atheists, but rather that they were against, often virulently so, the attempts by the Church to contain the use of reason in the scientific explanations of the material world,

quelque absurde qu'une religion puisse être (reproche que l'impiété seule peut faire à la nôtre), ce ne sont jamais les philosophes qui la détruisent: lors même qu'ils enseignent la vérité, ils se contentent de la montrer sans forcer personne à la connaître; un tel pouvoir n'appartient qu'à l'Être tout-puissant: ce sont les hommes inspirés qui éclairent le peuple, et les enthousiastes de ces derniers qui l'égarent. Le frein qu'on est obligé de mettre à la licence de ces philosophes, et dont la religion peut tirer les plus grands avantages. Si le christianisme ajoute à la philosophie les lumières qui lui manquent, s'il n'appartient qu'à la grâce de soumettre les incrédules, c'est à la philosophie qu'il est réservé de les réduire au silence; et pour assurer le triomphe de la foi, les théologiens dont nous parlons n'avaient qu'à faire usage des armes qu'on aurait voulu employer contre elle [...]. Mais parmi ces mêmes hommes, quelques uns avaient un intérêt beaucoup plus réel de s'opposer à l'avancement de la philosophie. Faussement persuadés que la croyance des peuples est d'autant plus ferme, qu'on l'exerce sur plus d'objets différents, ils ne se contentaient pas d'exiger pour nos mystères la soumission qu'ils méritent, ils cherchaient à ériger en dogmes leurs opinions particulières; et c'étaient ces opinions mêmes, bien plus que les dogmes, qu'ils voulaient mettre en sûreté. Par là ils auraient porté à la religion le coup le plus terrible, si elle eût été l'ouvrage des hommes; car il était à craindre que leurs opinions étant une fois reconnues pour fausses, le peuple qui ne discerne rien, ne traitât de la même manière les vérités avec lesquelles on avait voulu les confondre [...]. D'autres théologiens de meilleure foi, mais aussi dangereux, se joignaient à ces premiers par d'autres motifs. Quoique la religion soit uniquement destinée à régler nos mœurs et notre foi, ils la croyaient faite pour nous éclairer aussi sur le système du monde, c'est-à-dire, sur ces matières que le Tout-Puissant a expressément abandonnées à nos disputes. Ils ne faisaient pas réflexion que les livres sacrés et les ouvrages des Pères, faits pour montrer au peuple comme aux philosophes ce qu'il faut pratiquer et croire, ne devaient point sur les questions indifférentes parler un autre langage que le peuple. Cependant le despotisme théologique ou le préjugé l'emporta. Un tribunal devenu puissant dans le midi de l'Europe, dans les Indes, dans le Nouveau-Monde, mais que la foi n'ordonne point de croire, ni la charité d'approuver, ou plutôt que la religion réprouve quoiqu'occupé par ses ministres, et dont la France n'a pu s'accoutumer encore à prononcer le nom sans effroi, condamna un célèbre astronome pour avoir soutenu le mouvement de la terre, et le déclara hérétique; à peu près comme le pape Zacharie avait condamné quelques siècles auparavant un évêque, pour n'avoir pas pensé comme S. Augustin sur les antipodes, et pour avoir deviné leur existence six cents ans avant que Christophe Colomb les découvrit. C'est ainsi que l'abus de l'autorité

18. "Scholasticism, which constitutes the whole of so-called science of the centuries of ignorance, still was prejudicial to the progress of true philosophy in that first century of enlightenment. Since time immemorial, so to speak, men had been persuaded that they possessed the doctrine of Aristotle in all its purity, [even though it had been] commented on by the Arabs and corrupted by thousands of absurd or childish additions. So great was their respect for the ancients that they did not even think of ascertaining whether that barbarous philosophy was really the philosophy of this great man" (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 61).



*spirituelle réunie à la temporelle forçait la raison au silence; et peu s'en fallut qu'on ne défendît au genre humain de penser*¹⁹.

In fact, he was referring to the abuse, that should be interpreted as “medieval” extended to modern times, that the spiritual authority exercised over the temporal power. Without the support, or collusion, of the latter, it would not have been possible to control the consciences to the point of silencing the opinions. In this anticlericalism, the image of the Medioevo invaded by the Church gradually decayed.

D’Alembert dedicated eulogistic comments to Francis Bacon, who he considered *le plus grand, le plus universel et le plus éloquent* (“the greatest, the most universal and the most eloquent”) of the philosophers. The most outstanding of this intellectual is that he became so having been born into the darkest night, in other words, at the end of the 16th century which, for d’Alembert, still meant the Middle Ages, the epoch in which philosophy still did not exist and everything had to be begun, although there were those who boasted of mastering it²⁰.

19. “[...] however absurd a religion might be (a reproach which only impiety can make of ours), it is never the philosophers who destroy it. Even when they teach truth, they are satisfied to demonstrate it without forcing recognition from anyone. Such a power belongs only to the Omnipotent Being. It is the inspired men who enlighten the people and the enthusiasts who lead them astray. The bridle that we are obliged to impose upon the license of the latter should in no way harm that liberty which is so necessary to true philosophy and from which religion can draw the greatest advantages. If Christianity brings to philosophy the enlightenment that it lacks and if grace alone can force the incredulous to submit, it is reserved for philosophy to reduce them to silence. To assure the triumph of faith, the theologians of whom we speak needed only to employ those weapons which were supposed to constitute a threat to it. But some among these men had much more compelling reasons to oppose the advance of philosophy. Falsely persuaded that the faith of peoples becomes firmer as the different objects upon which it is exercised become more numerous, they were not content to require a legitimate submission to our mysteries. They tried to elevate their individual opinions into dogmas. And it was these opinions themselves, far more than the dogmas, which they wanted to make secure. They would by this means have inflicted the most terrible blow upon religion, had religion been the work of men. For there was a danger that once these opinions were recognized as false, the common people (who have no discernment) might treat the truths of religion and the false opinions with which some had wished to confound them in the same way. Other theologians who were of better faith, but equally dangerous, joined with the first for different motives. Although religion is intended uniquely to regulate our mode of life and our faith, they believed it was to enlighten us also on the system of the world—in short, on matters which the All-Powerful has expressly left to our own disputations. They did not make the reflection that the sacred books and the works of the Fathers, which were created to teach the common people as well as the philosophers the requirements of practice and belief, would have spoken only the language of the common people when it came to indifferent questions. However, theological despotism or prejudice won out. A tribunal whose name still cannot be spoken without fear in France became powerful in the south of Europe, in the Indies, and the New World. Faith in no way ordained belief in it, nor charity the approval of it. It condemned a celebrated astronomer for having maintained that the earth moved and declared him a heretic, almost in the way that Pope Zachary had, some centuries before, condemned a bishop for not having thought as St. Augustine did concerning the antipodes, and for having guessed their existence six hundred years before Christopher Columbus discovered them. It was thus that the abuse of the spiritual authority, conjoined with the temporal, forced reason to silence; and they were not far from forbidding the human race to think” (Alembert, Jean le Rond d’. “Discours préliminaire...”: 62-63).

20. [...] *on serait tenté de le regarder comme le plus grand, le plus universel, et le plus éloquent des philosophes. Bacon, né dans le sein de la nuit la plus profonde, sentit que la philosophie n'était pas encore, quoique bien des gens*



When he talks about Descartes, he draws grand eulogies, especially because he had to face barbarity. As has been noted, the dialectic barbarity-civilisation dominates the text,

*Descartes a osé du moins montrer aux bons esprits à secouer le joug de la scholastique, de l'opinion, de l'autorité, en un mot, des préjugés et de la barbarie; et par cette révolte dont nous recueillons aujourd'hui les fruits, il a rendu à la philosophie un service plus essentiel peut-être que tous ceux qu'elle doit à ses illustres successeurs. On peut le regarder comme un chef de conjurés qui a eu le courage de s'élever le premier contre une puissance despotique et arbitraire, et qui, en préparant une révolution éclatante, a jeté les fondements d'un gouvernement plus juste et plus heureux qu'il n'a pu voir établi. S'il a fini par croire tout expliquer, il y a du moins commencé par douter de tout*²¹.

It is said that the genius of Descartes is to have found a new route in the darkest night: génie qu'il a montré en cherchant dans la nuit la plus sombre une route nouvelle²². As in many places in the text, night is represented by the scholastic, which is the manifestation of the rule of a sectarian and intolerant Church. In contrast, the light (lumière) represents the rule of reason, human intelligence, the capacity to understand the world and things, human understanding,

*La philosophie, qui forme le gout dominant de notre siècle, semble, par les progrès qu'elle fait parmi nous, vouloir réparer le temps qu'elle a perdu, et se venger de l'espèce de mépris que lui avaient marqué nos pères*²³.

He reiterates that philosophy had been reborn after coming out of this "long interval of ignorance" precisely because reason had come to enlighten it. Clearly, the Middle Ages were darkness,

*L'obscurité se terminera par un nouveau siècle de lumière. Nous serons plus frappés du grand jour après avoir été quelque temps dans les ténèbres. Elles seront comme une espèce d'anarchie très-funeste par elle-même, mais quelques fois utile par ses suites*²⁴.

sans doute se flattassent d'y exceller; car plus un siècle est grossier, plus il se croit instruit de tout ce qu'il peut savoir (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 63).

21. "Descartes dared at least to show intelligent minds how to throw off the yoke of scholasticism, of opinion, of authority—in a word, of prejudices and barbarism. And by that revolt whose fruits we are reaping today, he rendered a service to philosophy perhaps more difficult to perform than all those contributed thereafter by his illustrious successors. He can be thought of as a leader of conspirators who, before anyone else, had the courage to arise against a despotic and arbitrary power and who, in preparing a resounding revolution, laid the foundations of a more just and happier government, which he himself was not able to see established. If he concluded by believing he could explain everything, he at least began by doubting everything" (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 67).

22. Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 74.

23. "[...] philosophy, which constitutes the dominant taste of our century, seems to be trying to make up for the time that it has lost and to avenge itself for the sort of contempt our fathers showed for it" (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 75).

24. "The darkness will end with a new century of light. We will be struck by the great day after some time in the darkness. For everything has regular revolutions, and the darkness will be like a sort of anarchy,



However, the Middle Ages was also the period of irrationality and bad taste, as can be deduced comparing what d'Alembert presents here and in other places,

*Gardons-nous pourtant de souhaiter une révolution si redoutable; la barbarie dure des siècles, il semble que ce soit notre élément: la raison et le bon goût ne font que passer*²⁵.

7. Voltaire

François-Marie Arouet (1694-1778), better known as Voltaire, was a man of his times, anticlerical and free-thinker, of bold, very subtle, word. The 18th-century intellectuals, who presented themselves as “philosophers”, identified the Middle Ages with Christianity and the rule of the Church. Within the word “religion”, they enclosed a series of more or less heterogeneous practices, considered irrational, among which they included divinations, certain incantations, abandoning suspects at sea and various corporal punishments. They lavished all the qualifiers without reserve against what they said were cruel and irrational customs.

Voltaire took a stance against these violent centuries of the Medievo in his *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des Nations*, written in 1756, where he held that murders committed by princes went unpunished by the Church,

*La religion chrétienne, qui devait humaniser les hommes, n'empêche point le roi Clovis de faire assassiner les petits régas, ses voisins et ses parents. Les deux enfants de Clodomir sont massacrés dans Paris, en 533, par un Childebert et un Clotaire, ses oncles, qu'on appelle rois de France; et Clodoald, le frère de ces innocents égorgés, est invoqué sous le nom de saint Cloud, parce qu'on l'a fait moine... Le père fait brûler son fils avec tous ses amis prisonniers, en 559*²⁶.

The passage is bleak, and the depiction of an epoch that could not be repeated,

Sous un Chilpéric, roi de Soissons, en 562, les sujets esclaves désertent ce prétendu royaume, lassés de la tyrannie de leur maître, qui prenait leur pain et leur vin, ne pouvant prendre

which is most baleful in itself, but sometimes useful in its consequences” (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. “Discours préliminaire...”: 81-82).

25. “let us not hope for such a fearful upset. Barbarism lasts for centuries; it seems that it is our natural element; reason and good taste are only passing” (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. “Discours préliminaire...”: 82).

26. “The Christian religion, which should humanize men, did not hinder the King Clovis from causing the little kings his neighbours to be assassinated. Clodomir's two sons were murdered at Paris in 533 by their uncles Childebert and Clotaire, who are called kings of France; and Clodoaldo, brother of those slaughtered innocents, is invoked as a saint by the name of St. Cloud, because he was made a monk [...]. The father burned his son with all his prisoners friends, in 559” (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations”, *Œuvres Complètes*. Paris: Garnier, 1878, chapter XXII: “usages du temps de Charlemagne. De la justice, des lois. Coutumes singulières. Épreuves”).



l'argent qu'ils n'avaient pas. Un Sigebert, un autre Chilpéric, sont assassinés. Brunehaut, d'arienne devenue catholique, est accusée de mille meurtres; et un Clotaire II, non moins barbare qu'elle, la fait traîner, dit-on, à la queue d'un cheval dans son camp, et la fait mourir par ce nouveau genre de supplice, en 616. Si cette aventure n'est pas vraie, il est du moins prouvé qu'elle a été crue comme une chose ordinaire, et cette opinion même atteste la barbarie du temps. Il ne reste de monuments de ces âges affreux que des fondations de monastères, et un confus souvenir de misère et de brigandages. Figurez-vous des déserts où les loups, les tigres, et les renards, égorgent un bétail épars et timide: c'est le portrait de l'Europe pendant tant de siècles²⁷.

It is impossible to avoid citing the impressive portrait that Voltaire paints of medieval barbarity, the cover of Europe for so many centuries, the Middle Ages. The power of the Frankish stewards was founded on the use they made with the great men of the Church, the bishops and abbots, a kind of culpable solidarity,

Mais quand les majordomes ou maires de cette milice usurpèrent insensiblement le pouvoir, ils voulurent cimenter leur autorité par le crédit des prélats et des abbés, en les appelant aux assemblées du champ de mai²⁸.

When he describes the customs of the Germans, referring particularly to the Saxons, he attacks the prejudice of the intrinsic barbarity found especially in the religion,

Les Germains septentrionaux étaient alors appelés Saxons. On connaissait sous ce nom tous les peuples qui habitaient les bords du Vésèr et ceux de l'Elbe, de Hambourg à la Moravie, et du bas Rhin à la mer Baltique. Ils étaient païens ainsi que tout le septentrion. Leurs mœurs et leurs lois étaient les mêmes que du temps des Romains. Chaque canton se gouvernait en république, mais ils élisaient un chef pour la guerre. Leurs lois étaient simples comme leurs mœurs, leur religion grossière: ils sacrifiaient, dans les grands dangers, des hommes à la Divinité, ainsi que tant d'autres nations; car c'est le caractère des barbares de croire la Divinité malfaisante: les hommes font Dieu à leur image²⁹.

27. "Under Chilperic king of Soissons in 562, the subjects were so enslaved, that they deserted that pretended kingdom, tired of the tyranny of their master, who took their bread and wine, but could not take their money, for they had none. Sigebert and another Chilperic were assassinated. Brunehaut after quitting the Arian sect to embrace the catholic religion, was accused of a thousand murders; and Clotharius II, one as barbarous as herself, ordered her to be dragged after a horse's tail to his camp, till she expired under this new kind of punishment in 616. If this adventure is not true, it is at least proved that it was believed to be a regular thing, and the same opinion attests to the barbarism of the time. We have no monuments of those horrifying times except the foundation of a few monasteries, and a confused account of misery and depredations. Imagine deserts where wolves, tigers and foxes, slaughtering sparse and shy cattle: the portrait of Europe for so many centuries" (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. "Essai sur les mœurs...": chapter XVII).

28. "But when the stewards or mayors of the militia gradually usurped power, they wanted to cement their authority with the credit of prelates and abbots, calling on them in the assemblies of the field in May" (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. "Essai sur les mœurs...": chapter XVII).

29. "The northern Germans were then called Saxons. A name given to all the people who dwelt on the banks of the Weser and the Elbe from Hamburg to Moravia and from Mentz to the Baltic Sea. They, as well as all the North, were pagans: their manners and laws were the same as in the times of the ancient Roman. Each canton was a republic, but they elected a chief when they went to war. Their laws were simple as well as their manners, their religion was absurd: in times of imminent danger, they, like many



The Church is always depicted as being responsible through having being complicit in the barbarity,

L'Église a mis au nombre des saints cet homme qui répandit tant de sang, qui dépouilla ses neveux, et qui fut soupçonné d'inceste! [...]. La rouille de la barbarie était trop forte, et les âges suivants l'épaissirent encore³⁰.

The popular custom of wergeld or the price placed on each person in society constituted a cultural regression, because it left the rich and landowners unpunished: its jurisprudence, that seemed humane, was crueller than ours, because anyone who could was pay free to offend³¹. And it seems that it must have been so, for the Franks differed from the Gauls.

Regarding the so-called “God’s trials”, or trial be ordeal, these were seen as *déplorables folies de ce gouvernement barbare*, referring to Charlemagne, understanding as such, especially, the judicial duel, but also including other tests, including boiling water and the red-hot iron. Speaking for his times and adherents, Voltaire excluded any possibility of understanding these practices in his particular experience, stripping them of any supernatural cloak that made them understandable to the popular conscience. Undoubtedly, by excluding any divine intervention or “miracle”, everything related to these deep-rooted customs obviously seems absurd and barbarous, and in passing, as Dominique Barthélemy states, depicts 9th-century men as imbeciles³².

Voltaire had a distorting parameter for appreciating the past: distinguishing between civilisation and barbarity in human experience. This implacable dichotomy necessarily led to a split between passion and reason. With this, part of the history of man was thrown into irrationality as Blandine Barret-Kriegel has highlighted, quoting a passage in her *Remarques sur l'Histoire* transcribed below,

Me parece que si quisiéramos sacar provecho del tiempo presente, no nos pasaríamos la vida ensalzando las fábulas antiguas. Aconsejaría a un joven que adquiriera unas ligeras nociones de aquellos tiempos pasados, pero me gustaría que comenzase un estudio serio de la historia del tiempo en que ésta se vuelve verdaderamente interesante para nosotros: creo que este momento se puede situar a finales del siglo XV [a continuación justifica ofreciendo datos sobre procesos de comienzos del mundo moderno, y concluye]. Esta es la historia que todo el

other nations, sacrificed human victims to the Deity: it is the character of Barbarians, that they represent the Deity as a stern malevolent being; for man make God after their own image” (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Essai sur les mœurs...”: chapter XV).

30. “The Church has given the name of saint to that man who spilled so much blood, which stripped his nephews, who was suspected of incest! [...]. The blight of barbarism was too strong, and the following ages thickened yet more” (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Essai sur les mœurs...”: chapter XVI).

31. *Leur jurisprudence, qui paraît humaine, était peut-être en effet plus cruelle que la nôtre: elle laissait la liberté de mal faire à quiconque pouvait la payer* (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Essai sur les mœurs...”: chapter XXII).

32. Barthélemy, Dominique. *L'an mil et la paix de Dieu. La France chrétienne et féodale 980-1060*. Paris: Fayard, 1999. I use the Spanish edition: *El año mil y la paz de Dios. La Iglesia y la sociedad feudal*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2005: 660.



*mundo debe saber. Es en ella donde no encontrará ni predicciones quiméricas, ni oráculos mentirosos, ni falsos milagros, ni fábulas insensatas: todo allí es verdadero*³³.

Thus, the Enlightenment proclaimed the triumph of the bourgeoisie, conceiving progress as the result of overcoming anarchy and stagnation. The foundations of the rationalist project of the new contemporary society established in the 18th century became an obstacle for the historian, making it impossible to understand the medieval society that, it must be repeated, had ignored these principles.

However, contrary to what the Catholic historiography sought from it, Voltaire worked seriously using the best methods available in his time, making an effort of synthesis, as demonstrated by Ludovico Gatto³⁴; and it is no less worthy to remember him for having taken an important step towards the rational understanding of the past, a master of modern history according to Georges Lefebvre³⁵.

8. Conclusion

I believe that I have shown that the negative view of the Middle Ages, taking the existence of a right to vengeance as a starting point, was reinforced at the end of the modern world due to contamination from Enlightenment ideas on the appreciation of medieval past. Cloaked in revolutionary ideals, the French Enlightenment saw the medieval society plunged into a “natural state”, the result of the introduction of the Germanic traditions into Western Europe and the influence that the Church and Christianity had on that society.

Immersed in an environment of strong rationalism, pre-revolutionary France orientated its expectations towards political and religious freedom as the bases for happiness. To do this, it was necessary to leave behind the long monarchical and religious past, which was in reality medieval. With such a set of ideas, it was predictable that the Enlightenment would not be free of prejudices. These were due to the posture adopted by the revolutionaries towards the changes that led to the outbreak of 1789. For them, rejecting change actually meant many things:

33. “I think if we take advantage of this time, we would not spend our lives extolling the ancient fables. I would advise a young man to acquire a smattering of those times past, but I’d like him to begin the serious study of history at the time when it becomes really interesting for us: I think this time can be placed at the end of the 15th century [then he justifies offering data on processes of early modern world, and concludes]. This is the story that everyone should know. It is where you will find no chimerical predictions, lying oracles, false miracles, or foolish fables: everything there is true (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Remarques sur l’Histoire”, *Œuvres Complètes*. Paris: Garnier, 1878: XVI, 137; Barret-Kriegel, Blandine. *Les historiens et la Monarchie*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988: II, 294-306; Guerreau, Alain. *El futuro de un Pasado. La Edad Media en el siglo XXI*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2002: 28.

34. Gatto, Ludovico. *Medioevo voltairiano*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1972.

35. *Maître de l’histoire rationaliste, à nos yeux le fondateur de l’histoire vraiment moderne* (“Master of rationalist history, four our eyes the founder of the really modern history”). Lefebvre, Georges. *La naissance de l’historiographie moderne*. Paris: Flammarion, 1971: 125.



accepting the monarchy as it was, recognising the Church and its omnipresent role in society, rejecting rational thought, recognising the hierarchy of the people, identifying themselves with the past, in other words, maintaining the prevailing order and institutions.

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II PART

THE PAST STUDIED AND MEASURED



THE BEATITUDES CASKET. A NEW RECONSTRUCTIVE HYPOTHESIS

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Date of receipt: 10th of February, 2012

Final date of acceptance: 4th of February, 2014

ABSTRACT

The following is a small ivory chest belonging to the Collegiate church of San Isidoro of León although it is located in the National Archaeological Museum of Spain in Madrid since 1869. It was made during the 11th century. Being hardly damaged, it needed from restoration works based on small pieces of ivory coming from the former independent Muslim-ruled principalities (*Taifas*) along with the artist's workroom of Ferdinand I of León and Castile and Sancha of León. Its original visual appearance is a mystery that we are trying to solve in the present work¹.

KEY WORDS

Casket, Beatitudes, Ivory, Reconstruction, Fernando I and Sancha.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Arcula, Beatitudines, Ebur, Reconstructio, Ferdinandus I et Sancia.

The Beatitudes Casket is a piece that has been traditionally identified as one of the gifts mentioned in the Donation of 1063, a list of precious objects offered by the King Ferdinand I and his wife Queen Sancha to the Church of San Isidoro of León². Thus, the chest dates back to the first half of the 11th century. It consists of a wooden core with embedded ivory plaques. Seven of them are decorated with the iconographical representation of the Beatitudes (Illustrations 1, 3 and 4). They are Romanesque in style, and are believed to be work of the ivory workshop that is thought to have been located in the city of León. Islamic ivory fragments were placed on the back. They appear to either come from the *taifa* ivory workshop of Cuenca, or those that existed in Seville under the rule of al-Mu'tadid (1042-1069).

This group of reliefs constitutes a complex puzzle, showcasing two different and more or less contemporary ivory traditions in the Iberian Peninsula, which make difficult to decipher. Its current appearance is far from the original, which was possibly closer to the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius and Saint John the Baptist kept in the Treasury of San Isidoro (Illustration 5). Originally, this piece would have had a silver work cover that gave it a more sumptuous look. In the 19th century, the French, lured by this richness, removed the goldsmithing causing a serious damage. A recomposition was imperative and it resulted in the curious object that is guarded in the National Archaeological Museum of Spain in Madrid since 1869³.

The chest is made of one of the most exotic, rich and difficult to get materials used in works of art. Its texture, hardness and attention to detail have attracted promoters and patrons, since prehistory: ivory⁴. Ivory is bone tissue formed by chemical compounds that make up the teeth, horns and tusks of animals such as the

1. This article is part of the research project: *El patronazgo artístico regio en el territorio castellano-leonés. El papel del clero (1055-1200)* (HAR2010-19480), directed by María Victoria Herráez and funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation of Spain. Used abbreviation: ASIL, Archivo de San Isidoro de León.

2. Martín, M^a Encarnación. *Patrimonio cultural de San Isidoro de León, Documentos de los siglos X-XIII*. León: Universidad de León, 1995: 16-19 (doc. n. 6).

3. Rada y Delgado, Juan de Dios; Malibrán, Juan de. *Memoria que presentan al Exmo. Sr. Ministro de Fomento, dando cuenta de los trabajos practicados y adquisiciones hechas por el Museo Arqueológico Nacional*. Madrid: Imprenta nacional del Colegio de Sordo-Mudos y Ciegos, 1871: 35.

4. Teófilo, a medieval monk, wrote about the way of working the ivory in: *Theophilus: On divers arts. The foremost medieval treatise on painting, glassmaking and metalwork*, John G. Hawthorne, Stanley Smith, eds. New York: Dover Publications, 1979: 187. During the 20th century ivory was analyzed in various studies: Kunz, George Frederick. *Ivory and the elephant in art, in archaeology, and in science*. New York: Doubleday-Page and Company, 1916; previously, another work in which the ivory workers are the central topic: Cust, Ann M. *The ivory workers of Middle Age*. London: George Bell and Sons New York, 1902. More recently it is interesting to remark the study of: Cutler, Anthony. *The Hand of the Master. Craftsmanship, Ivory and Society in Byzantium (9th-11th centuries)*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994; Cristoferi, Elena. *Gli avori, problema de restauro*. Florence: Nardini, 1992, who deals with conservational issues, and Clark Grahame. *Symbols of Excellence, Precious materials as expressions of status*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1986; focused on the symbolic aspects of ivory. This material is also studied in different manuals of artistic techniques, some instances being: Barnett, Richard. "Arte dell'avorio", *Storia della tecnologia. Dai tempi primitivi alla caduta degli antichi imperi, fino al 500 a.C circa*, Charles Singer, Eric Holymard, Allastair Hall, Trevor Williams, eds. Turin: P. Boringhieri, 1981(1st ed. 1961): I, chap. 14; Hodges, Henry. *Artifacts. An introduction to early materials and technology*. London: John Baker, 1964: 153, chap. XII; Maltese, Corrado, coord. *Las técnicas artísticas*. Madrid: Electa, 1999.



walrus, the narwhal, the sperm whale, the rhinoceros and —most significantly— the elephant⁵. Nowadays, the trade of ivory is subjected to international agreements to prevent illegal practices that go against animal rights⁶.

In the Iberian Peninsula, various ivory traditions and workshops emerged at the end of the 10th century and were developed over the following hundred years. In the South, they were associated with the Muslim world and, above all, with the splendor of Córdoba and its continuation in Cuenca⁷. In the North, they were connected to the kingdom of Ferdinand I in León and the Monasteries of San Millán de la Cogolla in La Rioja⁸.

As stated before, the Beatitudes Casket is believed to be a work of the Leonese ivory workshop. The monarchs Ferdinand I and Sancha play a relevant role in the conformation of this center in León. The main pieces attached to it are: the Cross of Ferdinand and Sancha —today at the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid—⁹, the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius and Saint John the Baptist¹⁰, the Carrizo

5. In fact, proper ivory is made from elephant tusks but throughout history artists had to use different materials with similar features for their works. Some anatomical questions related to the advantages of elephant tusk with regard to other materials are collected in: Maskell, William. *Ivories, ancient and mediaeval*. London: Published by the Committee of Council on Education by Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, 1875.

6. For further information: CITES, *The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora*. 18 August 2011. International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) <<http://www.cites.org>>.

7. Some titles that can provide information about the Islamic ivory workshops are: Ferrandis, José. *Marfiles árabes de Occidente*. Madrid: Estanislao Maestre, 1935: I, and Madrid: Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos, 1940: II and the catalogue of Kühnel, Ernst. *Die islamischen elfenbeinskulpturen, VIII-XIII Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1971: number 41. In 2008 Galán y Galindo publish: Galán, Ángel. *Marfiles Medievales del Islam*. Córdoba: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural Cajasur, 2005: I, 394; II, 81.

8. The basis for the study of the Romanesque ivories was set according to: Goldschmidt, Adolph. *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit, XI-XIII*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1972 (1st ed. 1926): 4, 94. Subsequently: Kingsley, Arthur. *Romanesque sculpture of the pilgrimage roads*. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1923 and later on with: Kingsley, Arthur. *Spanish Romanesque sculpture*. New York: Hacker art books, 1969 on Spanish ivory workshops. In Spain, it is worth mentioning the work of: Ferrandis, José. *Marfiles y azabaches españoles*. Barcelona: Labor, 1928 followed by: Martínez, Ricardo. *Marfiles españoles*. Barcelona: Argos, 1951. Since the eighties the topic has been studied by: Estella, Margarita M. *La escultura de marfil en España*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1984; Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles. Talleres de León y San Millán de la Cogolla en el siglo XI". *Códex Aquilarensis*, 22 (2006): 97-144; Franco, Ángela. "La eboraria de los reinos hispánicos durante los siglos XI y XII". *Códex Aquilarensis*, 13 (1998): 145-166 and Gallego, Raquel. *La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I. La perspectiva de unas artes suntuarias europeas* (PhD Dissertation), 2010. Ivory is also part of some manuals: Lasko, Peter. *Arte Sacro 800-1200*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1999; Lozoya, Marqués de. *Historia del arte hispánico*. Barcelona: Salvat, 1931. I or: Yarza, Joaquín. *Historia del Arte Hispánico. La Edad Media*. Madrid: Alhambra, 1982: II; some compilations: Cook, Walter William; Gudíol, José. "Pintura e imaginería románicas", *Ars Hispaniae*. Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1950: VI, 281-294 and some exhibition catalogues: Bango, Isidro, coord. *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro sagrado y monarquía*. León: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001 and D. Dodds, Jerrilynn, coord. *Art of Medieval Spain A. D. 500-120*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

9. An updated and wide bibliographical list about this piece: Gallego, Raquel. *La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I...: 65-66*.

10. See footnote 61.



Christ —in the Museum of León—, the *Pax* —guarded in Saint Isidore— and a Plaque with the topic of the *Traditio Legis*¹¹ in the Louvre.

The casket has been analyzed by several researchers, but their studies are usually associated with the León and San Millán de la Cogolla workshops¹², with the Islamic world¹³ or with the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid¹⁴. Some generic features are listed, but there is no thorough study into the aspects that could be crucial to determine its original state and function.

As explained before, the first documented testimony about the piece dates back to the year 1063 and it is a privilege granted by King Ferdinand I and Queen Sancha to the consecration of the Church of Saint Isidore¹⁵. There is no subsequent information about the object until the description of the altar by Ambrosio de Morales in 1572¹⁶. Given the brevity of the text, it is not possible to accurately determine whether or not the Beatitudes Casket could be one of the gifts that appear on the list. In that respect, the work of Quadrado is particularly relevant because it publishes a drawing of the object made by Parcerisa¹⁷.

Amador de los Ríos was the pioneer in elaborating an essay focused exclusively on the Beatitudes Casket¹⁸. He made a meticulous description of each plaque with its inscriptions and measurements, paying especial attention to the royal Document of 1063. He believes that this very chest and the one mentioned in the privilege bearing three boxes inside could be the same piece. He is interested in knowing its original function and thus, he tries to apply an archaeological study of the objects which could shed some light on the link established between Ferdinand I and the Toledo of al-Mamún.

An in-depth approach to the formal description around the Beatitudes Casket originally led by Amador de los Ríos is first found in the 20th century. Julie Ann Harris focuses on iconography, searching for similar examples¹⁹. Moreover,

11. There are index cards with relevant bibliography about these pieces in: *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*, and in: *Art of Medieval Spain...*

12. See footnote 8.

13. Galán, Ángel. *Marfiles Medievales del Islam...*; Kühnel, Ernst. *Die islamischen elfenbeinskulpturen...*; Leguina, Enrique de. *Arquetas hispano-árabes*. Madrid: Librero Fernando Fé, 1912: 46-76; Migeon, Gaston. *Manuel d'art musulman, Les Arts plastiques et industriels*. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1907.

14. Álvarez-Osorio, Francisco. *Una visita al Museo arqueológico Nacional*. Madrid: Imprenta Artística Española, 1910 and Franco, Ángela. "Eboraria en los reinos hispánicos en los siglos XI y XII y su reflejo en el museo arqueológico nacional", *Enciclopedia del Románico, Madrid*. Aguilar de Campoo: Centro de Estudios del Románico, 2008: 197-228.

15. ASIL. Archivo de San Isidoro de León, 125.

16. Morales, Ambrosio de. *Viage a los reynos de León, y Galicia, y Principado de Asturias para reconocer las reliquias de santos, sepulcros reales y libros manuscritos de las catedrales y monasterios*. Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1765 (Ed. Facsímil, Oviedo, 1977): 47-48.

17. Quadrado, José M^o; Parcerisa, Xavier. *España, sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza e historia*. Asturias y León. Barcelona: Ed. de Daniel Cortez y Cia, 1885: 498.

18. Ríos, José Amador de los. "Arqueta de marfil de la Colegiata de San Isidoro de León hoy existente en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional". *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, 2 (1872): 545-559.

19. Harris, Julie. "The Beatitudes Casket in Madrid's Museo Arqueológico: its iconography in context". *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 53 (1990): 134-139.



she connects the Casket with the Hispanic liturgy and particularly with the *Antiphonarium mozarabicum* of the Cathedral of León. She considers that the piece might have been used to worship certain saints, which could be the ones portrayed on it. This idea was later on reintroduced by Ángela Franco²⁰. Concepción Cosmen studies the sources that could have influenced the mentor of the iconographical program, probably a theologian, to portray such an unusual yet suitable topic as the beatitudes in a reliquary²¹.

The work of Ángela Franco Mata is also worth considering. She studies the casket in some of her works, being an article published in 2007 especially remarkable; in this piece of work, she suggests a reconstruction of the Casket that is our starting point for the development of this paper²². Our main aim is to set a new reconstructive hypothesis of the Beatitudes Casket following Dra. Franco's considerations, while adding some details that we deem helpful to determine what the object was originally like in the 11th century.

1. The Beatitudes Casket in its present state

It is difficult to describe the Beatitudes Casket as it is today, since it is made of an amalgam of fragments of both Christian and Muslim origin. The structure is not the original one. If it were, it would be a *unicum*, a strange element among a homogenous group of objects, such as the caskets from the workshops of León and San Millán de la Cogolla. Thanks to this basic principle of similarity, it is possible to bring forward some reconstructive hypothesis. In order to do so, it is imperative to carry out an approximation to the primitive casket, which must be as reliable as possible, while considering its current appearance, fruit of a reconstruction.

The authors who have studied the piece do not agree about the moment when the plaques were assembled the way they are today. Some of them —Amador de los Ríos or José Ferrandis for instance—, believe that the reconstruction would have happened in the 18th century given the ironwork in the piece²³. Others, as Concepción Cosmen, date its reconstruction in the 19th century, after the attack of the French Troops on the Royal Collegiate Church of Saint Isidore²⁴.

There could be an alternative to these two preponderant ideas. Joseph Manzano wrote about an episode from the period of Henry of Burgundy, Count of Portugal (1069-1112) who invaded León shortly after the decease of Alfonso VI. One of his soldiers witnessed a miracle. When he was about to steal the nowadays

20. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 97-144.

21. Cosmen, María Concepción. "La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas: fuentes iconográficas". *De Arte*, 1 (2002): 21-30.

22. Franco, Ángela. "La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas". *Diario de León*. 12 July 2009.

23. Ríos, José Amador de los. "Arqueta de marfil...": 549; Ferrandis, José. *Marfiles y azabaches...*: 151.

24. Cosmen, María Concepción. "La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...": 21.



missing Christ offered to the Church by the infant Urraca²⁵, the statue raised its head intimidating the thief²⁶. This might have been the time when the casket was damaged and needed from restoration, sometime at the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century. The same situation could have happened in times of Alfonso I of Aragón, the Battler, married to infant Urraca in 1109. He also acted violently against Saint Isidore and he may have caused damage and taken some valuable pieces as he had previously done in Sahagún²⁷. Could the Beatitudes Casket possibly have been among those damaged pieces? Given that there is no recorded evidence to prove this theory, the doubt is still hanging in the air²⁸. The object we are focusing our attention on has been identified with one of the caskets listed in the Document of Donation of 1063, more specifically with one of the two ivory boxes with a silver cover that bore three little chests made of the same material²⁹. This identification is not fortuitous, but rather made regarding the current appearance of the casket. The ivory fragments on the back could belong to two small chests of Muslim origin that were associated with two of the *tres alie capselle in eodem opere facte* mentioned in the Document³⁰.

The object has a prismatic rectangular structure with a truncated lid with four slopes and an upper platform. In its origin, the chest is believed to have had different dimensions and the lid would be proportional to them. Given the resemblances with the ivory plaques portraying the Apostles in the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius (Illustration 5) —also from the Leonesque ivory workshop— it can be inferred that the structure of both caskets could have been similar. The present lid is suitable for the fragments joined later on.

The ivory plaques are inlaid on a wooden core. Seven of them bear Christian iconography and represent the Beatitudes. They are on the front and on both sides. The other seven fragments are of Muslim origin and are located on the back (Illustration 2).

25. For further information about the piece, see note 85 on this paper.

26. Manzano, Joseph. *Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidoro, arzobispo de Sevilla*. Salamanca: Imprenta Real-Por Eugenio García de Honorato y San Miguel, 1732: 385.

27. Escalona, Fray Romualdo. *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*. Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1782: II, 311; Herráez, María Victoria, coord. *El patrimonio artístico de San Benito de Sahagún. Esplendor y decadencia de un monasterio medieval*. León: Universidad de León, 2000: 83; Pérez, Maurilio, ed. *Chronica Adephonsi Imperatoris*. León: Universidad de León, 1997: 79.

28. We have gone through the *Actas Capitulares* in the Chapter about Saint Isidore of León (ASIL. Serie I, Caja 74, 1, a-n), but we could not find any references to a reconstruction. The documentation about the invasion of the French troops gives no clues about this issue either.

29. ASIL. 125 and 126: *et alias duas ebúrneas argento laboratas: in unna ex eis sedent intus tres alie capselle in eodem opere facte*.

30. Galán, Ángel. "Marfiles Medievales...": II, 84, has pointed out that the third box could be the one called "of the hares", kept in the Museum of Saint Isidore, while Estella, Margarita M. "La escultura de marfil...": 29, thinks that it could have been the little Scandinavian idol, also in the same institution.



The object is approximately 18 cm long, 10 to 12 cm wide and between 15 and 16 cm high without the lid³¹. The Beatitudes plaques are 15 cm high and 6 cm long. As previously stated, they do not differ too much from the ivory sheets of the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius, which measure 14x6 cm³². Besides the size, there are more paragons between both pieces, such as the expressions and clothing of the characters. However, although there is a common spirit in the representations, they were not made by the same author.

Only seven Beatitudes plaques have been preserved, but there used to be another one (Illustrations 1, 3 y 4). Occasionally, it has been considered that the last beatitude could have included the others, therefore there being a reiteration³³. Based on this idea, it could be thought that perhaps the eighth one never existed. However, as it is the fourth one which is missing: this hypothesis lacks foundation³⁴.

The Christian plaques follow very strong guidelines. All of them feature a composition dominated by two masculine figures in conversation, sheltered by arches supported by salomonic or helicoids columns. Above the arches there are buildings that emulate Paradise or Heavenly Jerusalem. On the haunches we can read inscriptions with the Beatitudes in caroline letters³⁵: *Beati qui lugent*, *Beati qui persecutionem*, *Beati pacifici*, *Beati Misericordes*, *Beati mundo corde*, *Beati papuperes spiritu*, *Beati mites*. Number four *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam quoniam ipsi saturabuntur* is missing, so it can be presumed that there were originally eight plaques instead of just seven.

The couples represented in the plaques are angels that transmit the divine message and characters that are listening attentively. The identity of these terrestrial figures is rather difficult to determine. They bear halos, are barefoot and wear tunics and cloaks with ornaments. They can be bearded or not. Except one, all of them have books decorated with a four-leaved flower.

31. Its dimensions have been recorded by different authors and they give the reader have an approximate idea of its size. There are discrepancies among researchers, but the variation of the proportions is not very significant. Even if we could have acces to study the casket directly, thanks to the Medieval Art curator at the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid (Ángela Franco) it is forbidden to measure it, and that this way we have into account the information given by other researchers.

32. Álvarez, Monserrat. *El arca de los marfiles de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*. Leon: Universidad de León (MPhil Dissertation), 1994.

33. Cosmen, M^a Concepción. "La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...": 25.

34. Cosmen, M^a Concepción. "La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...": 29.

35. This kind of writing comes from French and it is progressively introduced in the Iberian Peninsula from the North territories. Although it is characteristic of the 12th century, it could be found earlier in history, as it happens in the inscriptions of the beatitudes for instance. The features that allow its ascription are, among others, the A with a serif and the triangular stroke as union, the almond-shaped O—which is an eco of the rhomboidal Visigothic O—, and a module that tends to be squared. For further information, refer to: Favreau, Robert. *Les inscriptions médiévales*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979; García, Vicente. *Las inscripciones de San Miguel de Escalada: estudio crítico*. Barcelona: el Albir, 1982; García, Vicente; Martín, Encarnación. *De epigrafía medieval: introducción y álbum*. Leon: Universidad de Leon, 1995. I would like to thank Natalia Rodríguez Suárez and Alejandro García Morilla, from the Area of Historiographical Sciences and Techniques within the Department of Artistic and Documental Heritage of the University of León, for their help in this field.



Although the scenes are quite similar and share some common features, such as the slim constitution of the characters, jet inlays for the pupils—typical characteristic from the Leonesque ivory workshop— or the draperies of the robes, each one of them has its own personality. Pijoán pointed out that the reliefs have not been fairly valued by the critics³⁶. The crudeness of the figures was generally emphasized, especially when compared to the Cross of Ferdinand I and Sancha³⁷. In fact, even though they do not achieve the level of perfection of the Crucifix, they are high quality pieces.

The most remarkable differences between the plaques are related to the treatment of the wings of the angels that turn, bend and sometimes break the frame or the inscriptions, and are not adapted to the anthropomorphic proportion. The expressions and attitudes are also differential features, and it is important to notice the index fingers of the angels that point at Heavenly Jerusalem. The objects that they hold in their hands are more varied than in the case of the Blessed. One of them carries a palm, another one a scepter and the last one what according to Amador de los Ríos is an instrument, a horn in Pijoán's interpretation and a scroll according to Harris³⁸.

The casket becomes an important document to show the expressions, a field where the most remarkable differences can be appreciated. Some of the figures hold the books with their veiled hand; they lean their chin on their closed fist or appear with their palms opened on the chest, a sign of astonishment, acceptance or even humility according to the specialists on the matter³⁹.

The angels point at Heavenly Jerusalem with large index fingers⁴⁰. All of them have similar robes, but the draperies create different shapes that render the scenes more realistic. The cloaks could be tied to the waist or on the shoulder. The feet seem to show a short break on the way in order to pay attention to what the divine character has to say, and reflect upon the message that they are being told.

A lock in the plaque located in the center of the front side of the casket, which was surely made during the recomposition, is noteworthy as a meaningful formal feature (Illustration 1).

36. Pijoán, José. "Arte románico", *Summa Artis*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2000: IX, chapter VI, 138-139.

37. Gómez Moreno alluded to the minor perfection of figures (Gómez, Manuel. *El arte románico español. Esquema de un libro*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1934: 24) an idea maintained at *Ars Hispaniae* (Spencer, José William; Gudiol, Josep. "Pintura e imaginaria románicas...": 291) and also mentioned by: Beckwith, John. "Caskets from Córdoba...": 30.

38. Ríos, Amador de los. "Arqueta de marfil de la Colegiata de San Isidoro...": 550; Harris, Julie. "The Beatitudes Casket...": 137; Pijoán, José. "Arte románico...": 139.

39. The open palm was studied by: Garnier, François. *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge. Signification et symbolique*. París: Le Leopard d'Or, 1982: 174; Miguélez, Alicia. *Gesto y gestualidad en el arte románico de los reynos hispanos: lectura y valoración iconográfica*. Leon: Círculo Románico, 2009: 107-116; Ríos, Amador de los. "Arqueta de marfil de la Colegiata de San Isidoro...": 551, had already said that it was a gesture of resignation and innocence.

40. Miguélez, Alicia. "Gesto y gestualidad en el arte románico...": 116; Miguélez, Alicia. "El dedo índice como atributo regio de poder en la iconografía románica de la Península Ibérica", *Imágenes del poder en la Edad Media. Selección de Estudios del Prof. Dr. Fernando Galván Freile*. Leon: Universidad de León, 2011: II, 325-339.



As suitable as it is for a reliquary, the iconographic topic of the Beatitudes is not very common in the artistic medieval representations. These biblical statements are linked with the liturgy because they were read, recited or sang in different offices related to the saints and their relics. Therefore for a casket made to guard the remains of holy men from the past, it would be more than adequate to portray these divine teachings to the faithful. These reliefs with the beatitudes work as a role model for the Christians who venerated the holy relics held in the casket. It must be said that from 1063, when the Church of Saint Isidore was consecrated, and until 1572 at least, when Ambrosio de Morales mentioned and described this piece, the casket would have been located on the altar, next to the Reliquaries of Saint Isidore and Saint Pelagius—from 1065 on known as the Reliquary of Saint Vincent⁴¹.

In short, one of the iconographic codes of the piece could be associated with the Hispanic or Mozarab Liturgy. The most direct source to understand the work of the beatitudes can be found in the *Antiphonarium* of the Cathedral of León. This text compiles parts of these statements in the offices of the saints Aciscus, Romanus, Julian, Tirso, Engratia, Simon and Judas, Euphemia and Cosmas and Damian⁴². Franco Mata follows this idea and adds that the casket could have been used to contain the relics of the characters honored by the mozarab liturgy⁴³.

There is yet another text that could be linked to the chest because of a curious detail: in the manuscript 35.5 of the Library of the Chapter of Toledo, and as pointed by Ángela Franco⁴⁴, the beatitudes are said to be only seven⁴⁵. Thus, it could be considered that it was a source for the iconography of the piece, where there is the same number of reliefs. However, and as previously stated, originally, there should have been eight plaques, because the one that is missing is the fourth beatitude and not the last one.

Concepción Cosmen makes an in-depth research of other sources or texts that could have been an influence in the choice of the topic. She infers that Saint Augustine, with *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, could have been the starting point for a lot of theorists such as Paul the Deacon, Pope Leo I or the Venerable Bede who also studied the beatitudes, and whose texts were perhaps kept in the library of Saint Isidore in León. Moreover, in the *City of God*, there is a careful description of Heavenly Jerusalem, so it has a bearing on the Augustinian ideas⁴⁶.

41. For further information, refer to: Morales, Ambrosio de. "Viage a los reynos de León...": 47-48.

42. Harris, Julie. "The Beatitudes Casket...": 139.

43. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 125.

44. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 128.

45. Huglo, Michel. "Le chant des Beatitudes dans la liturgie hispanique". *Hispania Sacra*, 17 (1964): 137-138.

46. Santamarta del Río, Santo; Fuertes, Miguel, trads. *Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1978: XVI-XVII.



The angels on the casket, identified as such thanks to the wings, have an important mission⁴⁷: they descend from Heavenly Jerusalem to transmit the Lord's message to the chosen ones, as well as to welcome the souls that arrive in Heaven⁴⁸.

But... what do the haloed figures represent? The researchers describe them as saints, "doctors" or witnesses, ultimately with the chosen ones for the afterlife⁴⁹. They could also be related to the pilgrim on Earth mentioned by Saint Augustine⁵⁰. We believe that they are role models, and represent "the good man". They would therefore be *exempla* carved in ivory, that could lure the observer and faithful who prayed before the relics of the casket. They could inspire them to behave in a good way in order to get the estate of good fortune.

The seven Muslim fragments are very different in size, as they came from two different boxes. They are organized in three horizontal friezes and they do not seem to follow a fixed organization (Illustration 2).

One of the chests, which reconstruction was suggested by Ferrandis, would be made of the two plaques that form the intermediate band on the back of the Casket, and the vertical inscription on the upper right corner. The three reliefs must be ascribed to the Cuenca ivory workshop because of the decoration, the composition with faced animals and the inscription bearing the same name that appears on the Casket of the Cathedrals of Palencia and Narbona: *Ismail ben Almamun*.

The other four fragments, including the little triangular one with the *ta marbuta*⁵¹, are probably from Seville and they are believed to belong to the same piece⁵², which could possibly be in León. In 1063, Ferdinand I sent a committee to make a pact with al-Mutalid (1042-1069). From these negotiations, the Christian king got the body of the Visigoth saint, Saint Isidore, and also booty with different pieces. It may have included this box, later on offered to the new Church⁵³.

47. Saint Augustine describes angels as ministers and messengers *que realizan, sin vacilación ni dificultad, lo que, de modos inefables, oyen debe ser realizado y debe llegar hasta estos seres visibles y sensibles*. ("Obras de San Agustín...": XVI, book X, chapter XV, 631).

48. Stierling, Henry. "Ivoires de l'Espagne. Une grande tradition d'art somptuaire". *L'oleil*, 317 (1981): 46: 42; Cosmen, M^a Concepción. "La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...": 27-28; Werckmeister, Otto Karl. "The first romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the liturgy of death", *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana I*. Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1980: II, 178.

49. Harris, Julie. "The Beatitudes Casket...": 137; Pijoán, José. "Arte románico...": 138; Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 119; Cosmen, M^a Concepción. "La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...": 29; *Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios...*: XVII, book XV, chapter I, 141.

50. *Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios...*: XVII, book XV, chapter I, 141.

51. It is a letter from the Arabic alphabet which designs as feminine the word which is located before it. I would like to thank Professor José Miguel Puerta Vilchez from the University of Granada for his help in the field of inscriptions and the interest shown in this piece of work.

52. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 127; Galán, Ángel. "Marfiles Medievales...": II, 84.

53. The translation of the relics of Saint Isidore appears in: Pérez de Urbell, Justo; González Ruiz-Zorrilla, Atilano, eds. *Historia Silense*. Madrid: Aldecoa, 1959: 45, 198 and later, in the 13th century, in the text by: Tuy, Lucas de. *Milagros de San Isidoro*. Leon: Universidad de León, 1992. It was also studied during the 17th century: Manzano, Joseph. "Vida y portentosos milagros...", especially in chapters 12, 13, 14, 15 book I, 37, 38, 39 and 40, book II, 4, 5 and 30, book III and in *España Sagrada* (Risco, Manuel. *España Sagrada, Memorias de la Santa Iglesia esenta de León concernientes a los ultimos cinco siglos...* Madrid: B.



Five of the seven remains bear inscriptions, which are difficult to read and thus present a challenge for the experts. Different interpretations have been suggested and it is easy to conclude that they were made in court spheres. Their use would have been modified in Christian territories. The best revision so far about this reading was made by Galán y Galindo⁵⁴.

It is not difficult to get an idea of what the boxes could be like, taking into account their fragmentary state. The same thing happens with the Beatitudes Casket; thanks to the compiled information and the precedent studies, it is possible to suggest a hypothetical reconstruction of the primitive casket. Thus, we can create a mental image of what the monarchs Ferdinand I and Sancha saw the day of the consecration of the temple of Saint Isidore in December of 1063.

2. The Beatitudes Casket in its original estate

The primitive state of the piece will remain a mystery until new clues are unraveled, but meanwhile we will attempt to make an approximation to its original shape using analytic and comparative methods.

Although it has generally been considered that the Christian plaques would have been part of a casket, Raquel Gallego García suggests that they could belong to a different kind of object mentioned in the Donation of Ferdinand and Sancha such as, for instance, an altar or a frontal⁵⁵. In order to support this theory, she makes a comparison between the Beatitudes Casket and the Portable Altar of Namur dated around 1050⁵⁶. The researcher considers that they share some formal features, such as the evangelical scenes above the arches, or the book bearing characters⁵⁷.

We believe that the object was a casket for various reasons. First of all, it has always been identified as such and there are no signs of it being otherwise. It would be logical that whoever made the reconstruction did not want to modify its original function—to contain relics—but to keep it. Moreover, taking into account the fact that the iconographic program could have been conceived by a theologian who was familiar with Saint Augustine's texts, it is plausible that he chose a casket when he decided to represent Heavenly Jerusalem because, according to the saint: *la ciudad*

Román, 1736: XXXV, 86); Flórez, Enrique. "Actas de la traslación de S. Isidoro", *España Sagrada, de la provincia antigua de la Bética en común, y de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla en particular*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1860: IX, 406 and published in the 19th century. Antonio Viñayo studied this topic during the 20th century: Viñayo, Antonio. "La llegada de San Isidoro a León", *Archivos leoneses*, 33 (1963): 65-111; Viñayo, Antonio. "Cuestiones histórico-críticas en torno a la traslación del cuerpo de San Isidoro", *Isidoriana, colección de estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla, publicados con ocasión del XIV Centenario de su nacimiento*. Manuel Díaz y Díaz, ed. León: Centro de Estudios de San Isidoro, 1961: 285-297.

54. Galán y Galindo, Ángel. "Marfiles Medievales...": I, 393-395; II, 82-84.

55. Gallego, Raquel. "La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I...": 385.

56. Goldschmidt, Adolph. "Die Elfenbeinskulpturen...": v. IV n° 105, XXXVI, 31.

57. Gallego, Raquel. "La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I...": 359, 384 and 385.



*de Dios es la Iglesia fundada por Cristo, depositaria de sus tesoros, arca de salvación para los hombres*⁵⁸.

We take Angela Franco's studies as the starting point of our theory, particularly the two latest articles about the topic⁵⁹. She transmits her idea about the appearance of the casket in the 11th century and makes a visual scheme of it.

The author suggests that some plaques have been lost: two of the ones on the box and all of the plaques that used to decorate the lid. In order to make a reconstruction, she makes use of the comparison with the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius that Ferrandis had done before⁶⁰. It is one of the most important objects from the ivory workshop of León. It was offered to the Church of Saint John and Saint Pelagius by Ferdinand I and Sancha in 1059. Primarily, it used to guard the relics of the above-mentioned saints and subsequently the remains of Saint Vincent. Some researchers, such as Gómez Moreno, link it to one of the gold and ivory caskets cited in the Document of 1063: *capsam eburneam operatam cum aureo*. Today, it has lost its metallic cover, and only the ivory plaques nailed into the wooden core have been preserved. On the lid, the *Agnus Dei* and the Four Rivers of Paradise are represented, while the twelve Apostles appear on the box in different attitudes and under semicircular or horseshoe shaped arches. Nowadays it is on display in the Museum of the Royal Collegiate Church of Saint Isidore of León⁶¹ (Illustration 5).

It would not be surprising that the shape and even some iconographic details on both caskets were similar. But Ángela Franco considers that instead of having four plaques on each of the long sides, as the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius, the Beatitudes Casket used to have three on the largest surfaces and two on one of the sides. The other side would have been filled by a Christ in majesty that, according to Dr. Franco, was that in the Larcade collection of Paris in 1925⁶². This figure has some characteristics that allow us to relate it to the Beatitudes Casket's reliefs, such as its dimensions (13,1 x 6,6 cm) or the buildings located at the *suppedaneum*.

The elements shaped as tiny arches, which evoke the firmament, are also very similar to the motifs in some of the capitals supporting the arches framing the

58. "The City of God is the Church founded by Christ, the depository of its treasures, ark of salvation for men": "Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios...", XVI, book I, 29.

59. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 117; Franco, Ángela. "La arqueta...".

60. Ferrandis, José. "Marfiles y azabaches...": 151.

61. Due to the big amount of publications that collect information about the piece, only some of the most relevant titles are mentioned here. The bibliography in note 8 is also useful. Valdés, Manuel. "Arca de los marfiles", *Las Edades del Hombre. El arte en la Iglesia de Castilla y León*. Valladolid: Fundación Edades del Hombre, 1988: 186-187; Franco, Ángela. "El Tesoro de San Isidoro y la monarquía leonesa". *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, 9/1-2 (1991): 42; Dods, Jerrilyn D. "Art of Medieval Spain...": 236; Álvarez, Monserrat. "El arca de los marfiles..."; Fernández, Etelvina. "Arca Relicario", *Obras maestras recuperadas*. Madrid: Fundación Santander Central Hispano, 1998: 72-74; Cosmen, M^a Concepción. "Arca de San Pelayo". *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro Sagrado y Monarquía*. Isidoro Bango, coord. Leon: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001: 229, n. 87. Gallego, Raquel. "La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I...": 293.

62. Goldschmidt, Adolph. "Die Elfenbeinskulpturen...": IV, 105, XXXVI.



couples portrayed on the plaques of the Beatitudes. The book and the facial shape and expression of this majesty could be directly related to the casket⁶³.

In order to support the idea of the presence of a Pantocrator, Dr. Franco builds up from this stylistic comparison, while establishing formal links between the Beatitudes and the Casket of San Millán de la Cogolla⁶⁴. The latter was the capital piece by the other 11th century Christian ivory workshop in the North of the Iberian Peninsula, situated in Navarre next to a Benedictine monastery. It was also damaged during the French Invasion. However, its reconstruction could have been made thanks to the descriptions of the casket provided by Yepes, Sandoval and Melcolaeta⁶⁵. Literary sources, such as the *Vita Aemilianensi*, written by Braulio de Zaragoza in the 7th century or *Estoria del Sennor Sant Millán*, by Gonzalo de Berceo, have also been a starting point for the researchers, as the ivory reliefs on the box could perfectly illustrate these stories. The inscriptions were taken from Braulio's original texts. A chest made in 1944 is preserved nowadays. It presents some mistakes compared to the original from the 11th century that is still today in the monastery. The holes made on the ivory plaques with the representation of the life of Saint Millán are still noticeable. These scenes had a very narrative sense, which is a detail of outmost importance, because there is yet no example of hagiography in ivory the artist could have been inspired from.

A Christ in Majesty, identified as the one in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington, is believed to have been represented on one of the short sides of the Casket of San Millán⁶⁶. Perhaps the carver had followed the model marked by the artist of the Beatitudes Casket when he placed a Pantocrator on one of the sides, as we have suggested.

Ángela Franco Mata believes that, once again imitating the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius, the lid the Beatitudes Casket would have had a representation of the *Agnus Dei* and the Tetramorph. If that were true, these topics would be a convention of the Leonesque workshop. She also supports the possibility of the monarchs being represented on it, emulating the example of Justinian and Theodora in Saint Vitalis of Ravenna⁶⁷. On one side, a crowned Ferdinand would be accompanied by four angels, on the other one, Sancha with her royal entourage showing her importance

63. Franco, Ángela. "La arqueta..."; Franco, Ángela. *Arte leonés [siglos IV-XVI] fuera de León*. Leon: Edilesa, 2010: 160.

64. As with the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius, we refer to note number 8 of this study and show only the more recent and complete title about the piece: Bango, Isidro G. *Emiliano, un santo de la España visigoda, y el arca románica de sus reliquias*. Salamanca: Fundación San Millán de la Cogolla, 2007.

65. de Sandoval, Prudencio. *Primera parte de las fundaciones de los monasterios del glorioso Padre San Benito*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1601; Yepes, Antonio. *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito*. Madrid: Atlas, 1959: I, CXXIII; Melcolaeta, Diego de. *Desagravio de la verdad en la Historia de San Millán de la Cogolla, natural del reyno de Castilla, primer abad de la Orden de San Benito en España*. Madrid: Lorenzo Francisco Mojados, 1704.

66. Bango, Isidro G. "Emiliano, un santo de la España visigoda..." 142; Goldschmidt, Adolph. "Die Elfenbeinskulpturen..." IV, 85.

67. Franco, Ángela. "El tesoro de San Isidoro...": 52. That idea also comes up in: Fernández, Etelvina. "El *imago regis* y de la jerarquía eclesiástica", *Monarquía y sociedad en el Reino de León, de Alfonso III a Alfonso VII*, Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", ed. Leon: Guaflex, 2007: 59.



in the field of the artistic patronage⁶⁸. Gómez Moreno also suggests this iconography for the silver lid of the Reliquary of Saint Isidore⁶⁹. Finally, Franco Mata considers that the wooden core was covered by metalwork, but she does not specify if it was made of gold or silver.

Our reconstructive theory, illustrated by figures 8 and 9⁷⁰, starts from a premise stated by María Elena Gómez Moreno, who believed that the primitive composition of the Casket would have consisted of four plaques representing the Beatitudes on both the front and the back. The sides and the lid would have born another kind of representations⁷¹. If it were the case, it would be adjusted to the structure of one of its most clear precedents: the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius. Ángela Franco Mata, states that there could possibly have been three instead of four plaques on the front and back of the casket, based on the hole for the lock present on the current central plaque. Nevertheless, Galán y Galindo makes an interesting appreciation⁷². The keyhole seems to have been drilled by force on the relief, breaking the inscription, which makes it clear that originally none of the ivory fragments were perforated. We agree with this author and think that each of the long surfaces would have born four plaques, and that the space between them would have been sufficient for a piece of ironwork to be placed in the central part of the chest, with no need of altering any of the sheets with a hole.

Now a problem comes up; if we consider that the casket was structured in that way: what were the representations on the sides like? We suggest two possibilities for one of them: either a portrait of the royal couple or the Sermon of the Mount. The first option had already been suggested by Gómez Moreno for the Reliquary of Saint Isidore, and Ángela Franco had also applied it to the Beatitudes Casket. In that way, it would match the Casket of San Millán de la Cogolla. If all of the figures that

68. There is extensive bibliography related to the role of Queens and Princesses as promoters of art. It is relevant to refer to the work, associated with the Queens in Leon, of Antonio Viñayo: Viñayo, Antonio. "Reinas e infantas de León, abadesas y monjas del monasterio de San Pelayo y San Isidoro", *1 Semana de Historia del monacato cantabro-astur-leonés*. Oviedo: Monasterio de San Pelayo, 1982: 123-135 and also the studies by John Williams: Williams, John. "León and the beginnings of the spanish romanesque", *Art of Medieval Spain...*:167. His pupil, Therese Martin focuses on this topic too: *Queen as King, Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006. Regarding Sancha, it is relevant to mention an episode of the *Historia Silense...* (197-198) in which Sancha talks Fernando I into creating a Royal Pantheon in San Isidoro. Other important papers are: Havens, Susan. *Queen Sancha's "Persuasion": A Regenerated León Symbolized in San Isidoro's Pantheon and its Treasures*. Binghamton: Global Publications, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000: 1-48; Prado, Francisco. "*Lacrimae rerum*: San Isidoro de León y la memoria del padre". *Goya*, 328 (2009): 195-221; Boto, Gerardo. "Las dueñas de la memoria. San Isidoro de León y sus Infantas". *Románico, revista de arte de amigos del Románico*, 10 (2010): 75-82.

69. Gómez, Manuel. "El arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro de León". *Archivo Español de Arte*, 48 (1940): 209.

70. Some of the elements in the reconstruction are fictional, because they could not be documented. They are neutral motifs that intend to create a mental image as similar as possible to the original appearance of the piece, back in the 11th century. In Illustration 9, gold has been used instead of a silver texture, for technical reasons.

71. Gómez, María Elena. "Mil joyas...": I, 163.

72. Galán, Ángel. "Marfiles Medievales...": II, 82.



had something to do with the patronage of the piece appeared on one of the sides, a truly Leonesque typology would have been created. The Master of San Millán would have later on used it in its own work⁷³.

This idea is not inappropriate if we observe other artistic samples in which Ferdinand I and Sancha are or were represented. It seems that they tried to leave their names in a visible and explicit way on the works of art that they promoted⁷⁴. Thereby they follow the medieval trend in which the patronage attended not only the personal pleasures of the patron, but also political and propagandistic interests. Moreover, as professor Moralejo said, Ferdinand I would go even further:

Ferdinand I may be the first Hispanic monarch whose art can be said to be his not only because he had sponsored it or that it carries his name or likeness, but because it seems also to have taken some of his body and his circumstances⁷⁵.

The artistic expression promoted by the Leonesque couple could be grouped in three big blocks: the illustrated manuscripts, the stone inscriptions and other artistic objects. The king and queen are alluded to on the different materials, either by an iconographical representation or by an inscription, being this last option far more common⁷⁶.

The Document of Donation of 1063 is perhaps the greatest evidence of the piety of the sovereigns. It could be considered as an inventory of the pieces that had generously been transferred to the Church of Saint Isidore. Actually, by doing so, they legitimized and consolidated their power. One detail that has been noticed by various authors is the importance Sancha—and women who belonged to the Leonesque monarchy in general—had in the artistic patronage through the

73. Álvarez, Noemi. "Sancho IV y el abad Blas como mentores del Arca de San Millán de la Cogolla", *Reyes y prelados. La creación artística en los reinos de León y Castilla (1050-1500)*, Dolores Teijeira, M^a Victoria Herráez, Concepción Cosmen, eds. Madrid: Sílex, 2014: 94-111.

74. For further information about the Leonesque royal patronage: Andrés, Salvador. "El tesoro de la monarquía leonesa". *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León. Relicario de la monarquía leonesa*. León: Edilesa, 2007; Bango, Isidro G. "La piedad de los reyes Fernando I y Sancha. Un tesoro sagrado que testimonia el proceso de la renovación de la cultura hispana del siglo XI", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*: 223; Franco, Ángela. "El Tesoro de San Isidoro...": 35-67; Galván, Fernando. "Arte y monarquía en León". *Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León*. José Manuel Rodríguez, ed. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2002: 53-65; Rodríguez, José Manuel. "Los promotores de las obras románicas", *Los protagonistas de las obras románicas*. Aguilar de Campoo: Centro de Estudios del Románico, 2008: 68.

75. Moralejo, Serafín. "Artistas, patronos y público en el arte de camino de Santiago", *Compostellanum*, 30 (1985): 395-430; cited in: *Patrimonio Artístico de Galicia y otros estudios*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2004: III, 29.

76. Álvarez, Noemi. "La inscripción como imagen de poder en la Edad Media. El caso de Fernando I de León y su esposa Doña Sancha", *Actas del XIX Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte: Artes y Arquitectura del Poder*; Víctor Manuel Mínguez, coord. Castellón de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2013: 1787-1803; Suárez, Ana, "Al pie de la letra. Inscripciones y manuscritos de los siglos X al XVI", *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro: relicario de la monarquía leonesa*, Constantino Robles, Fernando Llamazares, coords. León: Edilesa, 2007: 198.



Infantazgo or *Infantado*⁷⁷. In the privilege of 1063, her presence is noticeable both at the beginning *Nos indigni et exigui famuli Christi Fredenandus rex et Sancia regina* and in the signatures⁷⁸.

The illustrated manuscripts promoted by them are also an excellent example of the intentions of the royal couple, because miniature and monarchy are linked in a fine and effective way, transforming these works into a very efficient promotional tool. As Isidro Bango pointed out, the absence of these expressions in the document of 1063 is very remarkable, because they stood out by the sumptuousness through which they transmitted their political intentions⁷⁹. There are three preserved samples: *Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana*, *Prayer book of Ferdinand and Sancha* and *Liber canticorum et horarum* of the queen⁸⁰. In all of them, the name and presence of at least one of the monarchs appear, allowing us to emphasize their intention to take part in the works they promoted. From the preserved testimonies, and as Fernando Galván said, Sancha's interest in the illustrated manuscripts would be bigger than Ferdinand's⁸¹. We would like to highlight the king and queen's portrayal on most of the pieces they supported, because thanks to these expressions, it is more likely to think that they would have also appeared on the Beatitudes Casket.

The monarchs are also mentioned on the second line of the commemorative inscription of the Church of Saint Isidore: *excellentissimus Fredenandus rex et Sancia regina*. Moreover, the queen appears once again on the last part: *Sancia regina deo dicata peregrit*⁸². The participation of the royal couple in the renovation of the Church built by Alfonso V is made clear by this carving on the stone, which shows both their devotion and their purchasing power.

Through the precedent examples, it can be noticed that the inscriptions and signatures are the most common method used by Ferdinand and Sancha to be present on the works they promoted. Furthermore, we can verify this procedure in the other two main pieces coming from the ivory workshop of León. We know the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius is dated in 1059, because of the inscription read by Ambrosio de Morales in the 16th century: *Arcula Sanctorum micat haec sub honore*

77. Pérez, Justo; González, Atilano. "Historia Silense...": 97-198 we learn that it was Sancha who decided to create a Royal Pantheon.

78. See: Robles, Constantino. "Monasterio de San Isidoro. Fundación e historia", *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León...*: 29 where a picture of the Monarchy anagrams appears.

79. Bango, Isidro G. "La piedad de los reyes Fernando I y Sancha...": 224.

80. Some interesting titles to analyse this illustrated manuscripts in depth are: Castiñeiras, Manuel Antonio. "Libro de Horas de Fernando y Sancha" and "*Liber canticorum et orarum* de Sancha", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*, 90 and 91: 232; Fernández, Gloria. "Comentario al Apocalipsis de Fernando I y Sancha", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*: 231; Franco, Ángela. "Arte leonés fuera de León...": 278; Williams, John W. "Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus" and "Prayer book of Ferdinand and Sancha", *Art of Medieval Spain...*: 289-290. It is also recommended to read the works of Dr. Fernando Galván Freile, compiled in the tribute book dedicated to him: *Imágenes del poder en la Edad Media. Selección de Estudios del Prof. Dr. Fernando Galván Freile*. León: Universidad de León, 2011, I: 127-153, 367-387, 451-467 and 499-523.

81. Galván, Fernando. *Imágenes del poder en la Edad Media...*: 454.

82. Suárez, Ana. "Al pie de la letra. Inscripciones y manuscritos de los siglos X al XVI", *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León...*: 198.



*duorum Baptistae Sancti Joannis, sive Pelagii. Ceu Rex Fernandus Reginaque Santia fieri iussit. Era millena septena seu nonagena*⁸³. The most charming object is the Ivory Cross guarded in the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, in which a direct allusion to the ones who commissioned it can still be read today. It is an inscription placed at the bottom of the cross, just below the figure of a stooped Adam, which reads:

FREDINANDVS REX SANCIA REGINA⁸⁴. (*Illustrations 6 and 7*).

The silver casket, aimed at containing the relics of Saint Isidore, is also mentioned in the list of gifts offered by the king and queen in 1063⁸⁵. Although in this case there are no inscriptions, there are two figures that have been identified as representing Ferdinand I. As previously stated, Gómez Moreno considered that the King was the bearded man flanked by four men (his entourage) on the lid⁸⁶. Franco Mata suggests that a similar image would find place at the beginning devoted to the queen and her ladies⁸⁷. The bearded figure with an outstanding head on one of the largest sides of the casket has also been related to the monarch. This figure is believed to be at the same level as the divine characters of the Genesis in the other scenes⁸⁸.

The ideals of patronage of the royal couple were maintained even after their death: their achievements both in the political and in the artistic and devotional spheres of the Church of Saint Isidore, the focal point of their doctrine, can be read on their gravestones. Their wish for not being forgotten is also transmitted by their stone plaques⁸⁹.

83. Morales, Ambrosio de. *Viage a los reynos de León...*: 47.

84. Bango, Isidro G. "La piedad de los reyes Fernando I y Sancha...": 230.

85. A monograph study has been devoted to this casket: Astorga, María Jesús. *El arca de San Isidoro: historia de un relicario*. Leon: Diputación de León, 1990; and different catalogues have included its study: Andrés, Salvador. "El tesoro de la monarquía...": 179-181; Walker, Daniel; Williams, John W. "Reliquary of Saint Isidore", *Art of Medieval Spain...*: 239-244; Bango, Isidro G. "Relicario de San Isidoro", *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro Sagrado y Monarquía*, Isidro Bango, coord. Leon: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001: 228, 86.

86. Gómez, Manuel. "El arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro de León...": 209.

87. Franco, Ángela: "El tesoro de San Isidoro...": 52.

88. Etelvina Fernández notes that this figure is lacking royal attributes and she does not accept this hypothesis. Fernández, etelvina. "Imagen, devoción y suntuosidad en las aportaciones de Fernando I y Sancha al tesoro de San Isidoro de León", *Monasterios y monarcas: fundación, presencia y memoria regia en monasterios hispanos medievales*. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2012; Fernández, Etelvina. "Reflexiones sobre la evolución hacia el románico de las fórmulas artísticas altomedievales en el ámbito astur-leonés en la undécima centuria", *Hispaniens Nordem im 11. Jahrhundert Christliche Kunst im Umbruch. El Norte hispánico en el siglo XI. Un cambio radical en el arte cristiano. Jornadas internacionales, Göttingen, 27 bis 29, Februar, 2004*, Achim Arbeiter, Christian Kothe, Bettina Marten, eds. Petesberg: Imhof Verlag, 2009: 54-55.

89. Their text appears in different sources as: Yepes, Fray Antonio. "Crónica General...": II, 340; Manzano, Joseph. "Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidoro...": book III, chapter 30: 347; Risco, Manuel. "España Sagrada...", XXXV: 149-150; de Assas, Manuel. "Crucifijo de marfil del rey Fernando I y su esposa Doña Sancha", *Museo Español de Antigüedades*. Madrid, 1872, I: 190-210; Quadrado, José M^a;



Along the same lines as these works of art, the actions of Urraca, daughter of Ferdinand and Sancha, are also worth considering, as they show how she followed her parents' steps in the field of patronage. On the chalice preserved until today in the Treasury of Saint Isidore there is an inscription, made with filigree: IN NOMINE D[OM]NI URRACA FREDINA[N]DI⁹⁰ and a Christ which is nowadays missing, but that was described by Risco and Manzano bearing the text: VRRACA FREDINANDI REGIS ET SANCIA REGINA FILIA⁹¹. Thus, the king and queen become protagonists again, in a certain way. The name of Urraca appears above her mother's in the *confessio* of the *Liber canticorum et orarum*. This fact displays the importance this piece had for both of them⁹². Likewise, Urraca would have promoted the representation of their parents kneeling under the Crucifix on the wall paintings of the Royal Pantheon in Saint Isidore⁹³.

All of the above mentioned examples are evidence of the pious actions of the sovereigns. The Beatitudes Casket, comparable for its value with the other main pieces of the Leonesque ivory workshop —the Crucifix and the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius— must also have borne the presence of Ferdinand I and Sancha, for it not to be outdone. Instead of being represented on the lid with their entourages, according to the preceding observations and not dismissing the hypothesis of a figured representation of the royal couple, we consider that they could have been present through a sign or an inscription. The material used cannot be known for certain, because there are examples both in ivory and metal in pieces with similar features. In any way, they could be adapted to the Beatitudes Casket, because it originally had a metallic cover which complemented the ivory reliefs.

Should the monarchs truly have been represented on the lid, and not on the sides as in San Millán de la Cogolla, one of the minor sides would have been filled with a different representation, possibly the evangelic account of Matthew.

The mentor, as presented by Dr. Cosmen⁹⁴, could have been a cleric who knew the text and who would have chosen the moment when Jesus delivers his celebrated *Sermon of the Mount* to be represented on one side⁹⁵. This idea arose

Parcerisa, Xavier. "España, sus monumentos y artes...": 492; Pérez, Julio. *Historia de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*. León: Nebrija, 1982: 385.

90. Williams, John W. "Chalice of Urraca", *Art of Medieval Spain...*: 254; García, Antonio. "El Cáliz", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*: 335; Suárez, Ana. "Al pie de la letra. Inscripciones y manuscritos...": 198.

91. Manzano, Joseph. "Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidoro...": 385; Risco, Manuel. "España Sagrada...": XXXV, 357; Ferrandis, José. "Marfiles y azabaches...": 154-156; Estella, Margarita M. "La escultura del marfil...": 26.

92. Galván, Fernando. "El 'Liber canticorum et horarum...': I, 454.

93. Antonio Viñayo studied the wall paintings of San Isidoro in some publications. The most relevant is: Viñayo, Antonio. *Panteón de Reyes: pinturas románicas de San Isidoro de León*. León: Edilesa, 1995: 44. More information about them can be found in: Valdés, Manuel. "El Panteón Real de la Colegiata de San Isidoro de León...": 79; Cortés, Miguel. "Pinceladas bizantinas pintura románica en el Panteón Real...", chapter V: 151.

94. Cosmen, M^a Concepción. "La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...": 29.

95. Mt. 5, 3-12.



from Galán y Galindo's approach, who suggested that the missing plaque, with the fourth statement, could have portrayed Christ announcing the Beatitudes⁹⁶. From our point of view, it seems strange that precisely the missing sheet should have displayed a different structure, knowing how strict the composite diagram in the others plaques was. Applying the equality principle, we believe that the fourth beatitude could not have been very different from the seven preserved. We do not dismiss the existence of another plaque with the scene of the Sermon, which would suit the iconographical key of the Casket, allowing to close the cycle of the Beatitudes. Although it is not a very frequent topic in the Middle Ages⁹⁷, there are some illustrations of it. Perhaps the most relevant one for our research is the one on the Tragaltar of Namur, a piece that is formally related to the Casket.

Once having reflected upon the different topics that could be part of one of the sides, we need to find an answer to what the other one might have been like. We agree with other authors who stated that it could have showcased a Pantocrator, an idea supported by the sample in San Millán de la Cogolla. In this case, as the primitive wooden core is preserved, the space destined to the *mandorla* would still be visible. León was not so fortunate. However, there are some arguments in favor of this idea, as a lot of historians and theologians have compared reliquaries to churches, deeming the presence of the Lord in them completely necessary⁹⁸. Thanks to the identification between the symbolism of a Christian building and a sumptuary object, it could be considered that, in the casket, the semicircular arches acquire the same meaning as in the churches where they fulfill the function of pushing the faithful towards the apse⁹⁹. In this piece, they could drive the characters placed under the arches to the missing representation of the Majesty, and to Salvation.

However, the strongest piece of evidence that allows us to affirm that there used to be a Pantocrator on the casket could be extracted from one of the sources used by the person who created the iconographical program. We are once again referring to Saint Augustine, who in *City of God*, said that Christ in Majesty was the essential ingredient in Heavenly Jerusalem¹⁰⁰. Therefore, if the iconographical function of the casket was the illustration of the beatitudes linked with the divine city symbolized

96. Galán, Ángel. "Marfiles Medievales...": II, 82.

97. Schiller, Gertrud. *Iconography of Christian Art*. London: Lund Humphries, 1972: V. I: 156-215.

98. Some examples are: de Coussemaker, Edmond. "Chasse et croix de Bousbecque: orfèvrerie du XIII^e siècle" in: Leguina, Enrique. "Arquetas hispano-árabes...": 9, who said that: "the material church, the church on earth, is the image of the heavenly city of paradise. For this reason, in many alms boxes, Our Lord is represented at one end of the box, the East"; Peña, Joaquín. "Los marfiles de San Millán...": 21 also insists on this idea: "The ark shrine, according to the symbolism used in the Middle Ages resembled a church and that church was a symbol and image of the Heavenly City". For further information about the symbolism of the temples, which also applies to caskets understood as architecture: Hani, Jean. *El simbolismo del templo cristiano*. Palma de Mallorca: Sophia Perennis, 1983.

99. Liaño, Emma; Sureda, Joan. *El despertar de Europa. La pintura románica, primer lenguaje común europeo, siglos XI-XIII*. Madrid: Encuentro, 1998: 23.

100. Some fragments from *City of God* that support this idea: "All the pilgrimage of Christians, the launch toward the future world, comes from Christ, who is the Mediator of hope, because He is the way and the homeland, the force that causes us to walk and the end of the last rest. Children of the Resurrection and the aspirants and hoppers for the resurrection of the flesh are the pilgrims in this city" ("Obras de San



by the architectures above the arches, God had to be present, and the best way to do so was through a splendid image, just as it would look like in the promised Paradise: as a Pantocrator.

If we finally conclude that the *Maiestas Domini* was represented on the casket, we would have to find an appropriate plaque for it. One could think of the *pax* of Saint Isidore. Its 13 cm could have been adapted to one of the sides, but it comes from a later period¹⁰¹. Just as Franco Mata, we believe that the Christ in Majesty from the Larcade Collection mentioned before could be the Pantocrator on the Casket¹⁰².

In order to reach that conclusion, Dr. Franco made a comparison between the Majesty and the *Traditio Legis* plaque from the Louvre Museum and the Larcade Collection Christ. The master of this piece was also working on the Beatitudes Casket. The images of Christ on both plaques display some common features¹⁰³. On top of these characteristics, we can add some more.

They are framed by an almond shape and a circumference. The figures show an analogous disposition of the lower part of the body. On the one hand, their feet are located above a *suppedaneo* traversed by a diagonal double line, and on the other hand, the legs, bent in seated position, create a triangle that collects the draperies of the robes joint at the waist. The upper limbs, however, present different attitudes. Although both characters carry a book in their left hand, the disposition and also the motif on the book covers are not the same. The Christ from the Larcade Collection raises his right hand up to his head while holding a sphere. The one from the Louvre shows a two-finger blessing hand reaching out to Saint Peter. The heads are haloed. Their faces are quite elongated; the anatomical features of the figures on the missing plaque are better carved, and have more naturalistic hair and fleshier cheeks. This could be due to it being made by the main artists of the Beatitudes Casket, while the carver of *Tradition Legis* plaque has always been attributed to an author with minor skills.

In conclusion, in spite of the impossibility to directly observe the plaque from the Larcade collection, it is the sample that would best match the ivory reliefs of the Beatitudes and, consequently, it would probably be one of the missing pieces to complete the formal and iconographical puzzle of the Casket.

Another interesting aspect for the reconstruction would be determining the motifs that could have decorated the lid. Its structure could have been similar to that on the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius¹⁰⁴: several ivory plaques portraying the *Agnus Dei* and the Tetramorph¹⁰⁵ (Illustrations 5, 8 y 9), a convention for the Leonesque

Agustín. La ciudad de Dios...": XVI, 63) and "If someone asks why some are blessed, this is the correct answer: because they are united to God" (Also: 753).

101. See note 11.

102. This piece is lost and the only way to approach it is through: Goldschmidt, Adolph. "Die Elfenbeinskulpturen...": IV, 105.

103. Franco, Ángela. "Arte leonés fuera de León...": 160-161.

104. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 124.

105. Mariño, Xosé Ramón. "El simbolismo animal...": 24-25; Réau, Louis. *Iconografía del arte cristiano. Iconografía de la Biblia. Nuevo Testamento*. Barcelona: Serbal, 2008: II, 710; Liaño, Emma; Sureda, Joan. "El



ivory workshop, as it is also present on the reverse of the Cross of Ferdinand I and Sancha, and on the *Traditio Legis* plaque. In fact, Manuel Valdés, when talking about the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius of 1059, said that the Romanesque image of the lamb could have been one the most divulgated ones in Leonesque territories¹⁰⁶. Moreover, if this animal had been in the center of the lid, next to the Rivers of Paradise and the Tetramorph, this topic could be assimilated to the heavenly cities represented in some manuscripts¹⁰⁷.

It is important to clarify the position of the reliefs of the beatitudes, which from left to right are 1, 2, 7, 5, 6, 3, 8¹⁰⁸. It seems that the person who did the recomposition was based on aesthetic features instead of taking into account the iconographical program. It is interesting to discover how the three ivory plaques with more similar architectures are placed in the front, while the buildings portrayed on the ones on the sides are more complex and varied. Also the similarities regarding the composition are more evident between the couples on the sheets on the main face of the casket.

In this paper, we suggest that originally, the plaques would have been organized according to the evangelic text and their disposition would have been: *Beati papuperes spiritu*, *Beati qui lugent*, *Beati mites*, *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam quoniam ipsi saturabuntur*, *Beati Misericordes*, *Beati mundo corde*, *Beati pacifici*, *Beati qui persecutionem*¹⁰⁹.

In order to make the reconstruction as complete as possible, it is important to think about the metallic cover the casket originally presented, following precedent models. Nowadays, it is composed of ivory plaques inlayed in the wooden core with no spaces between them that make it possible to display a decorative and ornamental program in other materials. It is difficult to determine whether it was covered in gold, silver or both.

Based on the privilege of 1063, and relating the casket to one of the *alie duas eburneas argento laboratas* as it has been said, we would accept that the box could have been covered in silver. However, in 1572, Ambrosio de Morales, wrote a description of the altar in the Church of Saint Isidore, which reads:

*The other Ark of the side of the Gospel has the Relics of S. Pelayo, and other Saints, and is of gold and silver, as is also another smaller that is with this, and has many minor Relics*¹¹⁰.

If we identify the Beatitudes casket as one of the above-mentioned boxes, it is necessary to say that it was made both of gold and silver. In our opinion, it

despertar de Europa...": 72.

106. Valdés, Manuel. "Arca de los marfiles...": 186-187.

107. Yarza, Joaquín. "Historia del Arte Hispánico...": II, 105.

108. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 122.

109. This order is based on this version of the Bible: *La Biblia*. ed. Serafín de Ausejo. Barcelona: Herder, 1987: 1007. There are other interpretations that locate *Beati mites* in the second place, followed by *Beati qui lugent* in the third position.

110. Morales, Ambrosio de. *Viage a los reynos de León...*: 47-48.



could have been made of silver, but have some details in gold. In this manner both testimonies, the document and the description of Morales, would be right.

Whatever the metal used for the setting was, it is interesting to suggest what kind of designs could have been represented on it and if they could serve a function beyond just being ornamental. Once more, it is relevant to take the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius and the Casket of San Millán de la Cogolla as precedents.

In the case of the first one, some arches were represented on the metallic cover, as the traces on the wood surface, which still remain visible reveal. In the casket from Navarre made in 1944, the decoration is made of vegetal friezes, a motif that would not be very far from the primitive example.

From our point of view, it would be logical that the ornamentation in the Beatitudes casket consisted in bands of vegetation instead of arches because there are architectural elements to cover the figures. Although in the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius the Apostles are located under ivory arches and the traces on the wooden core show that there used to be bigger ones, we believe that, as the piece we are focusing on has buildings above the haunches, it would be too reiterative to turn the arches over the architectures again. The friezes could allude to the gardens of paradise related to Heavenly Jerusalem, represented by these buildings.

Moreover, it could be possible to make yet another Augustinian association around the naturalistic motifs. They would not only symbolize the divine gardens of the celestial city, but they could also be assimilated to the good Christian who, as a plant which weed was sown by the Lord to wish the eternal happiness, starts growing thanks to the good deeds, until it finally achieves the promised goal: the City of God¹¹¹.

This subject matter about Paradise would not be surprising in an object with a clear function: guarding the holy remains. In this manner, it would stress the program of salvation and forgiveness of sins linked to the phenomenon of the relics, that could be read both on the Reliquary of Saint Pelagius and the Cross of Ferdinand I and Sancha. Consequently, the pieces from the Leonese ivory workshop would not only share formal features but also a thematic content related to Redemption. This is a constant worry in the figure of the monarch, as show the celebrations and rituals he made around his own death, during which he was consciously put at the same level as the figure of Saint Isidore¹¹².

111. "Christ put men in march towards God, and sowed in their hearts the desire for the blissful immortality in the celestial city, that moves the Christians upwards, like a celestial plant, that spreads its branches to the sky, seeking the warmth of the sun" ("Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios...": XVI, book: 29).

112. The biographies of Fernando I deal with his death: Sánchez, Alfonso. *Castilla y León en el siglo XI. Estudio del reinado de Fernando I*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1999: 234; Viñayo, Antonio. *Fernando I (1035-1065)*. Burgos: La Olmeda, 1999: 209. However, the most relevant studies about the death of Fernando I are: Bishko, Charles. "The liturgical context of Fernando I's last days according to the so-called *Historia Silense*". *Hispania Sacra*, 33-34/17 (1964): 47-59; Werckmeister, Otto Karl. "The first romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the liturgy of death", *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana I*. Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1980, 2: 170. More interesting works are: Isla, Amancio. *Memoria, culto y monarquía hispánica entre los siglos X y XII*. Jaen: Universidad de Jaén, 2006: 41; Valdés, Manuel. "El Panteón Real de la Colegiata...": 75-76.





ILLUSTRATION 1.



ILLUSTRATION 2.





ILLUSTRATION 3.



ILLUSTRATION 4.





ILLUSTRATION 5.



ILLUSTRATION 6.



ILLUSTRATION 7.





ILLUSTRATION 8.

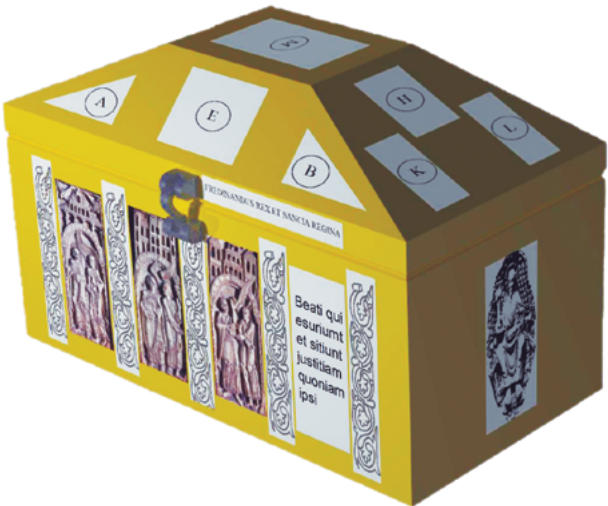


ILLUSTRATION 9.



ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF ONOMASTIC IDENTITY: THE PRIVILEGES' PARCHMENTS OF THE CITY OF BALAGUER (1211-1352)

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Date of receipt: 10th of March, 2010

Final date of acceptance: 4th of February, 2014

ABSTRACT

This paper is an analysis of the name that appears in the *Pergamins de Privilegis* of the city of Balaguer. The historical period that we take for this study includes the years 1211-1352. The structural study of the systems of designation allows us to say that these spread and claim an identity to a concrete geographical space, the city of Balaguer of the 13th and 14th centuries; that the first name of the inhabitants of Balaguer in the Late Middle Ages are faithful to the trends set by the fashion onomastic predominantly in the Catalonia at that time and that the anthroponymy of Balaguer of the historic time covered offers as majority the surnames that come from place names. All these features allow us to talk of onomastic trends that confer identity to a population in constant geographical movement.

KEY WORDS

Onomastic, Identity, *Privilegis*, Anthroponymy, Toponymy.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Onomastica, Identitas, Privilegia, Anthroponimia, Toponimia.

1. The concept of onomastic identity

Since ancient times, people have used a name to differentiate themselves from their peers. This name was given to a person in accordance with one of his or her physical or moral characteristics, since they were not given at birth, but as a person matured in life and began to stand out for one of these qualities. In spite of this, as societies started to evolve culturally, this name would no longer be so tied to a characteristic trait that described a person. Instead, a name of symbolic—and largely religious—content would be given to a child with the intention that its meaning would serve as a model or inspiration¹.

The concept of onomastic identification has a functional role within a society². Unlike common names that are, in themselves, true units of meaning, proper names serve as signals or markings whereby some individuals can identify some others. It could be said that the act of identifying is based on a classificatory system in as much as the person named must be located within a category which enables the organization of social attitudes that can and should be accepted regarding individuals. The study of systems of identification, ways of naming each other and their subsequent evolution are valuable tools for the historian, especially when studying groups and family structures³.

On the other hand, the concept of identity is essential to understand the cultural situation of a specific historical period. Each culture has values which are indicators of actions, thoughts and even feelings. Like culture, identity is often related to geographical origin, the colour of one's skin, religion and any other defining element of the individual who realises he or she owns defining and particular traits which make him or her different from others.

Identity is also the historical awareness a person has regarding him or herself and his or her relationship with others. The collective environment influences the shaping of the specificity of each subject. This is why the Middle Ages, period to which this study is circumscribed, are a time when the subject looked for his or her identity. Thus, the choice of a first name and subsequently surnames will also be governed by the enormous symbolic value they contain and because their use is very defining when assigning a person, especially from nobility, to a specific lineage. All

1. Salazar, Jaime. *Manual de Genealogía Española*. Madrid: Ediciones Hidalguía, 2006: 251-264.

2. As Vincent Debiais points out, the word "identity" in the Middle Ages refers *a la definición de una individualidad, a la afirmación de uno mismo, a la expresión de los que le distinguen del otro. En segundo lugar, la identidad hace referencia a la pertenencia a un grupo, a la afirmación de una coincidencia colectiva, a la definición de un origen y de una comunidad. Es esta doble identidad la que vamos a encontrar a lo largo de la segunda mitad de la Edad Media [...] con la creación, a través de unos textos, de una historia y memoria colectivas* ("to the definition of individuality, to the affirmation of one's self, to the expression of what distinguishes one from another. Secondly, identity refers to the belonging to a group, to the affirmation of a collective coincidence, to the definition of an origin and community. It is this double identity which is going to be found throughout the second half of the Middle Ages [...] with the creation, through some texts, of a collective history and memory"). Debiais, Vincent. "Difusión y promoción de la identidad en las inscripciones publicitarias de la Navarra medieval (siglos XII-XV)", *Actas del VI Congreso de Historia de Navarra*. Pamplona: Eunat, 2006: 2.

3. Pardo, Eduardo. "Identidad y memoria ideológica". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39/1 (2009): 27.



this symbolism and identity of names is well reflected in a kind of documentation, notarial texts, which is the basis of this onomastic study.

2. Source used in this onomastic study: The privileges' parchments of the city of Balaguer

Notarial documents, rich and abundant in medieval Catalonia and diverse in their contents, highlight the strong cultural dynamism present in the Medieval Ages and an extremely developed use of written communication in this region. They have often been disregarded as a basis for onomastic studies in favour of other documental sources considered more appropriate to this end. The reader need only think of the books of *Fogatges* (Hearth tax)⁴, *Llibres de Vàlues* (Books of Values —a type of value added tax—), *Capbreus* (Notations), *Llibres Sagramentals* (Sacramental Books), Matrimonial Chapters, Confirmations, Death Certificates and Paschal Compliance and, more recently, Cadastres, Registers and Censuses⁵. All these documentary sources have similar typological characteristics that can be summarised in the appearance of a list of people's and place's names. In my opinion, this is the true reason why notarial documents have not played a predominant role in the study of medieval and modern Catalan onomastics, although it is possible to mention some current studies where they are present⁶.

The source used in this onomastic study is the edition⁷ of the *Pergamins de Privilegis de la ciutat de Balaguer* (Privileges' parchment of the city of Balaguer) by Dolors Domingo. This database of Scrolls is conserved in the Regional Historical Archive of Balaguer and contains sixty-eight pieces on parchment. Chronologically it covers a very broad period, ranging from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. Initially

4. The first general hearth tax of Catalonia known to date is that of 1358 which was published by: Pons, Josep M. "Un fogatjament desconegut de l'any 1358". *Boletín de la Real Academia de las Buenas Letras*, 30 (1963-1964): 463-486; other hearth taxes also belonging to the fourteenth century are: Iglésies, Josep. "El fogatge de 1365-1370". *Memòries de la Reial Acadèmia de Ciències i Arts de Barcelona*, 34 (1962): 317-356; *Censo de Cataluña ordenado en el tiempo del Rey Don Pedro el Cereminoso custodiado en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón (Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 12)*, ed. Próspero de Bofarull. Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1856: 3-135.

5. In recent years there has been an extensive anthroponomical bibliography based on the documental sources cited. The reader needs only consult the *Butlletí Interior de la Societat d'Onomàstica* (The Interior Bulletin of the Society of Onomastics) and the Proceedings of the colloquia which this Society holds annually. Furthermore, in Catalonia there is an excellent piece on a study of medieval names of Barcelona in the 1360s: Piquer, Esperança. *Censos de población del territorio de Barcelona en la década de 1360*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005. I have also consulted this author: Piquer, Esperança. "Aproximació a l'antroponímia valencina del segle XIV". *Arxius de Protocols*, 16 (1998): 211-236 which has served as the model of another medieval onomastic project.

6. The reader need only review the works published by the Office of Onomastics of the Institute of Catalan Studies, in which one of the main sources for knowledge on the names of people and places of a specific area are the Notarial Manuals.

7. Domingo, Dolors. *Pergamins de Privilegis de la Ciutat de Balaguer*. Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida-Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1997.



I will study the period comprised between the years 1211 and 1352, leaving for a future project the study of the onomastics from 1373 to 1459, to which date the last document of this collection belongs.

As mentioned above, notarial documents are essential to any onomastic study. Moreover, in the privilege or entitlements —a type of very special notarial document—, there is a range of names of places and people which enable historians to appreciate the naming systems used when these were written by notaries. The reader should remember that, from a legal point of view, the granting of entitlements was exclusively reserved to the King. However, by imitating the Royal Chancelleries' way of issuing documents, the notaries of the stately offices adopted a diplomatic discourse when granting a favour from a lord that resembled an entitlement. Naturally it was uncirculated, as only the Monarch's texts could be made public. In addition to this, the manorial entitlements were sealed with a wax stamp as only the King could seal with lead.

These *Privilegis* (Privileges or Entitlements) offer the historian an example of the assertion of the identity of a community besides the awareness that, in the Middle Ages, onomastics was useful for the transmission of a very different kind of information. In this sense, names actively participated in this transformation and in the promotion of an identity which is initially individual, then collective, and finally institutional.

This said, one of the aims of this text is the study of how notarial documents became important⁸ when discerning the methods used to determine an onomastic identity in 1105 in the city of Balaguer⁹, capital of the County of Urgell from the beginning of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century¹⁰. The value of onomastic studies based on documentary sources as a method of analysing individuals is fully confirmed. Many studies have been undertaken on the basis of onomastics and the approaches and aims of the studies in this field are varied. The structure of onomastics has encouraged the production of a series of very

8. About the importance of notarial documents in studies of onomastics, it is necessary to consult the work of: Pagarolas, Laureà. "La documentació notarial i l'onomàstica", *Miscel·lània d'homenatge a Enric Moreu-Rey*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1988: III, 8.

9. In the words of Flocel Sabaté, *l'important recull [...] configura una contribució molt destacada per a la divulgació de la investigació entorn de la ciutat de Balaguer, el comtat d'Urgell i, en definitiva, l'Edat mitjana catalana* ("the important collection [...] forms a very significant contribution to the dissemination of research on the city of Balaguer, the County of Urgell and, ultimately, the Catalan Middle Ages"). Sabaté, Flocel. "Pròleg", *Pergamins de Privilegis de la Ciutat...*: 7. And later on: *El volum aportat [...] s'ofereix també com un ric ventall que incideix directament en el coneixement del Comtat d'Urgell baix-medieval, mostrant alhora, de manera ben destacada, l'evolució que seguí, a Balaguer, la fi del comtat en el segle XV* ("The contributed volume [...] also offers a rich range which directly affects our understanding of the lower-medieval County of Urgell, showing at the same time, in an outstanding way, the evolution it followed in Balaguer until its end in the fifteenth century"). Sabaté, Flocel. "Pròleg...": 10.

10. There has been a lot of excellent quality bibliography published about the County of Urgell. See, for example, that contributed by: Bolòs, Jordi; Hurtado, Víctor. *Atlas del Comtat d'Urgell (788-993)*. Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau Editor: 141-142, although I believe it necessary to mention a title that should be consulted: Sabaté, Flocel. "Organització administrativa i territorial del Comtat d'Urgell", *El comtat d'Urgell*. Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida-Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1995: 17-70.



varied research and the difference between the areas where it is developed has enabled historians to obtain a considerable bibliography on this theme. At the same time, there has been a proliferation of studies about the family, setting in which onomastics acquires its meaning by relating an individual with a family structure; the first organisation to which one belongs.

Therefore, it is within this field of individuality and identity of names that the following lines are framed. The first names and surnames of some *Privilegis* circumscribed to a specific historical place and time—the city of Balaguer between the thirteenth and fourteenth century—, have been used as a basis.

3. Formal study of the systems of naming¹¹

The systems of naming found in the *Privilegis* (1211-1352) present the typical structure of the Middle Ages, which is mainly dominated by two well-defined linguistic elements: on the one hand, the *nomen*, as a merely identifying term, and, on the other, the *cognomen* which is assigned a clearly significant meaning. From this point of view, the syntagmatic classification of the entire corpus compiled in the *Pergamins* (Scrolls) enables the historian to distinguish the following structures:

1. Name + surname: Petrus Aculonis, Bernardus Aguyllo, Sensonis Aguyllo, Poncius Barchinone, Berengarius Alos, Bernardus Andree, Berengarius Angularia, Petrus Anrich, Andreas Apilia, Poncius Arnaldi, Arnaldus Baiuli, Guilelmus Baiuli, Raimundus Baiuli, Iacobus Bardoill, Iacobus Bardoyl, Bartolomeo Bardoyll, Laurencius Bardoyll, Iacobus Baro, Petrus Baro, Periconus Barull, Raimundus Boill, Iacobus Bonasch, Arnaldus Bonet, Raimundus Bonfyll, Ludovicus Bordello, Berengarius Brot, Bernardus Bulfarines, Salvator Calp, Bernardus Camporrellis, Arnaldo Capela, Anthonio Cardona, Adam Carví, Bartolomeus Cartam, Antonius Casadevall, Periconus Casteyllo, Raimundus Catra, Arnaldus Cerda, Raimundus Cervaria, Petrus Cervera, Berengarius Cirera, Dominicus Claver, Petrus Colom, Petrus Coltelli, Franciscus Columbi, Bernardus Cortit, Iacobus Cortit, Laurencius Cortit, Marconus Cortit, Periconus Cortit, Petrus Cortit, Petrus Cortit,, Petrus Cortiti, Petrus Costa, Guilelmus Çabaterii, Petrus Çabaterii, Arnaldus Çabater, Guillelmus Çabater, Periconus Çabater, Raimundus Çabater, Guillelmus Çacirera, Guillelmus Çamora, Arnaldus Çauila, Petrus Dalmacii, Nicholay Domenech, Berengarius Domingelo, Berengarius Garriga, Arnaldus Gerunda Guillelmus Domingelo, Aparicus Draper, Petrus Emerici, Bernardus Exernit, Iacibus Fabre, Petrus Fenoyll, Garcia Ferrandiz, Bernardus Ferrera, Nicholai Forment, Iohanis Fort, Raimundus Frontera, Garcia Garces, Salvatoris Gifré, Berengarius Giner, Franciscus Giner, Arnaldus Gisbert, Ferrarius Gispert, Petrus Gondisalvi, Didacus Gonzalbis, Iohanis Gracia, Arnaldus Guasch, Iohannos Guillamota, Guillelmus

11. This classification can only be understood if we abide by the study of each given name or forename and surname (see section 3 and 4 to which I refer). The classification is initially offered so that the reader can see the entire corpus of names, which is the basis of this study.



Fuster, Iacobo Fuster, Iacobus Fuster, Franciscus Fyllach, Petrus Gaço, Arnaldus Gençana, Raimundis Gueraldi, Guillelmus Guitart, Guillelmus Iulani, Franciscus Jornet, Guillelmus Jorneti, Iohanis Laneres, Arnaldus Laurencii, Guillelmus Maçanet, Periconus Maçanet, Iacobus Madiona, Petrus Mageri, Bernardus Maiori, Balagarii Marroqui, Petrus Medici, Iohannis Merçer, Berengarius Molaç, Berengarii Monachi, Steffano Mongrins, Raimundus Monte Catano, Guillelmus Montechatano, Arnaldus Murello, Raimundus Natalis, Arnaldus Nicholay, Petrus Nicholay, Raimundus Nicholay, Petrus Oliva, Franciscus Oluga, Franciscus Oriol, Michaelis Oriol, Petrus Oriol, Iohannis Padellaç, Guillelmus Palet, Arnaldus Pallars, Petrus Panades, Azceranis Pardi, Raimundus Patxi, Berengarius Pelliparii, Bonanatus Petra, Antonius Petri, Berengarius Petri, Armenterius Pilosi, Bernardus Pintor, Arnaldus Piquer, Petrus Poncius, Arnaldus Ponter, Bartolemeus Puig Redon, Petrus Putii, Petrus Queralt, Almonetus Rabacie, Arnaldus Rabacie, Bernardus Rabacie, Iacobus Rabacie, Vitalis Regola, Rogerius Rachonato, Guillelmus Raimundi, Petrus Raimundi, Berengarius Rajadello, Iohanis Reals, Petrus Rialp, Raimundus Rialp, Arnaldus Rogerii, Arnaldus Rollan, Garsia Romei, Anthoni Roqua, Ioannis Rosich, Bernardus Rubei, Andreas Saiol, Periconus Sala, Petrus Sancii, Nunus Sancii, Bartolomeus Lerida, Arnaldus Sancta Linea, Peretonus Sancta Linea, Petrus Sanctalineia, Michaelis Sanxo, Petrus Sanxo, Raimundus Sanxo, Iacobus Sartor, Arnaldus Sclusa, Guillelmus Sclusa, Salvator, Bernardus Segarra, Petrus Segui, Senyer, Marconus Serra, Petrus Serra, Hogeto Servianus, Berengarius Sola, Bernardus Spigol, Guillelmus Spigol, Ioannis Stanyol, Guillelmus Terracone, Raimundus Terraça, Petrus Toloni, Iohannis Torner, Periconus Vasset, Raimundus Vasset, Raimundus Vilalta, Guilemus Villa, Arnaldus Villam, Petrus Villam, Petrus Vitale.

2. Name + preposition + toponym: Petrus de Alberola, Berengarius de Alberol, Antonius de Albesia, Dalmatius de Alenterno, Iordanus de Alentorn, Raimundus de Almazor, Iohannis Daltes, Berengarius de Anglesill, Raimundus de Angularia, Sancius de Antillone, Joan d'Aragó, Isabelis de Aragonia, Arnaldus de Aran, Cerveronus de Artesa, Arnaldus de Artesa, Petrus de Artesa, Ariolus de Artesa, Gueraldus de Artesia, Berengarius de Avellanes, Bernardus de Aversone, Petrus de Barbaroga, Pascasius de Barbera, Arnaldus de Belvis, Arnaldus de Berga, Iohanis de Berga, Petrus de Berga, Guillelmus de Bolleda, Bernardus de Camporrellis, Martinus de Caneto, Gueraldi de Capraria, Petrus de Carreu, Bernardus de Castellione, Raimundus de Casteyllo, Guillelmus de Cervaria, Arnaldus de Cervere, Raimundus de Coponibus, Bernardus de Corronibus, Guillelmus de Curilione, Guillelmus de Entença, Poncius d'Eril, Berengarii de Fluviano, Lupi de Fontibus, Matalonis de Frascano, Bernardus de Guardia, Raimundus de Guardia, Petrus de Gonera, Michael de Gorrea, Petrus de Gradu, Franciscus de la Guardia, Poncius de la Guardia, Raimundus de Josa, Berengarius de Laurencio, Marchus de Liçana, Franciscus de Murello, Iacobus de Murello, Salvator de Murello, Bernardus de Muro, Raimundeti de Nargo, Raimundus de Nargo, Guillelmus d'Oç, Andreas de Oluga, Arnaldus de Orcau, Bernardus de Palacio, Raimundus



de Peralta, Arnaldus de Peratalaç, Bartholomeus de Podio, Guilelmus de Podio, Petrus des Podio, Bernardus de Ponte, Dalmacius de Pontons, Petrus de Queralto, Bartolomeus de Rialp, Amorosius de Ripellis, Poncius de Ripellis, Raimundus de Ripellis, Andreas de Roda, Arnaldus de Rubione, Garssia de Santaline, Guillelmus de Ter, Berengarius de la Terrossa, Feredicus de Toledo, Arnaldus de Uliola, Bernardus de Uliola, Petro de Vich, Dominicus de Viscarra.

3. Name + preposition + surname: Guillelmus de ça Cirera, Bonaventura deç Clergue, Berengarius de Maior, Balagerius de na Arnalda, Guillelmus dez Col, Periconus dez Col, Petrus de Coromina, Bernadus de Falchs, Bernardus de Fenoyllar, Bernardus de Miçe, Petrus de Miçe, Arnaldus de Vila.
4. Simple Name: Alfons, Elionor, Ermengol, Iacobus, Ioannis, Jaume, Pere, Pontius, Raimundus.
5. Compound Name + Surname: Petrus Arnaldus Arcedone, Eiximenis Petrus Figuerola, Iacobus Ioannis Muntanyola.
6. Compound Name¹² + preposition + toponym: Arnaldus Cortit de na Bonjorn, Rodericus Eximeni de Bornoll, Blasius Manga de Vila Marxant.
7. Doubtful names or unknown from semantic point of view: Pascasius Barrusta, Arnaldus Bestinez, Iacobus de Caxino, Bernardus Durbam, Ato de Forces, Bartolomeus Leoder, Raimundus de Mari, Bernardus de Mascho, Guilelmus de Menuari, Raimundus de Mice, Arnaldus de Moz, Balaguerius de Orega, Petrus Peratalaç, Petrus Scapa, Berengarius Tempsut.

Therefore, having seen the syntagmatic structures of the anthroponyms of the *Privilegis*, it becomes obvious that a forename is purely a denominator with the function of identifying a person, with no other special meaning than that of continuing an established family tradition¹³. In contrast, the surname plays a completely descriptive role. It not only indicates the qualities of a person in the broadest sense of this term, but also marks his or her geographic origin, as can be seen in sections 1 and 6. This gives an identity to an individual who wishes to stand out from others.

4. Typological, etymological and frequency analysis of first names or forenames

Naturally, a first name is a type of anthroponym which had been used since the beginning of the Middle Ages to perpetuate the memory of a father, mother and/or any other ancestor. Therefore, it constituted the first approach to a subject

12. Paternal and maternal surnames were added to a given name from the Sanctoral, to the first name, to identify a person as belonging to a family. However, these family names were soon repeated and identification formulas such as the repetition of the father's name preceded by the preposition "de" appeared (for example: Joan Jaume de Miguel, Antoni Gelabert d'Antoni).

13. Ruhstaller, Stephan. "Los elementos constituyentes de la antroponimia hispánica y su contenido semántico referencial". *Cauce*, 16 (1993): 131-139.



by placing him or her in a specific context. This soon gave way to the regular use of one or more forenames in each lineage (*genus*, in Latin) and, ultimately, to the formation of small perfectly-structured family repertoires. As the Middle Ages progressed, this repertoire of forenames increased due to the influence of several peoples and cultures as will be discussed below.

Both on a level of linguistic affiliation and frequency, the result of the analysis of the forenames of the *Privilegis*, reveals a complete agreement with the general trends of thirteenth and fourteenth century Catalan anthroponomy. As Dieter Kremer notes, these coincidences are unrelated to the regional particularity of a specific place, having more to do with what this philologist calls onomastic trends of the time¹⁴.

If the list of most frequent forenames established by Enric Moreu-Rey, which in the case of mid-fourteenth-century Catalonia dates from the first known hearth tax (1358)¹⁵, is compared with the list of most frequent forenames of the documentation consulted, the differences are minimal:

- *Pere*, mainly written *Petrus*, is the most frequent forename in this documentation and the Hearth Tax of 1358.
- *Arnal* (mainly written *Arnaldus* and one known case in feminine *Arnalda*), *Bernat* (normally written *Bernardus*), *Ramon* (written *Raimundus*), *Arnau* (with the variants *Arnaldus*-*Arnaldi*), *Berenguer* (normally *Berengarius*), *Jaume* (always *Iacobus* except when referring to King James I) and *Joan* (mainly *Iohannis*) are very frequent forenames in the Hearth Tax of 1358 and the *Privilegis* of Balaguer (1211-1352).

Table 1. Most common forenames in Catalonia (1358)¹⁶.

1. Pere	3. Bernat	5. Arnau	7. Jaume
2. Guillem	4. Ramon	6. Berenguer	8. Joan

Table 2. Most common forenames in the Privileges' Parchments of the city of Balaguer (1211-1352).

1. Pere: 49	3. Ramon: 33	5. Bernat: 27	7. Jaume: 13
2. Arnau: 38	4. Guillem: 30	6. Berenguer: 24	8. Joan: 12

14. Kremer, Dieter. "Quelques impressions de statistique onomastique médiévale", *Dictionnaire historique des noms de famille romans. Actes del III Col·loqui del PatRom*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1991: 187.

15. I am referring to the hearth tax from 1358 cited in note 1.

16. Moreu-Rey, Enric. "Prenoms i cognoms de Catalunya i Rosselló en 1358", *Antroponímia. Història dels nostres prenomes, cognoms i renoms*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1991: 91.



Other names from the *Privilegis* of Balaguer that warrant commenting are, in decreasing order of frequency, the following: *Francesc* (9) written *Franciscus*, *Ponci* (5) written *Poncius*, *Bartomeu* (7) written *Bartholomeus*, *Salvador* (4) written *Salvatoris*, *Antoni* (3) written *Antonius* and *Miquel* (3) written *Michaelis*. All of them display the Romanizing tendency of the notarial language of the period¹⁷. Regarding women's names, there is only one case: that of Queen Elionor, which appears in document number 20 (from 1334).

As for the linguistic affiliation of the studied forenames¹⁸, it should be noted that, with the arrival of Christianity, the entire system of naming radically changed with the institution of Christian names¹⁹. This is why some of the documented names (see table 1) have a religious conception. Names with origins in the Bible, apostles, martyrs and even Greco-Roman mythology are adopted. In the Peninsula, the primitive Christian communities used names like those of *Servndus*, *Amador*, *Constantinu*, whose origin is clearly paradigmatic, next to others of Greek origin like *Eusebius*, and even names of animals or plants like *Leo* and *Margarita*. In the *Privilegis* there are forenames clearly of Christian-Latin origin (*Pere*, *Salvatoris*) as well as Romanized names of Greek or Hebrew ancestry: *Iacobus*, *Bartholomeus*, *Joanis*.

However, it is without doubt the Germanic anthropology which dominates the Latin in the studied names. The arrival of the invading peoples to the Peninsula signalled the junction of the anthroponomy of the invaders and the invaded. Two thirds of the studied forenames are of Germanic origin: names like *Arnau*, *Berenguer*, *Ramon*, *Guillem* are the most representative²⁰.

5. Typological classification and frequency of surnames

Some of the peoples before the tenth century²¹, among them the Visigoths, established a unique name for each person, that is, a given name or *nomen*, unrelated to their ancestors. After this century many names found in documents are accompanied by their respective surname, which in its origin basically indicated the place of residency and, occasionally, the trade of the person in question. In Catalonia²², like in the rest of Western Europe, the tradition followed to distinguish

17. Álvarez, M. del Pilar. "El registro lingüístico especial de los documentos medievales notariales". *Estudios humanísticos. Filología*, 15 (1992): 23-42.

18. The aim of this text is not to approach the individual study of each name because this task has already been extremely well done by renowned specialists as those that are mentioned in the final bibliography. In any case, refer to their reference list.

19. Piquer, Esperança: "Aproximació a l'antroponímia...": 211-236.

20. Kremer, Dieter. *Die germanischen Personennamen in Katalonien: Namensammlung und Etymologisches*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1969.

21. Aebischer, Paul. *Essai sur l'onomastique catalane du IXe aux XIIe siècles*. Barcelona: Anuari de l'Oficina Romànica, 1928: I, 18-42.

22. Aebischer, Paul. *Essai sur l'onomastique catalane...*: 72-78.



one individual from another was the use of a *cognomen* or surname chosen from a varied repertoire. So, as the eleventh century unfolded, references to affiliation, normally in genitive although sometimes in nominative as a distinctive designation, started to become frequent.

This formula achieved an absolute predominance in the twelfth century, especially among the aristocracy, soon coexisting with other forms of anthroponym. Amid this diversity, two-element names consolidated, whereby the second name was reserved to allude to functions or professions, physical characteristics or geographic origin which initially served to identify specific individuals when their names were repeated in a community. From the thirteenth century onwards this resulted in the final crystallisation of lineages and, more specifically, in the progressive development of some of their defining characteristics. Hence the interest in highlighting one's own character: it expressed a lineage's internal social cohesion and, above all, perpetuated the memory and social affirmation of a family group. This occurred with forenames, and when these names were associated with patronymic surnames and naturally with surnames understood as signs of identity of a family community²³.

The surnames annotated in the consulted documentation are a reflection of traditions, religion, trades and, ultimately, the thoughts of medieval man. The lexicon referring to flora, fauna and other areas of meaning requires the individual to reorganise his or her semantic field and lexicon within which the ways of life and beliefs of the medieval society can be observed. In this sense, unlike what occurred with given names, there is a large variety of surnames that become evident when establishing their classification in different onomastic categories.

1. Surnames of patronymic origin, that is, those which have been created upon an anthroponomical process developed in the eleventh century consisting in the addition of the father's name in the Latin genitive grammatical case. Surnames belonging to this group are *Bernardus Andree*, *Petrus Dalmacii*, *Guillelmus Domingelo*, *Petrus Emerici*, *Garcia Ferrandiz*, *Garcia Garces*, *Salvatoris Gifré*, *Berengarius Giner*, *Arnaldus Gisbert*, *Petrus Gondisalvi*, *Berengarius Petri*, *Arnaldus Rogerii*, among others. Due to their use by a predecessor of more or less social impact or to their importance in the family history, the transmission of these patronymics became a typical and unique characteristic among the lineages of the last period of the Middle Ages.
2. Surnames formed from toponymic names:
 - 2.1. Those that indicate the place of origin, which can be names of cities, towns or counties presented as a single noun: *Bartolomeus Lerida*, *Raimundus Monte Catano*, *Bernardus Segarra*, *Peretonus Sancta Linea*; or in the structure: given name preceded by the preposition *de* (of): *Antonius de Albesa*, *Poncius d'Eril*, *Berengarius de Avellanes*, *Bernardus de Aversone*, *Pascasius de Barbera*, *Arnaldus de Belvis*, *Arnaldus de Berga*, *Petrus de Berga*, *Guillelmus de Bolleda*, *Bernardus de Camporrellis*, *Martinus de Caneto*, *Gueraldi de Capraria*, *Petrus de Carreu*, *Bernardus de Castellione*, *Guillelmus de Cervaria*, *Arnaldus de Cervere*,

23. Pardo, Eduardo. "Identidad y memoria...": 28.



Raimundus de *Coponibus*, Bernardus de *Corronibus*, Guillelmus de *Curilione*, Guillelmus de *Entença*, Poncius d'*Eril*, Berengarii de *Fluviano*, Lupi de *Fontibus*, Matalonis de *Frascano*, Bernardus de *Guardia*, Raimundus de *Peralta*, Feredicus de *Toledo*, among many others.

- 2.2. Those that conform to the fixation of common names corresponding to toponymic designations like, for example, geographical features: Guilelmus de *Col*, Petrus *Costa*, Petrus *Serra*, Arnaldus *Sclusa*; names of groups of vegetation: Berengarius *Garriga*; as well as names of plants or trees: Bartolomeo *Bardoyll*, Berengarius *Cirera*, Nicholai *Forment*, Guilemus *Spigol*. Within this group of common names, the names of buildings or parts of such like, for example, Periconus *Sala*, should also be considered.
3. Surnames formed from post or dignitary titles, as well as trades or professions:
 - 3.1. Ecclesiastical posts: Bonaventura des *Clergue*, Berengarii *Monachi*.
 - 3.2. Civil posts or dignitaries: Arnaldus *Baiuli*, Iacobus *Baro*.
 - 3.3. Trade names: Bernardus *Bulfarines*, Guilelmus *Çabaterii*, Arnaldus *Çabater*, Aparicius *Draper*, Iacobo *Fuster*, Raimundus *Jover*, Petrus *Medici*, Iohannis *Merçer*, Iohannis *Pelliparii*, Bernardus *Pintor*, Arnaldus *Ponter*.
4. Surnames originating from nicknames:
 - 4.1. Names indicating a physical quality or defect, such as Marconus *Cortit*, Iohanis *Fort*, Azcenaris *Pardi*, Iohanis *Rosich*, Bernardus *Rubei*.
 - 4.2. Names which refer to a mental or moral quality, for example Bernardus *Maiori*.
 - 4.3. Names of animals: Michaelis *Oriol*.
5. Surnames of unknown or uncertain origin: see point 1.4 of section 2 of this study.

Unlike forenames, which follow a more general onomastic fashion as detailed in section 3, surnames confirm a diversified reality conformed by the peculiarities of each region. This phenomenon is due to the fact that surnames are a direct consequence of the reality of the physical area in which they have emerged and developed. This does not preclude the consideration of migration as one of the factors to be taken into account when studying the anthroponymy of a specific geographical area. In this sense, the main characteristic of the anthroponymy of the *Pergamins de la ciutat de Balaguer* is the abundance of surnames from toponyms, as seen in points 1 and 6 of section 2 of this study.

Regarding frequency, two details should be kept in mind. On the one hand, that the documentation is partial because only part of the inhabitants of the city of Balaguer are referred to and not all of the population is from this city; and, on the other, that the given frequency differences for these surnames are entirely relative. This is because, as only one place has been studied, this frequency could be related to the reproductive vitality of the members of a family living in that place, as is supposedly the case with *Artesa*, for example, and not to the true vitality of the anthroponym. Indeed, by making a subjective assessment of the most frequent surnames in the documentation used (see table 3), it can be observed that, out of those occupying the first three positions, one corresponds to a toponym which



refers to the place *Artesa de Segre*, a town 29 kilometres to the northeast of the city of Balaguer, another to a trade which Francesc de Borja Moll gives as a representative lineage of the city of Balaguer²⁴; and *Cortit* that Joan Coromines gathers and comments in his *Onomasticon Cataloniae*:

*Acabem amb un parònim no gaire clar, però ja antic i de comarques veïnes: el cognom Cortit [...], el crec propi de cap a Lleida i Ribagorça [...] Això no pot venir del cast. Curtir “assaonar” (mot estrany al cat. i no assenyalat ni a Aragó ni en mossàrab*²⁵.

Table 3. Most common surnames in the Privileges' Parchments of the city of Balaguer (1211-1352).

1. Cortit: 8	2. Sabater: 6	3. Artesa: 5	4. Bardoll: 4 Rabassa: 4 Sancho: 4 Santalinya: 4	5. Cirera: 3 Morell: 3 Nicolau: 3 Oriol: 3 Puig: 3 Ribell: 3 Vila: 3
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By looking at this list, it is possible to observe a false statistic. As mentioned in the previous lines, the absolute number of surnames of each one of the onomastic categories gives a majority of surnames from toponyms, while the other groups are not as representative. Nonetheless, in this table it is possible to see that only four surnames come from names of places, *Artesa*, *Santalinya*, *Puig* and *Vila*. The rest, 9 in total, are patronyms (*Nicolau* and *Sancho*) or delexical verbs and nouns (*Cortit*, *Sabater*, *Bardoll*, *Rabassa*, *Cirera*, *Morell* and *Ribell*). Again, it is possible to speak of onomastic fashions and even of the vitality of a family in the city of Balaguer, as in the case of *Cortit*, and not of the productivity of some anthroponyms.

6. Characteristics of onomastic identity. In conclusion

When summing-up, first it should be noted that medieval notarial texts ensure the memory of people as well as being a way of forming personal memories, whether individual or collective. At the same time, these texts, and in particular the *Privilegis*, disseminate and confirm the identity of names of a specific historical-geographical

24. Note that in table 3 the second most common surname corresponds to the trade of *sabater* (cobbler).
25. “Let us finish with a rather unclear, although old, paronym, belonging to the neighbouring counties: the surname *Cortit* [...], which I believe to belong to Lleida and Ribagorça [...]. It cannot come from the Spanish *Curtir* “season” (an unrelated word to Catalan and not indicated in Aragon or Mozarab). Coromines, Joan. “Cortiuda”, *Onomasticon Cataloniae*. Barcelona: Curial-La Caixa, 1995: III, col. 447b.



area, that of the city of Balaguer of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the creation of a collective memory that will last over time. Therefore, the utility of the documental source used is clear as it has provided onomastic information that gives a certain unity to the first names presented in this text.

From the ninth to the eleventh century there is the predominant use of a single identifying name in the scrolls. However, at the end of the tenth century, names with two components start to become frequent until this onomastic structure is definitely established in the second half of the eleventh century. So, in subsequent centuries, names with just one element were the exceptional cases.

This onomastic tendency is well reflected in the *corpus* of names upon which I have worked and in which I have only found nine simple names (see point 4 of section 2)²⁶.

What is more, the forenames of the city of Balaguer are faithful to the trends set by the predominant onomastic fashion in thirteenth and fourteenth century Catalonia, as indicated in tables 1 and 2. It should be noted that the repertoire of first names used in Catalonia throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth century²⁷, which are a continuation of those being used since the beginning of the Middle Ages, were formed on three fundamental sources: Latin, which was common to primitive Hispanics; Germanic, and specifically Visigoth; and Jewish, especially biblical names, which entered the Iberian Peninsula through religious devotions.

Although forenames are elements that linguistically fulfil the function of identifying individuals, and socially and culturally reveal a relationship between the subject assigning the names and those who receive them²⁸, the anthroponomical study of the onomastics of Balaguer in the thirteenth and fourteenth century enables the historian to, on the one hand, establish a system of naming based upon the existing possibilities and resources to identify an individual within the society of the time. On the other, it casts light on the prevailing ideology of the period.

As for surnames, there is clearly a discrepancy regarding the dominant feature in the Catalonia of this period where there was a balance between the different

26. According to Vicente Lagüens and Tomás Buesa: *Esa "revolución onomástica" se ha explicado por varias causas: de la extraordinaria riqueza antroponímica que revela la documentación de los siglos anteriores, con formaciones basadas sobre todo en la onomástica germánica —a las que se añaden nombres grecolatinos, latino-románicos y prerromanos— se pasa a una nueva situación caracterizada por el empleo mayoritario de un menor número de nombres que se ponen de moda en determinados años y regiones (como Urraca, Xemena, Pelagio, Rodrigo, Adefonso, Vermudo o Fredinando)*. "This onomastic revolution has been explained by several causes: the extraordinary anthroponomical richness revealed in the documentation of the previous centuries, with formations based especially on Germanic onomastics —to which Greco-Roman, Latin-Romanesque and Pre-Roman names are added—, gives way to a new situation characterised by the majority use of a smaller number of names which became fashionable in certain years and regions (like Urraca, Xemena, Pelagio, Rodrigo, Adefonso, Vermudo or Fredinando)". Lagüens, Vicente; Buesa, Tomás. "Trabajos del Centro PatRom de Zaragoza. Los estudios de antroponimia aragonesa (I)". *Archivo de Filología Aragonesa*, 52-53 (1996-1997): 9-63.

27. Moreu-Rey, Enric. "Prenoms i cognoms de Catalunya...": 79-85.

28. Manrique, María del Carmen. "Antroponimia e identidad de los negros esclavos en el Perú". *Escritura y pensamiento*, 5 (2002): 123-134.



onomastic categories. While Dieter Kremer²⁹ demonstrated this harmony in the anthroponomy from surnames derived from patronymics, created upon toponymic designations, originating from trade names or resulting from the fixing of nicknames or epithets as surnames, the anthroponomy of Balaguer in the commented period shows that surnames originating from toponyms and toponymic designations are the majority. In contrast, the rest of the groups like those Kremer cites bring up the rear, although surnames derived from trade names occupy an important place due to their abundance and the variety of trades.

All this proves, in my opinion, is that every region is unique in terms of its particular anthroponomical reality, as Dieter Kremer³⁰ also highlights, and, therefore, that it is not possible to generalise with surnames as it is with forenames. In this first approach to the medieval anthroponomy of the city of Balaguer, I have validated some signs of identity to be specifically studied and, afterwards, compared, if necessary, with forenames and surnames of other geographical areas with medieval documentation.

The appearance of surnames derived from patronymics contrasts with the overwhelming presence of surnames originating in toponyms. This process explains that, from the twelfth century onwards, the ruling class assumed this onomastic structure that demonstrates a socio-economical situation as a manifestation of their lordly power. Little by little, the peasant population and that taking up residence in big and small cities took a name in accordance with their place of origin as a sign of a greater tie with the land.

In light of the contrasted data, personal identity is the expression of a permanent and fundamental character of an individuality that is excluded from the rest of the community because it exists as a unique being. Based upon this differentiation, identity is expressed by a series of distinctive signs among which the name is, without doubt, one of the most important. As a multicultural society, the western Middle Ages constitute a community where a name has an essential importance. After the simplicity and concision of the formulas of the eighth and ninth centuries, medieval onomastics would be slowly completed with the appearance of anthroponyms which were increasingly more complex, different and compound by various elements. From this moment onwards, it is possible to obtain a great deal of information about an individual and know which were his physical qualities, family ancestry, geographical origin, profession and, definitively, any attribute concerned with his person. The abundant presence of names in a medieval text like the one analysed demonstrates that there is an identity and that it is subject to individual claim.

Identity and onomastics constitute two of the most frequently used elements to define, affirm or spread awareness of collective memory, whatever the historical period. The form and contents of names intrinsically transmit the intention which has originated their creation and the historian or philologist will find within them

29. Kremer, Dieter. "Quelques impressions de statistique...": 186.

30. Kremer, Dieter. "Quelques impressions de statistique...": 187.



tools to establish data for the history of mentality and the creation of an onomastic awareness.

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THE SELF-CORONATIONS OF IBERIAN KINGS: A CROOKED LINE

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Date of receipt: 10th of March, 2012

Final date of acceptance: 4th of March, 2014

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the practice of self-coronation among medieval Iberian Castilian kings and its religious, political, and ideological implications. The article takes Alfonso XI of Castile self-coronation (1332) as a central event, and establishes a conceptual genealogy, significance, and relevance of this self-coronation, taking Visigothic, Asturian, Leonese, and Castilian chronicles as a main source, and applying political theology as a methodology. The gesture of self-coronation has an evident transgressive connotation which deserves particular attention, and could throw some light upon the traditional debate on the supposed “un-sacred” kingship of Castilian kings¹.

KEY WORDS

Coronation, Unction, Castile, Monarchy, Political Theology.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Coronatio, Unctio, Castella, Monarchia, Theologia politica.

Historians have always been fascinated by the quest for origins. Alfonso XI of Castile and Peter IV of Aragon's peculiar and transgressive gestures of self-coronation in the fourteenth century are very familiar to us, narrated in detail as they are in their respective chronicles². Yet, their ritual transgression makes us wonder why they acted in this way, whether there were any precedents for this particular gesture, and to what extent they were aware of the different rates at which the anointing and coronation ceremonies were introduced into their own kingdoms, in their search for justification of the self-coronation³.

All indications suggest that Peter the Ceremonious looked to Alfonso XI's self-coronation, performed in 1332, just four years before his own one in 1336. It is clear that King Peter was familiar with the different forms of royal installation ceremonies performed by his predecessors in the Crown of Aragon, but also that he took the specific gesture of crowning himself from his royal Castilian neighbour. Based on this premise, the aim of this article is to establish a conceptual genealogy

1. Article translated by David Ronder. This article is framed by the Project *Teología política de las monarquías hispanas bajomedievales* (HAR2011-30265), financed by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad del Gobierno de España, and by the Project *Religión y Sociedad Civil*, Instituto de Cultura y Sociedad (ICS), Universidad de Navarra, directed by Montserrat Herrero. The article owes very much to the interdisciplinary projection, debates, and conversations held with the members of these projects. I thank Álvaro Fernández de Córdoba for his suggestions.

2. The relation of Alfonso XI's ceremonies of knighting, anointing, and self-crowning: *Crónica del rey Don Alfonso el Onceno*: chap. 120-121, *Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ed. Diego Catalán. Madrid: Gredos, 1977: 506-510. Pere el Ceremoniós' self-coronation is narrated in: Pere el Ceremoniós. "Crònica", *Les Quatre Grans Cròniques: Jaume I, Bernat Desclot, Ramon Muntaner, Pere III*, ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Selecta, 1971: II, 10-12 and 1025-1026.

3. The specific subject of the self-coronation must be approached under the general light of royal coronations. For an excellent bibliographical comment on medieval coronations, see: Bak, Janos M. "Introduction: Coronation Studies-Past, Present, and Future", *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990: 1-15. For a general context of the symbols of kingship based on a study of coronations and their respective *ordos*, see: Bouman, Cornelius A. *Sacring and Crowing. The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century*. Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1957; Jackson, Richard A. *Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995; for its connection with political and legal theory: Kern, Fritz. *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956; Maitland, Frederic W. *Roman Canon Law*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1968; Ullmann, Walter. *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*. London: Methuen, 1969; for the political theology and the overall reception of the medieval state, see: Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957. For a more specific analysis of English coronations, which we have used to compare with Iberian ones, see: Schramm, Percy E. *A History of the English Coronation*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1937; Strong, Roy. *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy*. London: Harper Collins, 2005; Richardson, Henry G. "The Coronation in Medieval England: The Evolution of the Office and the Oath". *Traditio*, 16 (1960): 111-202; Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "Inalienability: A Note on the Canonical Practice and the English Coronation Oath in the Thirteenth Century". *Speculum*, 29 (1954): 488-502; Ward, Paul L. "The Coronation Ceremony in Medieval England". *Speculum*, 24 (1939): 160-178; *Ceremonial de la Coronación, unción y exequias de los reyes de Inglaterra*, ed. Eloisa Ramírez. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2008; for French coronations: Jackson, Richard A. *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984. For the analysis of the long-term continuity of the political symbols, see: Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "Oriens Augusti-Lever du roi". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963): 117-177.



for Alfonso's self-coronation, from Visigothic, Asturian and Leonese sources to practice in the Kingdom of Castile, to reflect on the precedents for this gesture that transgressed from the more established rite of kings being crowned by the bishops, and why they progressed (or regressed) into the practice of self-coronation during the fourteenth century.

I am aware of the quantity and quality of the bibliography of Castilian and Aragonese coronations⁴. Yet it is also evident that there are no monographic works devoted to the specific gesture of Iberian self-coronation, a singular ceremony even in medieval Europe, not to say in all history, until Napoleon crowned himself Emperor. Considering the particularity of this approach to self-coronations, and my emphasis on the comparative genealogy of these ceremonies rather than a particular account of any one of them, I am going to focus on the Iberian evolution from Wamba's anointing in 672 to Alfonso XI's self-coronation in 1332.

1. The origins of royal unction: the Visigothic Kingdom

Both coronation and unction rites have relevance within royal ceremonies, although they have to be clearly distinguished, because their political, ideological, and religious meaning and implications are very different. In spite of the transferences of temporal and spiritual spheres and rituals that started at the time of Constantine, Western Roman emperors were never anointed or crowned. Their installation ceremony never had a religious dimension. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the Byzantine emperor did not introduce the practice of coronation until Leon I was crowned by the Bishop of Constantinople in 457. After that event, the practice of coronation was expanded among the Germanic monarchies from the sixth century, culminating in the imperial coronation of Charlemagne in 800.

4. A complete story of Aragonese coronations in: Palacios, Bonifacio. *La coronación de los reyes de Aragón, 1204-1410*. Valencia: Anubar, 1975. See also: Palacios, Bonifacio. "El Ceremonial", *Ceremonial de consagración y coronación de los reyes de Aragón. II. Transcripción y estudios*, ed. Vicente de Vera. Saragossa: Diputación General de Aragón, 1992: 105-133; Centellas, Ricardo. "Pedro IV. Ceremonial de consagración y coronación de los reyes de Aragón", *Aragón. De reino a comunidad. Diez siglos de encuentros*, ed. Antonio Angulo. Saragossa: Diputación General de Aragón, 2001: 190-191; Yeves, Juan Antonio. "De la unction a la coronación. Ceremonial de la consagración y coronación de los reyes y reinas de Aragón", *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro sagrado y monarquía. I. Estudios y Catálogo*, ed. Isidro Bango. León: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000: 95-96; Pérez, Olga. "De la unction a la coronación. Libro de la coronación de los reyes de Castilla y Aragón", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*: 97-98; Pérez, Olga. "Ceremonias regias en la Castilla Medieval. A propósito del llamado Libro de la Coronación de los reyes de Castilla y Aragón". *Archivo Español de Arte*, 83 (2010): 317-334; Schramm, Percy E. "Der König von Aragon. Seine Stellung in Stadtsrecht (1276-1410)". *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 74 (1955): 99-123. There are no systematic Studies for Castilian coronation, but Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Teófilo Ruiz, Peter Linehan and Juan Manuel Nieto Soria, among others, have analysed with detail this subject in the publications I quote forward.



The coronation ritual was ceremonially established and liturgically consolidated through the Pontifical of Pope Leo III (795-816)⁵.

The rite of unction, in turn, had another trajectory of expansion⁶. It was introduced after the coronation, since the first monarchy to practise it was the Visigothic, based on Isidore of Seville's theories, the Councils of Toledo's resolutions, and Bishop Julian of Toledo's historical writings. Thus, the Visigothic king Wamba seems to have been the first European king to be anointed, in 672⁷. A century later, the unction ceremony spread from the Visigothic kingdom to France (the first to receive it were Charlemagne's sons, Pepin and Louis), and then to some Anglo-Saxon monarchies and to the Byzantine Empire⁸. The unction ceremony would finally arrive in Rome with the anointing of Charlemagne's son Charles, which is also described in the Pontifical of Leo III⁹. Thus, Rome did not take this ritual from its own tradition, but from the Frankish kings, who in turn got it from Visigothic tradition¹⁰.

A key event in this story is King Wamba's anointing ceremony in Toledo, in 672¹¹. The ceremony is narrated in Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae*, an exaltation of *rex Gothorum* that functions as a historical narrative, exposition of a *speculum principum* and also *exemplum* illustrating some doctrinal truths. Some historians argue that Wamba (672-680) was the first Visigothic king, and consequently the first European king, to be anointed. Yet other specialists, such as Peter Linehan, posit that Wamba's was not the first royal anointing that Toledo had witnessed,

5. Duchesne, Louis. *Le Liber Pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955-1957: I, 6-7.

6. On the origins of royal anointing, see: Enright, Michael J. *Iona, Tara and Soissons. The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual*. Belin: De Gruyter, 1985 and the contributions of the collective volume *Le sacre des rois: actes du Colloque international d'histoire sur les sacres et couronnements royaux Reims 1975*. Paris: Belles Lettres, 1985. For Pepin's anointing, see: Stoclet, Alain. "La 'Clausula de unctione Pippini Regis': mises au point et nouvelles hypothèses (Planches I-VII)". *Francia*, 8 (1980): 1-42; Stoclet, Alain. "La 'Clausula de unctione Pippini regis'..." vingt ans après". *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 78 (2000): 719-771; Cantarella, Glauco Maria. "Le sacre unzioni regie", *Settimane di studio della Fondazione del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2007: 1291-1334.

7. The practice of royal anointing and the consequent introduction of the king-making ritual with a liturgical form has to be distinguished from the date at which a fixed rite is established and written down as an *Ordo*, as Schramm argued in his study on Anglo-Saxon *Ordines*: Schramm, Percy Ernst. "Der Souveränitätsgerdanke in den mittelalterlichen Krönungsordines", *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, ed. Peter Classen. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1964: I, 72. See also: Nelson, Janet L. "The Earliest Surviving Royal *Ordo*: Some Liturgical and Historical Aspects", *Authority and Power. Studies on Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ullmann on his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. Brian Tierney, Peter Linehan. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1980: 29-48, especially, 29.

8. Duchesne. *Le Liber Pontificalis*...: 38, and the long justificative notes 34-35.

9. Duchesne. *Le Liber Pontificalis*...: 6 and 38, note 35.

10. A good synthesis of the itinerary of the first anointments and coronations during the late Antiquity and High Middle Ages in: Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*...: 38, n. 43-45.

11. Julián, Obispo de Toledo. *Historia Wambae*: cap. 3-4 (*Sancti Iuliani Toletanae Sedis Episcopi Opera, Pars I*, ed. Wilhelm Levison. Turnhout: Brepols, 1976). This chronicle was written about 675. A detailed and instructive account of Wamba's inauguration and anointment in: Teillet, Suzanne. *Des Goths à la nation gothique: Les origines de l'idée de nation en Occident du Ve au VIIe siècle*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984: 607-617. See also: Sacchi, Samuele. *Modelli di regalità di area iberica durante il VII secolo: tra i concili di Toledo e il pensiero isidoriano*. Pisa: Università degli Studi di Pisa (PhD Dissertation), 2011.



based on his insistence on being anointed at the *sedes antike* —that is, Toledo¹². Michel Zimmermann argues that the practice of this ceremony could have started in 633¹³. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz asserts that the unction was an established *traditio* among Visigothic kings, but we cannot know from when¹⁴. In any case, all agree that Julian's is the first description and historical narration that we have of a royal anointing in Spain or anywhere else in the West¹⁵.

Wamba, and perhaps some of his ancestors, considered anointing to be a means of strengthening his royal authority, which was frequently threatened by aristocratic plotting. In an unprecedented decision, they adopted the Biblical ritual of royal unction, in parallel with the usual practice for Episcopal anointments. Saint Isidore, who had a remarkable influence on Visigothic political thought and practice, stated in his work *De ecclesiasticis officis* (written between 598 and 615) that

*Sed postquam dominus noster, verus rex et sacerdos aeternus, a Deo patre caelesti ac mystico unguento est dilibutus, iam non soli pontifices et reges sed omnis ecclesia unctione crismatis consecratur, pro eo quod membrum est aeterni Regis et sacerdotis. Ergo quia genus sacerdotale et regale sumus, ideo post lavacrum unguimur ut Christi nomine censeamur*¹⁶.

This would be the first *written* evidence we have on the anointing of kings, but we do not have any *practical* evidence until Wamba, in 672 —that is, some decades after Isidore's work. Wamba's anointing in Toledo was narrated by Bishop Julian of Toledo in his *Historia Wambae*, written about 675 —that is, only a few years after the events:

Wamba princeps, quem digne principari Dominus voluit, quem sacerdotalis unctionem declaravit [...]. (E)t tamen dilato unctionis tempore usque in nonodecimo die, ne citra locum sedis antiquae sacraretur in principe. [...] (O)portunum esset et sacrae unctionis vexilla suscipere et longe positorum consensus ob praelectionem sui patientissime sustinere. At ubi ventum est, quo sanctae unctionis vexillam susciperet, in praetoriensi ecclesia, sanctorum scilicet Petri et Pauli, regio iam cultu conspicuus ante altare divinum consistens, ex more fidem populis reddidit. Deinde curbatis genibus oleum benedictionis per sacri Quirici pontificis manus vertici eius refunditur et benedictionis copia exhibetur, ubi statim signum hoc salutis emicuit. Nam mox e vertice ipso, ubi oleum ipsum perfusum fuerat, evaporatio

12. Linehan, Peter. *History and the historians of medieval Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993: 56. Wamba is one of the Iberian medieval kings whose figure and personality has generated more narrative and legendary accounts around him: Ward, Aengus. *History and Chronicles in Late Medieval Iberia. Representations of Wamba in Late Medieval Narrative Histories*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

13. Zimmermann, Michel. "Les sacres des rois wisigoths", *Clovis: histoire et mémoire. Le baptême de Clovis, son écho à travers l'histoire*. Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1997: I, 9-28.

14. Sánchez, Claudio. "La 'ordinatio principis' en la España goda y postvisigoda", *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965: 712.

15. It seems to be that other European monarchies started this practice not before the end of the eighth century: Bloch, Marc. *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*. Paris: Colin, 1961: 464 and following.

16. Isidorus Hispalensis. *De ecclesiasticis officis, Sancti Isidori Episcopi Hispalensis*, "De crisma", II, 26 (25), ed. Christopher M. Lawson. Turnhout: Brepols, 1989: 106.



*quaedam fumo similis in modum columnae sese erexit in capite, et e loco ipso capitis apsis visa est prosilisse, quod utique signum cuiusdam felicitatis sequuturæ speciem portenderet*¹⁷.

This transposition of an Episcopal ceremony into one of royal enthronement would long endure in both Western and Eastern tradition. For sure, the foundation of this transference of spiritual to political sphere may be found some centuries before, at the beginning of the fourth century, when the Emperor Constantine adopted some of Christianity's spiritual symbols¹⁸. Yet, beyond these evident precedents, a closer connection with Wamba's anointment can perhaps be found in the figure of the Emperor Theodose, who was acclaimed Augustus in 379 and was born in Cauca, Galicia, in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula.

Theodose became a model for future Hispanic rulers, particularly in the period of Visigothic Spain. The Orose's *Historiarum adversus paganos* (written about 416-417) played an important role in the transposition and translation of Theodosian subjects and political meanings for Visigothic kings¹⁹. Orose, like Theodose, seems to have been born in Hispania, in the city of either Braga or Tarragona. He highlighted in his chronicle a vision of Hispania as a unitary whole (using the word in the singular), rather than a group of Roman provinces, an approach that would enhance Visigothic unity in the Iberian Peninsula during the sixth and seventh centuries. He stressed the idea that the Roman *Imperator* was surrounded by a religious aura, even in the pagan period, and this was particularly potent in Hispania²⁰. It may well have facilitated the sacralisation of Theodose, who is considered by Saint Augustine as the ideal Christian *imperator*²¹, and is referred to by Rufin of Aquileé as *Princeps religiosus*²². This *Imperator Christianus* and *Princeps religiosus* could then easily appear

17. Iuliano, episcopo Toletano. "Historia Wambae regis", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. Wilhelm Levison. Hannover: Hahn, 1910: V (*Passiones Vitaeque Sanctorum Aevi Merovingici*), 218-220 (chap. 2-4).

18. Bardill, Jonathan. *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2011; Odahl, Charles Matson. *Constantine and the Christian Empire*. London: Routledge, 2004.

19. Fontaine, Jacques. "Romanité et hispanité dans la littérature hispano-romaine des IV^e et V^e siècles", *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien*, ed. Dionisie Pippidi. Bucarest: Editura Academiei, 1976: 301-322, especially, 310. On the Orose's influence on several key political concepts of the Roman and Visigoth Iberia, see the very documented chapter of: Teillet, Suzanne. "Vers une présentation favorable des Goths...": 112-160.

20. Robert, Étienne. *Le culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1958. For a general view of the entire Empire, see: Beaujeu, Jean. *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1955.

21. Augustinus. *De Civitate Dei*: 5, 25-26.

22. Aquileiensis, Rufinus. "Historia Ecclesiastica", *Patrologiae. Cursus completus*. Paris: J. P. Migne Editorem, 1845: XXI, chap. 461-540. The same title applied to Theodose in: Augustinus. *De Civitate Dei*, 5, 26 (San Agustín. *La ciudad de Dios*, ed. Miguel Fuertes Lanero. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1977: I, 303-305); Ambrosius. *De obitu Theodosii*, ed. Otto Faller. Vienna: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 1962. See also: Duval, Yves-Marie. "L'éloge de Théodose dans la Cité de Dieu (V, 26, 1)". *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 4 (1966): 142-143; Gaudemet, Jean. *L'Église dans le monde romain (IV^e-V^e siècles)*. Paris: Sirey, 1967: 493-494.



as ancestor and model of the anointed Christian Visigothic kings, since the chronicler Julian of Toledo would apply this same title to Wamba some centuries afterwards²³.

Some authors have even argued that the Iberian succession of religious princes (the *Imperator Christianus* Theodose and the *Princeps religiosus* Wamba) would culminate in the title of *Catholic Monarchs* attributed to Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. This idea, which was discussed among Roman Cardinals at the end of the fifteenth century, is adopted by several early modern Castilian historians, who looked for continuities in the “Crown” of Spain, from the Visigoths to Castilians, and then to the Habsburgs, despite the dynastic ruptures²⁴.

Beyond these hypothetical continuities or discontinuities, and the fact that Theodose’s praises are an evident projection of Constantine’s acclamation as Christian Emperor²⁵, this Emperor emerges as the natural precedent for Wamba’s symbolic gestures, as the Hispanic Emperor praised for being “friend of Goths” and *Princeps religiosus*. This obviously corresponds to a very long classical tradition of the “good Prince” as legitimate ruler, expounded among others by Xenofonte and Cicero²⁶. This pagan-classical tradition is interestingly superimposed onto the Christian-Biblical one, profusely expounded by Eusebius and Gregory the Great²⁷. Thus, just as the “good Emperor” Theodose would wisely and bravely fight against the “bad *tyrannus*”, so Wamba would do the same against the eventual enemies of the kingdom²⁸. Beyond the moral (“bad king”) and religious (“prosecutor of the Church”) significance, the other traditional meaning of the word *tyrannus* is “usurper”.

This last meaning, used by Amine Marceline, Pacatus, Hegesipe and Hieronymus, will have lots of implications in the Visigothic kingdom, which has a long tradition of usurpations and threats to the king, and it is used specifically in this sense in

23. Wamba is called *Princeps religiosus* thirteenth times in the *Historia Wambae* and in the eleventh council of Toledo (675) is called five times the same way, without applying to him any other title (Teillet, Suzanne. “Vers une présentation favorable des Goths...”: 600).

24. The discussion among some Roman Cardinals about the title of Catholics Kings applied to Fernando and Isabel in 1496, ordered by Pope Alexander VI, is described and analyzed in: Fernández, Álvaro. “Reyes Católicos: mutaciones y permanencias de un paradigma político en la Roma del Renacimiento”, *Roma y España. Un crisol de la cultura europea de la Edad Moderna*, Carlos José Hernando, ed. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2007: 133-154; Saavedra, Diego. *Corona gótica, castellana y austriaca*. Madrid: Biblioteca Autores Españoles, 1861; Teillet, Suzanne. “Vers une présentation favorable des Goths...”: 83.

25. At the end-fourth century the chroniclers applied to Theodose what at the beginning of the century the chroniclers had applied to Constantine: Eusebius. *Historia ecclesiastica*: 9. 9; Pamphili, Eusebii, “Opera Omnia”, *Patrologia graecae. Cursus completus*. Paris: J. P. Migne, 1857: XX, col. 819-830); Lactance, Jacques Moreau. *De la mort des persécuteurs*. Paris: Cerf, 1954: I, 1 and 52.

26. This tradition is Stoicist in its origins: Beaujeu, Jean. *La religion romaine...*: 73-75.

27. Teillet, Suzanne. “Vers une présentation favorable des Goths...”: 346-349.

28. On the Greek roots of the word *tyrannus*, see: Gaudemet, Jean. *Institutions de l'Antiquité*. Paris: Sirey, 1967: 152-156; on the pejorative meaning of the Latin word *tyrannus*, see: Béranger, Jean. “*Tyrannus*. Notes sur la notion de tyrannie chez les Romains particulièrement à l'époque César et de Cicéron”. *Revue des Études Latines*, 13 (1935): 85-94; Hellegouarch, Joseph. *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1972: 561-562.



Julian's *Historia Wambae*, at the end of seventh century²⁹. Thus, the antithesis between *Princeps religiosus* and *tyrannus*, created some centuries before, will revive in Julian's narrative, in which the exemplary life of the King, Wamba, who fights against the usurper Paul, is the medieval transposition of Theodosie's fight against the tyrants Maxim and Eugene as narrated by Rufin, which is in its turn inspired by Constantine's fight against the tyrants Majence and Licinius, narrated by Eusebe³⁰. Finally, the phrase *Princeps religiosus* means both legitimization and piety. If the legitimate sovereign humbly submits to God, he will receive divine favour and reinforce his power and authority. Finally, it is interesting to note that Wamba took the model from the classical Roman period, while his predecessor Leovigild had taken as a model the Byzantine emperor Justinian. In any case, the sovereigns of Toledo always wanted to appear as successors of Roman emperors³¹.

Considering these precedents, it is no surprise that, in terms of political practice and symbolism, Wamba's inauguration and anointing ceremony meant more to some contemporary and later commentators than the Third Council of Toledo, which is a singular proof of its relevance. Toledo in 589 was not ready for development as the kingdom's ceremonial capital, since its primacy still appeared precarious. And, to be sure, the most relevant Visigothic royal ceremony was the anointing rather than the coronation. Subsequent chroniclers would talk about the Visigothic king "crowned into the kingdom", based on Isidore's account of Spain's first Catholic monarch³². Yet Isidore was using a metaphor rather than describing an historical event. It was not a real coronation—which otherwise would have been mentioned in the narration of Wamba's enthronement ceremony—but a vivid image, similar to the royal sceptre³³.

One of the key questions is why Wamba (or one of his recent predecessors) decided to consolidate his authority and power specifically with the anointing ceremony rather than other symbolic rites. During the first half of seventh century, particularly in his *Sentientiae*, Isidore of Seville, following in his turn the ideas of Gregory the Great, argued that the Christian king's sovereignty came from the kings of Israel rather than the emperors. He makes references to King Saul and King David rather than the emperors, even after the latter became Christians. Christ ("the anointed") took upon himself the dignity of royalty, inheriting the Hebrew idea of kingship. He thus became the model and foundation of Christian kingship, since both Jewish kingship and priesthood had disappeared after his birth. Isidore

29. Teillet, Suzanne. "Vers une présentation favorable des Goths...": 92 (n. 394).

30. Duval, Yves-Marie. "L'Éloge de Théodose...": 171.

31. Fontaine, Jacques. *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne Wisigothique*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1959.

32. Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...*: 387, who quotes: Isidorus Hispalensis. *Historia Gothorum* (about 725): chap. 52 ("Regno est coronatus"); Lucas of Tuy. *Chronicon Mundi* (about 1230): 50, 8; and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Bishop of Toledo. *De Rebus Hispaniae* (about 1240s): II, 15.

33. Teillet, Suzanne. "Vers une présentation favorable des Goths...": 541; Reydeller, Marc. *La Royauté Dans la littérature latine de Sidone Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville*, Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981: 536-539.



proclaims in his *Chronicle*: *Cessante regno ac sacerdotio Iudaeorum dominus Christus ex virgine nascitur*³⁴.

Since Christian kingship and priesthood cannot be split, royal and sacerdotal Christian kingship always have to be together. There begins, then, a certain parallelism between Bishop and King, and a transference of certain symbols and liturgies (Bishop's anointing among them) naturally emerges. Due to the spread of the ideas of Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great, and, particularly in Hispania, Isidore of Seville, the symbol of *rex-sacerdos* ("king-priest") would soon emerge in the Visigothic kingdom. Several years after Isidore's death, King Wamba would be anointed in a solemn ceremony in 672. In addition, this political-theological practice would prove to be an important heritage for the subsequent Iberian dynasties, particularly those of Castile. The consecrated king confirms his royal function, while the consecrated bishop confirms his sacerdotal function.

The introduction of royal unction would definitely consolidate the religious dimension of Visigothic monarchy, justified by the fourth Council of Toledo (633), with the related activity of Isidore of Seville, and some of King Receswinthe's texts³⁵. As the third Council of Toledo (589) had confirmed the imperial origin of the Visigothic king's power, so the fourth Council of Toledo confirmed its divine origin. The election of the king became a very solemn act, in which both the nobles and the bishops of the kingdom participated. Thus, the election of Wamba had as a consequence two ceremonies that conveyed both sides of the tradition: the *acclamatio*, as a remembrance of the imperial election; and the anointing, as a mirror of his power's divine origin. The *sacramentum* (oath) accompanying these two ceremonies confirmed the desire of the king to be truthful to God and to his subjects.

The *Historia Wambae*, a historical panegyric and exemplary narration of Wamba's ascendancy and domination, is in reality a *speculum principum*, a mirror of princes. Just as his predecessor Receswinthe (653-672) embodied the zenith of the transposition of imperial ideology, so Wamba represented the progress of the religious tendency—Biblical and ecclesiastical—as the monarchical ideal inspired by Gregory the Great. Wamba took the model from the Biblical kings and Christian bishops rather than the Roman emperors. He appears in the *Historia Wambae* as a successor to the Old Testament kings rather than the inheritor of the Roman emperor. The parallels drawn with the Jewish King Saul are constant in the chronicle, both in terms of personal virtues and military activities. He renounced the title of emperor used by the Visigothic kings up to his predecessor Receswinthe, in order to adopt, instead, the title of *religiosus* king.

Thus, Wamba adopted the Jewish tradition of royal unction, which had its parallel in the Christian bishops' unction, but until then had no precedents in the temporal sphere. Wamba appears in Julian's narrative as the sacred and religious king rather

34. Isidorus Hispalensis. *Chronicle*, 237, quoted in: Teillet, Suzanne. "Vers une présentation favorable des Goths...": 508.

35. Isidore argues that the royal power is originated by a commitment between the duties of the king and his subjects: see specially the canon 75 of the fourth Council of Toledo.



than the powerful or military king. He confirmed his sacred dimension thanks to the royal unction he received at the beginning of his reign.

Wamba's installation ceremony basically comprises the *electio*, which gives political legitimacy to the king; the *sacramentum*, a specifically Visigothic ceremony linking the king with his subjects; and the *anointing*—the last two in the context of the new religious ceremony of enthronement, separate from the election. There is consequently no mention of other rites in the inauguration, such as the coronation or the elevation, which was the ceremony practised in the Frankish kingdoms but which seems to be unknown to (or not practised by) the Visigothic kings³⁶. Thus, the anointing would have been seen as a way of increasing the solemnity of the king's entrance and confirming his sacred dimension. The rich doctrine behind this practice of unction is graphically conveyed by some texts of the Visigothic liturgy preserved in later manuscripts³⁷.

As Isidore of Seville explains in his *Etymologies*, the royal unction has a clear parallel with the double unction, royal and sacerdotal, of Israel, which is a figuration and image of Christ's unction and, consequently, of Christian unction: baptism. He explains that the Visigothic king wears a purple mantle as an external sign of his unction, which confers on him "the royal name and sovereign"³⁸. Other contemporary monarchies used external signs for royal entrance, such as the "elevation" or the coronation, but the unction expresses a sacramental reality (an external sign that effects what it means) rather than a merely symbolic meaning. The infusion of the royal oil is accompanied by the sign of the cross, traced by the Bishop on Wamba's head³⁹.

The unction confers on the king the two dimensions of King David's two successive anointings: the internal and constitutive (performed by Samuel), and the external and declarative (performed by Judah's men)⁴⁰. The royal unction, theoretically elaborated by Isidore of Seville and performed by Wamba, appears as a sacramental transposition of Biblical unction and liturgically adapts the rite

36. Yet there are also other reasons to think that coronation was practiced by Visigothic kings, at least after Wamba, since there is a Ceremonial Book elaborated in the tenth century in Leon that seems to be a copy of other elaborated at the first year of Wamba as king, see: Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 708; Pérez, Justo. "Antifonario de León. El escritor y la época". *Archivos Leoneses*, 8 (1954): 300 and following; Vives, José. "En torno a la datación del Antifonario legionense". *Hispania Sacra*, 8 (1955): 115-144.

37. Deswarte, Thomas. *De la destruction a la restauration. L'idéologie du royaume d'Oviedo-León (VIIIe-XIe siècles)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003: 184-187.

38. *Et sicut nunc regibus indumentum purpurea insigne est regiae dignitatis, sic illis unctio sacri ungenti nomen ac potestatem regiam conferebat* (Isidorus Hispalensis. *Etymologies*, 7, 2, 2; Isidorus Hispalensis. *Etymologies*, eds. Stephan A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, Olivier Berghof. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2006: 155).

39. See a detailed description of Wamba's unction in: Teillet, Suzanne. "Vers une présentation favorable des Goths...": 607-611.

40. The first David's unction in I Reg. 16, 13; the second in II Reg. 2,4. See: de Pange, Jean. *Le roi très chrétien*. Paris: Fayard, 1949; Reydellet, Marc. *La royauté dans la littérature latine. De Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1981.



of baptismal confirmation⁴¹. The Jewish sacerdotal and royal unction now has its parallelism with the new Christian-Visigothic Episcopal and royal unction⁴². There are also many parallels between Visigothic royal and episcopal ceremonies of *ordinatio*. This ceremony was originally separate from unction, since the solemn installation of the king was practised by the Merovingian kings and contemporary Byzantine emperors, and it is therefore plausible that Visigothic kings practised it too, before the incorporation of the unction ceremony by Wamba. The election properly embodies the fact of the attribution of sovereignty, with the successive *sacramentum* and unction representing both the confirmation and sacralisation of royalty. Wamba was elected in Geriticos (a province of Salamanca) as a consequence of Receswinthe's decision, but he waited for nineteen days before his unction. This delay was perhaps spent preparing the new ceremonial of the unction, to be used as precedent for succeeding kings, but it could also have been due to many other more substantial reasons⁴³.

With this new ceremony of unction, the Church becomes the necessary intermediary between God and the new king. It is not only the people who confirm the king's authority with the *sacramentum*, but also the Church, which confirms the king's charisma and link with God (*non est potestas nisi a Deo*, Rom. 13, 1) with the anointing.

2. The restoration of the anointing after the islamic invasion: Tenth-Century Asturias

Historians differ on the interpretation of the effects of the Islamic invasion of Iberia from 711, and on the extent to which that year can be considered an absolute or relative rupture with tradition. In any case, the political scenario shifted radically, and Christian societies could only survive as structured organizations under the kingdom of Asturias in the West and the Pyrenean provinces in the East. After the eighth century, the imaginary genealogical-ideological line linking the anointing of Wamba with Alfonso XI's self-coronation takes a turn towards Asturias, rather than to the Pyrenees. It followed a path that would connect the future Crown of Aragon with the ambiguity of Frankish-Visigothic tradition, rather than with the properly Visigothic one —or, at least, the kings of Aragon and counts of Barcelona

41. Nelson, Janet L. "National Synods, Kingship as Office and Royal Anointing: an Early Medieval Syndrome". *Councils and Assemblies*, 7 (1971): 41-59, especially, 52.

42. The apparition of the Episcopal unction remains uncertain: Batiffol, Pierre. "La liturgie du sacre des évêques dans son évolution historique". *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, 23 (1927): 733-763, especially, 745-749.

43. Teillet, Suzanne. "Vers une présentation favorable des Goths...": 611-613; Orlandis, José. "La Iglesia visigótica y los problemas de la sucesión al trono en el siglo VII". *Settima Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studio sull'Alto Medioevo, 1960: I, 333-351, especially, 343 and 350.



would not regard Visigothic ceremonial tradition as the basis for their political practices⁴⁴. Castilian kings, for their part, would feel that they were the successors of the Visigothic kings, following Asturias-Leon-Castile as their main line of tradition.

Critics agree that the most probable restoration of the unction ceremony after the Islamic invasion took place during king Ordoño II's (914-924) enthronement. The reprise of the anointing tradition under Ordoño II at the beginning of tenth century is one of the clearest links of the Astur-Leonese dynasty with the Visigothic one. There is also documentary evidence (as distinct from chronicle sources) of other Leonese kings being anointed after Ordoño II, such as Ramiro II (931), Bermudo II (982), and Fernando I (1038)⁴⁵.

Some authors, such as Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, argue that the unction ceremony was also performed before Ordoño II, specifically with Alfonso II (829) and Alfonso III (866); but he only gives historiographical evidence from works elaborated some centuries afterwards rather than documentary sources⁴⁶. Yet the "documentary" evidence that exists is not sufficiently convincing, since all of it is historiographical. It is always difficult to know which of the sources mentioning the anointing of Leonese kings are the most accurate, but in general the documentary are more credible than the historiographical ones, since the latter are usually more conditioned by the spirit of the chronicles own times than that of the times they are dealing with. In any case, based on the historicity of Ordoño II's unction, we can conclude that two and a half centuries after Wamba's unction, this ceremony re-emerged with the purpose of strengthening the religious and spiritual dimension of royalty⁴⁷.

Certainly, in the complex identity process that connects Christian peninsular monarchies with Visigothic tradition, the *Chronica of Alfonso III* or *Chronica Visigothorum* is an important link. This text took Isidore of Seville's *Historia Gothorum*'s tradition, as promoted by Alfonso III (866-910) in unambiguously setting Asturias' neo-gothic orientation, and created a very influential narrative of the battle of Covadonga. The *Chronica of Alfonso III* includes the earliest reference to the restoration the anointing of Visigothic kings after 711. Certainly the author of the *Chronica of Alfonso III* gives royal unction a very relevant place, since he begins his chronicle with the narration of Wamba's anointing, based on Julian's *Historia Wambae* account. Historians agree that the accounts of Alfonso II and Alfonso III's anointings are subsequent false

44. Abadal, Ramon d'. *Dels visigots als Catalans. La hispania visigòtica i la Catalunya visigòtica*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1969: I.

45. Sánchez, Claudio. "La sucesión al trono en los reinos de León y Castilla", *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965: 687; Sánchez Albornoz. "Ordinatio...": 723-724, where he gives the specific documental and historiographical references.

46. Sánchez provides, in: Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 724 (n. 98), historiographical evidences for the royal unction of Leon and Castilian Kings, in which Alfonso II and Alfonso III are included; but he seems to contradict himself in: Sánchez, Claudio. "Sucesión...": 687 (n. 148), where he provides documental evidences that the first king anointed is Ramiro II (944), that is, after Ordoño II. Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 719). See also: Schramm, Percy E. *Las insignias de la realeza en la edad media española*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1960: 1-63.

47. Deswarte, Thomas. *De la destrucción...*: 181-183.



interpolations in the chronicle, precisely in order to provide Ordoño II with relevant precedents for the practice of unction⁴⁸. Yet, authors disagree on the continuity of this practice among Ordoño II's successors, but there is an agreement that it is at least intermittently practised⁴⁹. In any case, all of them agree that the re-emergence of the royal unction from Ordoño II, and the proliferation of historical narratives stressing its ceremonial relevance, mean an increasing and progressive return to the religious dimension of royalty.

3. Unction and coronation in Eleventh- and Twelfth-century Leon-Castile

However, in a typical expression of this crooked-line story, this sacred turn would enjoy little continuity in Iberia. In fact, Hispanic kings would soon be recognized throughout Europe for their reluctance to be anointed or crowned. John of Paris, in his defence of *anti-hierocratism*, declared that kings were kings even without unction and that in many Christian countries, such as Hispania, the anointing of kings was not practised at all⁵⁰. There are also similar testimonies by the Scottish John Balliol and Gerald of Wales⁵¹. Indeed, Portugal never crowned its kings and Navarre introduced coronation and unction only after 1257, and they were only rarely and intermittently practised⁵². The kings there were physically raised by others, in an echo of ancient Germanic tradition. As we will see, Castilian kings soon abandoned the coronation ritual, and would practise it only in isolated cases. Aragon did not introduce the ceremony until 1204, and, after some interruptions to the practice, it became a self-coronation in 1328 with Alfons the Benign. Yet paradoxically, as

48. Linehan, Peter. *History and the historians...*: 146-147.

49. Linehan argues that the unction becomes an exceptional rather than an ordinary practice (Linehan, Peter. "León, ciudad regia, y sus obispos en los siglos X-XIII". *El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*, 6 (1994): 409-457, especially, 423-428 and 433. Deswarte optes for a more permanent continuity of the practice (*De la destruction...*: 183).

50. Paris, John of. *De potestate regia et papale*: chap. 18: *Unde in novo testamento non legimus quod sacerdotes imungere debeant reges nec etiam observatum in omnibus regibus christianis, ut patet in regibus Hispanorum* (Leclercq, Jean. *Jean de Paris et l'ecclésiologie du XIIIe siècle*. Paris: Vrin, 1942: 229). See also: Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997: 326; Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...*: 443.

51. Gerald of Wales states in his *De instructione principis*: *Scotorum autem principes, qui et reges dicuntur, sicut et Hispaniae principes, qui nec coronari tamen consueverunt nec inungi, bonos quidem et sanctos fuisse fama praedicat* (quoted in: Linehan, Peter. *History and the historians...*: 390).

52. For Kings of Portugal's debate on their eventual anointment and crowning, see: Linehan, Peter. "Utrum reges Portugalie coronabantur annon", *2º Congresso histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso, II. A política portuguesa e as suas relações exteriores*. Guimarães: Camara municipal de Guimarães, 1996: 389-410 (reprint in: Linehan, Peter. *The Processes of Politics and the Rule of Law*. Aldershot: Ashgate-Variorum, 2002) who denies it, against: Mattoso, José. "A realza de Afonso Henriques", *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*. Lisbon: Estampa, 1993; Mattoso, José. "A coroação dos primeiros reis de Portugal", *A memória da nação*, Francisco Bethencourt, Diogo Ramada Curto, eds. Lisbon: Sa da Costa, 1991. For Navarra: Lacarra, José Maria. *El juramento de los Reyes de Navarra (1234-1329)*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1972.



we have seen, Iberia was where the practice originated —or, more correctly, was adapted from Biblical Israel— with the custom of royal unction being developed under the Visigoths, and transmitted from there to the French and Anglo-Saxon monarchies and to the Byzantine empire⁵³.

Nevertheless, the originality of this period lies in the fact that for the first time the ceremony of unction is associated with the coronation. The first iconographic testimony of the royal crown (*diadema*) in the kingdom of Leon appears in a miniature in Ferdinand I's (1037-1065) psalter⁵⁴. Such iconographic sources proliferated during the first half of the twelfth century, particularly among the miniatures in which the kings of Asturias and Leon were shown with the crown, sceptre and throne as attributes of power⁵⁵. Following this iconographic evidence, some historians have argued that the coronation ceremony was associated with unction from the very origins of the Asturian monarchy⁵⁶. But the documentary and iconographic evidence of the presence of the crown does not confirm the existence of a specific ceremony of coronation until the eleventh century, with Ferdinand I⁵⁷. And, more interestingly, it is in mid-eleventh century when the crown seems to really emerge as a relevant sign of royal authority. There are two pieces of evidence for this: one iconographic and the other documentary.

The miniatures composed at this time assign an unquestionable relevance to the crown. In 1055, the scribe Fructuoso was commissioned by King Ferdinand I to elaborate a Book of Hours. He inserted some miniatures. There is an amazing "capital" in the form of a rich crown; and the king appears in other miniatures wearing a big crown. This image sharply contrasts with the *Codice Vigilano*, in which some Visigothic kings (Chindasvinto, Recesvinto, Égica) and a Leonese queen and kings (Urraca, Sancho, Ramiro) are all represented without a crown: they (the Visigoths) wear a mitre or (in the case of the Leonese) an halo. This image was elaborated in 975, some decades before Ferdinand's Book of Hours, which could be proof that the crown was not yet consolidated as a sign of authority and majesty

53. On the Visigothic origins of coronations, see: Deswarte, Thomas. "Le Christ-roi: autel et couronne votive dans l'Espagne wisigothique", *Églises et pouvoirs*, Bruno Béthouart, Jérôme Grévy eds. Boulogne-sur-Mer: Maison de la Recherche en sciences humaines "Palais Impérial", 2007: 71-83.

54. Galván, Fernando. "La representación de la unction regia en el antifonario de la catedral de León". *Archivos Leoneses*, 49 (1995): 135-146, especially, 143.

55. Díaz, Manuel C.; López, Fernando; Moralejo, Serafín. *Los tumbos de Compostela*. Madrid: Edilán, 1985: epigraph "Láminas", I-VI and VII-XXII; Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 725. The Kings of Leon appear with crowns in the miniatures of *Codex Vigilamus*, in Fernando I's *Liber Horarum*, in: *Liber Testamentorum* of Oviedo, and in *Libro de estampas* of Leon. See: Gómez-Moreno, María Elena. "Las miniaturas del Antifonario de la Catedral de León". *Archivos Leoneses*, 8 (1954): 305; Menéndez, Gonzalo. *Sobre miniatura española en la Alta Edad Media*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1958: 9, 33, 45 and 55.

56. Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 720 and following; Galván, Fernando. "La representación...": 143.

57. Domínguez, Jesús. *La miniatura española*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1930: I, láminas 26 ("Codex Vigilanus seu Albeldensis" kept in El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio, f. 428, about 976, in which appear Chindasvinto, Recesvinto and Egica above; the Leon queen Urraca and Kings Sancho and Ramiro in the middle; and three scribes below), and 34 ("Diurno de Fernando I", kept in Santiago de Compostela. Biblioteca de la Universidad, f. 3r (the scribe Fructuosus between King Fernando I and Queen Sancha), and f. 7v (the initial) about 1055. See also: Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 725 (n. 100).



—or at least that it had less relevance than the religious symbols of the mitre and halo. It is very important here to note the date the codices, miniatures, and images were elaborated, rather than that of the monarchs whose image is being shown⁵⁸.

The documentary evidence for the consolidation of the crown as a sign of authority and power in the age of Ferdinand I is the ceremony of *de-coronation* he underwent at the end of his reign, in order to die poor and penitent. The *Historia Silense* relates that the king:

Vocavit ad se episcopos et abbates et religiosos viros, et ut exitum suum confirmarent, una cum eis ad ecclesiam deferretur, cultu regio ornatus cum corona capiti imposita. Dein fixis genibus coram altario Sancti Iohannis et sanctorum corporibus beati Ysidori confessoris Domini et sancti Vincentii martiris Christi clara voce ad Dominum dixit: Tua est potentia, tuum regnum, Domine; tu es super omnes reges, tuo imperio omnia regna celestia, terrestria subduntur; ideoque regnum quod te donante accepi, acceptumque quandiu tue libere voluntati placui rexi, ecce reddo tibi: tantum animam meam de voragine istius mundi ereptam, ut in pace suscipias deprecor. Et hec dicens exiit regalem clamidem qua induebatur corpus et deposuit gemmatam coronam qua ambiebatur caput, atque cum lacrimis ecclesiae solo prostratus, pro delictorum venia Dominum attentius exorabat. Tunc ab episcopis accepta penitentia, induitur cilicio pro regali indumento et aspergitur cinere pro aureo diademate; cui in tali permanenti penitentia duobus diebus vivere a Deo datur⁵⁹.

Yet this increasing presence of the crown in iconographic and historiographical sources does not confirm the existence of a *ceremony* of coronation. The first ceremony of coronation seems to be that of Alfonso VII in 1111. Certainly, the *Historia Silense*, composed at the beginning of the twelfth century, describes the coronation of Ordoño II, one and a half centuries before that of Alfonso VII. But some historians argue that this account is an invention of the chronicler, inspired by the Carolingian precedent reported by Eginhard in his *Vita Karoli*, in order to strengthen precisely the tradition recovered by Alfonso VII. Beyond the evident precocity, given their Visigothic precedents, of Asturian, Leonese and Castilian kings in unction and coronation practices, regarding Alfonso VII as the first Castilian king to be enthroned with a coronation ceremony is a chronology that fits better with the general tendency of European monarchies, which were tardy in reintroducing

58. This is the strange anachronism in which Sánchez Albornoz seems to fall in: Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 725 (n. 100), giving the same historical value to a miniatures elaborated in very different dates, and so in different contextual circumstances: 976 (*Codex Vigilanus* of Albelada), 1055 (*Fernando I's Book of Hours* of Compostela), 1126-1129 (*Liber Testamentorum*, Oviedo), and twelfth century (*Libro de las estampas*, from Leon), all of them compiled in: Domínguez, Jesús. *Miniatura española*: I, Lam. 26 (*Vigilano*), 34 (*Book of Hours*), 70-75 (*Liber Testamentorum*), and 77 (*Libro de las estampas*). For a more general approach, and particularly the relationship between images and liturgy, see: Palazzo, Eric. *L'Évêque et son image. L'illustration du pontifical au Moyen Âge*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999 (particularly the chapter "Les sacres et les couronnements...": 253-305).

59. *Historia Silense*, ed. Francisco Santos. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921: 90-91; and ed. Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorrilla. Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1959: 208-209. The emphasis are mine. *Historia Silense's* English edition in: Barton, Simon; Fletcher, Richard. *The World of the Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000: 9-64.



this rite⁶⁰. The *Historia Silense* chronicler's description of Ordoño II is certainly very expressive:

*Ceterum Gracias rex postquam ultimam presentis vite clausit horam, ad Ordonium Christi belligerum successio regni divino nutu pervenit. Omnes siquidem Yspanie magnati, episcopi, abbates, comites, primores, facto solemniter generali conventu, eum acclamando sibi regem constituunt; impositoque ei diademate a XII pontificibus in solium regni Legione perunctus est*⁶¹.

Nevertheless, this account is contextually more suggestive of the time when it was written (the beginning of the twelfth century) than the time it describes (the beginning of the tenth century), which would confirm the hypothesis that this episode of Ordoño II's coronation was an artificial intercalation. But, in any case, these ceremonies would have been restored at some time between those two periods. Moreover, as we will see in the next section, it was precisely at the beginning of twelfth century when the turn towards *self-coronation* occurred.

The coronation of Alfonso VII took place in Santiago de Compostela in 1111, as narrated in the *Historia Compostellana*⁶². The king, still a boy, was anointed and crowned (*aureo diademate coronatum*) by Bishop Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela, in the church of Santiago⁶³. This coronation was urged by the historical circumstances surrounded it —namely, the minority of Alfonso and the desire of his mother Queen Urraca to consolidate his future sovereignty— but this event also served as a relevant precedent for succeeding royal generations⁶⁴. In fact, the coronation of 1111 was followed by a repetition of the ceremony in 1126 (*aureo diademate coronatum*⁶⁵), on the occasion of the death of the king's mother, Queen Urraca, and by the celebration of the Imperial King's enthronement in 1135 (*imposuerunt super caput eius coronam ex auro mundo et lapidibus pretiosis*)⁶⁶. The recovery of an attribute of royal power (the crown) used by the Roman emperors and then the Visigothic kings is a proof that the temporal dimension of the Asturian and Leonese monarchy was growing all the time⁶⁷. The spread of coronation ceremonials at the beginning of the

60. Bronisch, Alexander Pierre. "Krönungsritus und Kronenbrauch im Reich von Asturien und León". *Studi Medievali*, 39 (1998): 327-366, especially, 338, 349-358 and 365-366.

61. *Historia Silense*...: 37-38.

62. *Historia Compostellana*, lib I, chap. LXVI; ed. Emma Falque Rey. Turnhout: Brepols, 1988. See also: Deswarte. *De la destruction*...: 206.

63. Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 726 (n. 106).

64. Reilly, Bernard F. *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982: 73.

65. *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, ed. Luis Sánchez. Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1950: 5.

66. *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*...: 55-56.

67. On the using of Crown in the Roman Empire, see: Chastangol, André. *L'évolution politique, sociale et économique du monde romain de Dioclétien à Julien: la mise en place du régime du Bas-Empire*. Paris: Sedes, 1985: 170-174; on Visigoth kingdom, see: Valverde, María R. "Simbología del poder en la monarquía visigótica". *Studia Historica: Historia Antigua*, 9 (1991): 139-148.



twelfth century in Iberia, the Ceremonial of Cardeña among them, was a natural consequence of the restoration of this ceremony⁶⁸.

4. Self-coronation as usurpation in Twelfth-Century Castile

The beginning of the twelfth century also witnessed the introduction of a new subject into the narratives: the unorthodox ceremony of self-coronation. Two chronicles (the *Historia Silense*, about 1115, and Bishop Pelagius of Oviedo's chronicle, about 1118) also introduced the narration of a certain unexpected and unorthodox rite practiced by the usurper Paul (the enemy of the Visigothic King Wamba) and the violent King Sancho II, the enemy of his brother Alfonso VI, who eventually succeeded him as King of Castile. That new rite was self-coronation. Pelagius of Oviedo recounts that, in 1072, the usurper-king Sancho II, after having defeated his brother Alfonso VI, "himself placed the crown on his head in Leon":

*Post hec Sancius rex coepit dimicare contra fratrem suum Adelfonsum [VI] regem. [...] Tunc Sancius rex cepit regnum fratris suis Adefonsi regis, et imposuit sibi in Legione coronam, et fuit homo formosus nimis, et miles strenus. Perlustravit vero Asturias, Gallaeciam, sed et Portucalem. Regnavit autem annos VI et interfectus est extra muros Zemore, quam obsederat, ab uno milite nomine Velliti Ayulphi per prodicionem, et sepultus est in Castella in monasterio sancti Salvatoris de Osma*⁶⁹.

Although Sancho II receives some praise in the chronicle, the gesture is unquestionably seen by Pelagius as a sign of usurpation, as Paul, the Duke of Narbonne, who fought Wamba four centuries before, is described in the *Historia Silense* as a usurper for having been named king after having placed the crown on his own head:

Nichilominus tempore Bamba gloriosissimi regis ferocitas Francorum prostrata dignoscitur. Cum enim Paulus quidam, cui Bamba rex Narbonensis provincie ducatum tradiderat, cupiditate imperandi in superbiam elevaretur, adeo ut imposito sibi diademate rex appellaretur, auxilio Francorum fretus apud Nemaunsum [Neumaso, town] rebellavit. Yspanus rex egre ferens, delectis equitibus cum quibus in expeditione erat, Neumaso quantocius properat; denique fuis fugatisque Francis obsedit urbem, captamque ex parte

68. *Ceremonial de Cardeña*, ed. Francisco de Berganza, *Antigüedades de España*. Madrid: Francisco del Hierro, 1721: II, 681-684. Some hypothesis on the ultra-Pyrenean origin of this ceremonial, and its eventual use in Leon and Castilian coronations, in: Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 731-734.

69. *Crónica del obispo Don Pelayo*, ed. Benito Sánchez. Madrid: Sucesores de Hernando, 1924: 78. For Sancho II self-coronation, see: Bronisch, Alexander Pierre. "Krönungsritus...": 357; Deswarte, Thomas. *Destruction...*: 206; Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...*: 398. Reilly argues that the act of self-coronation was not an act of arrogance but of the negative of Bishop Pelayo de León of taking part in the ceremony (Reilly, Bernard F. *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988: 63); but this not seems to be the spirit of the chronicler's annotation, nor the meaning of the context in which this gesture is articulated — with Sancho II just having dominated his brother Alfonso after long time of fighting.



*ad solum usque destruxit. Sed et ipsum Paulum vinctum deferens, subdita suo dominio Narbonensi provincia, ad Toletum alacer revertitur. Scripta sunt hec in libro beati Ysidori, quem inter alios XIII a se editos de Vandalorum et Suevorum Gotorumque gestis diligenter composuit*⁷⁰.

It is certain that the compiler of the *Historia Silense* knew the account of Paul's self-coronation, fixed some centuries before in Julian's *Historia Wamba*. Julian always defines Paul as "tyrannus", in contraposition to the religious King Wamba. After reproaching Paul for profaning the old Visigothic treasury in order to take Reccadedus' crown for his own coronation, Julian's account of Paul's self-coronation goes as follows:

*Cumulaverat enim nefandissimus ipse Paulus peccato peccatum [royal usurpation plus profanation], dum tyrannidi adiungeret sacrilegium. Nam, ut quidam sapiens dicit: "nisi sacris ecclesiis intulisset spoliū, non esset, unde suum floreret aerarium". Unde factum est, ut vasa argenti quamplurima de thesauris dominicis rapta, et coronam illam auream, quam divae memoriae Reccaderus principis ad corpus beatissimi Felicis obtulerat, quam idem Paulus capati suo imponere ausus est, tota haec in unum collecta studiosius ordinaret secernere et devotissime, prout cuique competeat ecclesiae, intenderet reformare*⁷¹.

The same parallelism between the transgression of self-crowned Castilian kings and that of usurping Visigothic kings is expounded by the chronicler Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, who stated in his history of Spain (about 1245) that Sancho II crowned himself, and in his history of the Arabs that kings had crowned themselves in the Visigothic period⁷².

These two transgressive gestures (Paul's and Sancho's self-coronations) are contrasted with the behaviour of Ferdinand I (1037-1065), who appears as a legitimate king who respects the rules of ascension to power, accepting the crown conventionally, (supposedly) being crowned in 1038 and named king:

*His peractis, praefatus rex Fredenandus venit, et obsedit Legionem, et post paucos dies cepit eam, et intravit cum multitudine maxia militu, et accepit ibi coronam, et factus est rex in regno Legioni et Castella. Tunc confirmavit leges quas socer eius rex Adelfonsus Legioni dedit, et alias addidit, quae sunt servandae. Rex iste fuit homo bonus, et timens Deum, genuitque ex predicta Sancia regina filios, Urracam, Sancium, Adefonsum, Garseam et Geloiram. Fecit ergo magnas cedas in sarracenos, et per unumquemque annum accepit constituta tribute a regibus eorum*⁷³.

70. *Historia Silense*...: 5-6; ed. Pérez de Urbel and González...: 117.

71. Toledo, Julian of. *Historia Wamba regis*, chap. XXVI, ed. Levison...: 240-241. See also: Deswarte. "Le Christ-Roi...": 76.

72. Toledo, Rodrigo of. *Historia De Rebus Hispaniae*, VII, 20: *sibi trium regnorum imposuit diadema* (ed. Juan Fernández. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987); of Toledo, Rodrigo. *Historia Arabum*, chap. 9: *more rerum Gothorum sibi imposuit diadema* (ed. José Lozano. Seville: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1974); Linehan, Peter. *History and historians*...: 398 and 392.

73. *Crónica del Obispo Don Pelayo*, ed. Sánchez Alonso...: 71.



Thus, the gesture of self-coronation is seen, at least during the twelfth century, as a transgression of a natural receipt of authority, rather than a legitimate practice of kingly autonomy.

By the end of the twelfth century, the rites of unction and coronation, though only intermittently practised, were well established in the kingdom of Castile. Some authors have argued that this is probably the most important sign of the transition from an elective to a hereditary monarchy⁷⁴. Yet, perhaps more interesting for the aims of this article, the balance and intermittency between unction and coronation witnessed by Leonese and Castilian kings from the ninth to the twelfth century (from Ordoño II to Alfonso VII) is a key theological-political event, which would have a profound influence in the two next centuries.

5. The consolidation of the practice of self-coronation in Fourteenth-Century Castile

If the beginning of the twelfth century witnessed the self-coronation narrative turn, things were still more radical, in terms of apparent secularisation of royal ceremonial practices, from the thirteenth century. From that time on, the chroniclers remove every mention of anointing from their narratives, eventually describing the enthronement ceremonies simply as coronations. They posthumously desecralise the Castilian monarchs. The crown soon becomes a symbol of temporal sovereignty, which could be used by the kings independently of the bishops with the rite of self-coronation —a gesture the latter could obviously not perform. In addition, the chronicler Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada suggests, in his narration of Ferdinand I's coronation, that it was to the acclamation of the aristocracy rather than to action by the Bishop that Ferdinand had owed his throne⁷⁵.

To be sure, we do not have evidence of coronations or the unction of Alfonso VII's successors, Enrique I (1214-1217) and Fernando III (1217-1252). Neither Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's chronicle, *La Crónica Latina de los reyes de Castilla*, nor *La Crónica General* say anything about these coronations⁷⁶. We have only indirect word of Alfonso X's (1252-1284) installation ceremony, which probably consisted of a simple traditional gesture of "elevation"⁷⁷. Peter Linehan has convincingly argued that Alfonso X's self-coronation in 1252, narrated by Antonio Ballesteros, based in turn on the Marqués de Mondéjar's 1700s account, was a historiographical creation induced by the specific historical context of Spain at the beginning of the eighteenth

74. Sánchez, Claudio. "La sucesión...": 687.

75. Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...*: 398.

76. Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 734.

77. See the letter from Jofré de Loaysa to King Jaume I of Aragon (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. Cancillería. Cartas Reales. Jaime I, 17) and the sober narration of Alfonso X's elevation in his own chronicle: *Crónica de Alfonso X el Sabio según el Ms. II/2777 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real (Madrid)*, ed. Manuel González. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1999: 4.



century, rather than thirteenth-century historical reality⁷⁸. This is a classic presentist-anachronistic approach, and standard practice in all-purpose historiography⁷⁹.

Finally, Alfonso X's son, Sancho IV (1284-1295), was crowned by four bishops at Toledo Cathedral in 1284⁸⁰. Significantly, it was the first coronation in Castile since 1111: Alfonso VII's 1135 imperial coronation was, in some sense, reiterative, or at least bearing an imperial rather than a properly monarchical meaning⁸¹. Interestingly, during the second half of the thirteenth century, the figure of Wamba was being re-constructed thanks to appropriation by Alfonso X and the spread of the *Poema de Fernán González*⁸². Sancho IV's coronation was a gesture full of political significance, aimed at strengthening the king's legitimacy before his father Alfonso X's other preference in the person of Alfonso de la Cerda. This decision once again contradicts the idea that the coronation had only a secondary symbolic meaning⁸³. Sancho IV's son and successor, Ferdinand IV (1295-1312), was not crowned or anointed. His chronicler does not refer specifically to the coronation or anointing ceremonies, but to a more general ritual of enthronement when he was nine years old, in the central altar of Toledo Cathedral, in 1295:

*Pusieronle ante el altar mayor en la Iglesia mayor de Toledo, e rescibieronle por rey e por señor, e él juró de guardar los fueros a los fijosdalgo, e a todos los otros del su reyno. Otrosí lo juró por él la noble reyna Doña Maria, su madre*⁸⁴.

78. Linehan, Peter. "The Accession of Alfonso X (1252) and the Origins of the War of the Spanish Succession", *God and Man in Medieval Spain. Essays in Honour of J.R.L. Highfield*, Derek W. Lomax, David Mackenzie, eds. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989: 59-79, especially, 60-61 (reprinted in: Linehan, Peter. *Past and Present in Medieval Spain*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1992). See also: González, Manuel. *Alfonso X el Sabio*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2004: 44-46; O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *El rey sabio. El reinado de Alfonso X de Castilla*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999: 48.

79. It is useful to visit some theoretical reflections about the weight of the presentism in history and historiography. See for instance: Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; Gaddis, John L. *The Landscape of History. How Historians Map the Past*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Wood, Gordon S. *The Purpose of the Past. Reflections on the Uses of History*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2008.

80. "Crónica de D. Sancho": IV, 1. *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla: desde Don Alfonso El Sabio, hasta los católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: I: 69b. Gaibrois, Mercedes. *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*. Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1922-1928: V-VI. On the political implications of Sancho IV's first coronation, see: Linehan, Peter. "The Politics of Piety: Aspects of the Castilian Monarchy from Alfonso X to Alfonso XI". *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 9 (1985): 385-404, especially, 389-391. Actually, this was the first coronation of Sancho IV, since he was crowned two times: Nieto, José Manuel. *Sancho IV, 1284-1295*. Palencia: La Olmeda, 1994: 55-57.

81. During the thirteenth century, some chroniclers such as Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada turned Alfonso VII's Imperial coronation into self-coronation. Yet, I do not take this argument as central in this paper, since this historiographical move has evident "Imperial" implications—which would give Alfonso's coronation a more strong "ecclesiastical" dimension—rather than properly "royal" or "monarchical". See: Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...*: 463-465.

82. Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...*: 483-486.

83. Nieto, José Manuel. *Iglesia y poder en Castilla. El episcopado, 1250-1350*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1988: 59.

84. "They placed before the high altar in the main Church of Toledo, and received such as a king and lord, and he swore to keep the privileges to nobleman and to others of his kingdom. The noble queen



The archbishop of Toledo was present at the ceremony, but he was only a “qualified” observer. Things seem to follow, at least for once, a progressive line towards secularisation. Nevertheless, the line’s crooked tendencies soon reasserted themselves. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Castile experienced another turn in coronation ceremonies, with the appearance of a new ceremonial, complementary to the “Ceremonial de Toledo”, and elaborated around the 1280s. This new ceremonial was probably commissioned by the same Alfonso XI (1312-1350) who had relatives in Portugal, and it was elaborated by a Portuguese Bishop of Coimbra (1319-1333) called Ramon, and written around the 1320s⁸⁵. Alfonso XI followed this ceremonial in his installation, which basically consisted of the three successive ceremonies of knighting, anointing and coronation⁸⁶. This ceremonial confirms that the coronation was at the core of the ceremony, since the part of the text devoted specifically to the ceremony, starts:

*Aquí es pintado et figurado como el Rey se va coronar, et como van con él todos sus fijos d’ algo, et como entran por la puerta de la çiudad, et como los obispos con su cleriçia lo sallan a recebir con grand processión (...) Et esto faran en el dia que el Rey ouiere [hubiere] de seer sagrado [ungido]*⁸⁷.

Alfonso’s self-coronation is narrated in the *crónica del rey Alfonso Onceno*⁸⁸. The chronicler explains that the king wanted to be knighted and crowned because he was determined to make his kingdom great:

donna Maria, his mother swore also by him”. *Crónica de Fernando IV de Castilla*, chap. 1. *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla: desde Don Alfonso El Sabio, hasta los católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Madrid: Atlas, I: 93). See also: Benavides, Antonio. *Memorias de don Fernando IV de Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1860: I, 2; González, César. *Fernando IV de Castilla (1295-1312)*. Vitoria: Colegio Universitario de Álava, 1976: 31.

85. On this document, which is usually called “El ceremonial de El Escorial” because is kept in this Monastery, see: Sánchez, Claudio. “Un ceremonial...”: 741-742; Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...: 584-592*; Nieto, José Manuel. “Los libros de ceremoniales regios en Castilla y Aragón en el siglo XIV”, *El ceremonial...: 177-194*; Carrero, Eduardo. “Architecture and Liturgical Space in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. The *Libro de la Coronación de los reyes de Castilla*”. *Hispanic Research Journal*, 13/5 (2012): 466-486; Pérez, Olga. “Ceremonias regias...”: 317-334.

86. The transcription and some interesting comments son the ceremonial in: Sánchez, Claudio. “Un ceremonial inédito de coronación de los reyes de Castilla”, *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965: 739-763 (transcription of the ceremonial in: 753-763).

87. Sánchez, Claudio. “Un ceremonial...”: 756.

88. On Alfonso XI’s self-coronation: Linehan, Peter. “The mechanization of ritual: Alfonso XI of Castile in 1332”, *Riti e rituali nelle società medievali*. Jacques Chiffolleau, Lauro Martines, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, eds. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull’alto Medioevo, 1994: 309-327; Ramos, María del Pilar. *Reafirmación del poder monárquico en Castilla: la coronación de Alfonso XI*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1983; Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...: 584-601*.



*E por que este Rey era buen ome en el su cuerpo, tovo por bien de resçebir la honra de la coronación e otrosí la honra de la cavallería, ca avia voluntad muy grande de hazer por la honra de sus reynos*⁸⁹.

This text allows us to compare the ceremonial rubrics that were supposed to be followed with Alfonso's actual performance on the day of his coronation. He did not in the event follow the ceremonial he himself had commissioned. Peter Linehan expresses well the contrast between the "should be", as planned by the ceremonial, and the "what really happened", as narrated by the chronicle:

Nowhere is the contrast between their two perceptions of the king's place in society, the bishop's and the chronicler's, more startlingly apparent than in their accounts of what ought to have and what really did happen on the occasion of the knighting of Alfonso XI⁹⁰.

Alfonso XI was first knighted by the mechanical arm of the automated Saint James in Santiago (25 July 1332)⁹¹, then anointed at the Monastery of Las Huelgas (Burgos) in August of that same year⁹², in front of the same mechanical sculpture (moved from Santiago to Burgos for the occasion⁹³), before finally crowning himself in that very ceremony. The automated Saint James enabled the King of Castile, both in Santiago and Burgos, to assert his independence of all earthly powers both spiritual and secular⁹⁴. Yet the discordance between the El Escorial Ceremonial and the ritual followed by Alfonso XI in his installation ceremonies is particularly striking at the moment of coronation, immediately following his anointing. The chronicler explains that:

Et desde que el Rey fue ungido, tornaron al altar el Arzobispo e los Obispos e bendixieron las coronas que estaban en el altar. E desde que fueron bendichas, el Arçobispo arredrose del altar,

89. *Crónica del rey Don Alfonso el Onceno*, chap. CXX-CXXI, ed. Diego Catalán, *Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI*. Madrid: Gredos, 1977: 507.

90. Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...*: 592. A very interesting comparison between Bishop Ramon's *Ordo* and Alfonso XI's *Chronicle* in: Linehan, Peter. "The Politics of Piety...": 391-393.

91. *y el rey armose de todas sus armas [...] e tomó él por sí mesmo todas las armas del altar de Santiago, que gelas non dio ninguno; e ficeron llegar la ymagen de Santiago que estava ençima del altar al rey, e llegose el rey a ella, e fizo que le diese una peçoçada en el carrillo. E desta guisa recibió cavalleria este rey don Alonso del apóstol Santiago* (*Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ed. Catalán...: 507).

92. *e descosieron al rey el pellote e la saya del onbro derecho, e unjolo el arzobispo en la espalda derecha con olio desdicho quel arzobispo tenía para esto* (*Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ed. Catalán...: 510).

93. *y el rey partió de la çibdad de Santiago, e fue al Padrón otrosí en romería, por que en aquel lugar aportó el cuerpo de Santiago* (*Gran crónica de Alfonso XI*, ed. Catalán...: 507).

94. About the automated Santiago and its function in Alfonso XI's knighting and anointment: Linehan, Peter. *History...*: 592-593 and 598-599, and: Linehan, Peter. "Alfonso XI of Castile and the Arm of Santiago (with a Note on the Pope's Foot)", *Miscellanea Domenico Maffei dicata*, Antonio García, Peter Weimar, eds. Goldbach: Keip, 1995: 121-146 (reprint in: Linehan, Peter. *The Processes of Politics and the Rule of Law*. Aldershot: Ashgate-Variorum, 2002), The sculpture-machine of Santiago is today still visible in the cloister of the church of the Monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos.



*e fuese asentar a su façistor; e los Obispos eso mesmo cada uno se fue asentar en su lugar. E desde el altar fue desenbargado dellos, el Rey subió al altar, e tomó su corona de oro con piedras preciosas e de muy gran presçio, e púsola en la cabeça: e tomó él la otra corona, e púsola a la Reyna, e tornó fincar los ynojos ante el altar, segund de que antes estava: e estovieron ay hasta que fue alçaron el cuerpo de Dios. E después que el cuerpo de Dios fue alçado, el Rey et la Reyna fuéronse a sentar cada uno en su lugar; et estuvieron así, las coronas en las cabeças, hasta la misa acabada*⁹⁵.

Yet the ceremonial had planned the ceremony otherwise:

*Et después que el Rey fuese fecho cavallero de Santiago, en senyal de mayor gloria, el que dixiere la missa le ponga una mitra obispal en la cabeça, et sobre la mitra la corona real et diga esta oración: Accipe signum glorie diadema Regni coronam imperii*⁹⁶.

There is no mention of the mitre in the chronicler's account. Peter Linehan argues that mitres belonged to a wider world than Castile had ever known, just as the entire ceremonial evoked scenes which the wider world had not witnessed since the age of Alfonso VII. Alfonso XI (or, rather, the *narration* of Alfonso XI's installation ceremonies) revived practices which the popes had been striving to remove during the previous two centuries⁹⁷. This idea strengthens my belief that Alfonso XI of Castile's and Peter IV of Aragon's self-coronations, performed in 1332 and 1336 respectively, were not uncalculated or naïve gestures but strategic, premeditated and calculated secularised rites in order to gain self-sufficiency in their sovereignty. For his part, Alfonso XI surely also had in mind Alfonso IV of Aragon's coronation, performed four years earlier, in 1328, in which the role of the ecclesiastics was kept to a minimum⁹⁸. Within a period of eight years (1328-1336), the Peninsula witnessed three highly magnificent and sumptuous coronations, two of them executed in a self-performed manner.

Circumstantially, perhaps the effective performance of Alfonso XI's gesture was favoured by the difficult situation of Pope John XXII in Avignon, but in any case

95. The archbishop and the bishops turned to the altar after the king being anointed, and they blessed the crowns that were on the altar. The archbishop, after the benediction of the crowns, left the altar and was settling to his lectern, at the same time that the bishops were to each place. And as soon as they left the altar, the King went there, and took his crown made of gold with very expensive gemstones, and put it over his head: and he took the other crown, and set it to the Queen, and knelt in front of the altar, such as he was before; and they were there until the Body of God was raised; and they rested thus, with the crowns over their heads, until the Mass was over". *Gran crónica de Alfonso XI*, ed. Catalán...: 510 (see also: ed. Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*...: I, 233-235). A more sober narration is given in the Poem of Alfonso XI: *El muy noble rey aquel día / su corona fue tomar / la reyna donna María / y la fizo coronar* (ed. Yo Ten Cate. *El poema de Alfonso XI*. Madrid: Bermejo, 1956: 111, chap. 392). This sobriety is compatible with the hypothesis, argued by Diego Catalán, that the Poem would be a versified abbreviation of the Chronicle: Catalán, Diego. *Poema de Alfonso XI. Fuentes, dialecto, estilo*. Madrid: Gredos, 1953: 10 and 16.

96. And, after being done knight of Santiago and in sign of the most glory, who was saying Mass, must put over the Episcopal miter over the head, and the crown over the Episcopal miter and he must such prayer: *Accipe signum glorie diadema Regni coronam imperii* (Sánchez, Claudio. "Un ceremonial...": 762-763).

97. Linehan, Peter. *History and historians*...: 601.

98. Muntaner, Ramón. *Crònica*, chap. 295, ed. Ferran Soldevila...: 936.



this could not have been reason enough to justify or legitimise such a gestural transgression. In addition, when Benedict XII replaced John XXII as Pope in 1334, he maintained a closer watch on Spanish affairs, but he was not able to prevent Peter IV of Aragon's self-coronation in 1336.

After Alfonso XI, his son Enrique II Trastámara (1367-1379) was also crowned at the Monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos. The chronicler says that king *coronose allí por Rey* and then he received the homage of the nobles through the kissing of his hands, a feudal tradition that had been restored to the coronation ceremony at some uncertain time before⁹⁹. Juan I (1379-1390) was also crowned and the chronicler used a parallel expression: *él* (the king) *se coronó*¹⁰⁰. If the restoration of the feudal tradition of the homage of the nobles was a substitute for the former sacred oath, then this would be "another" sign of the secularisation of the Castilian monarchy¹⁰¹. This turn from the religious *sacramentum* to feudal-profane homage, begun at some time in the thirteenth century, would also explain the abandonment of the practice of unction after Alfonso VII, only for it to be restored, paradoxically, by Alfonso XI during the fourteenth century—just as Alfonso VII's coronation had recently been revived by Sancho IV in 1284. Faith was not failing, and the sacred meaning of the ceremonies remain, but the monarchy was increasing its autonomy more and more with respect to the Church, its power in the face of the nobility, and its tendency towards autocracy¹⁰².

6. Conclusion

The period between Constantine and Charlemagne witnessed the transposition of Christian doctrine into an imperial and monarchical ideology. During the next centuries, the Iberian Peninsula experienced the manifestations of this transference in the ritual forms and its different symbolic liturgical meanings, transformations, and political uses. Where Wamba wanted to be anointed to consolidate and legitimate his power and authority in the seventh century, Alfonso XI wanted to avoid being anointed so as to gain autonomy from the spiritual sphere and to strengthen his authority in the fourteenth century. Alfonso's self-coronation, and the consequent

99. López, Pedro. *Crónica del rey Don Pedro*, ed. Eugenio de Llaguno, Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1875: 540.

100. Nieto, José Manuel. *Ceremonias de la realeza. Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara*. Madrid: Nerea, 1993: 28; Suárez, Luis. *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1977: I, 26-27.

101. On the feudal tradition of the *besamanos*: Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 734-736. Yet the new studies are stressing the long tradition of the *besamanos*, and its very particular nature: Fernández, Álvaro. "Los símbolos del poder real", *Catálogo de la exposición de Los Reyes Católicos y Granada. Monasterio de San Jerónimo (Granada)*, Alberto Bartolomé and Carlos J. Hernando, eds. Granada: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2005: 37-58.

102. Maravall, José Antonio. *La oposición política bajo los Austrias*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1972: 156-157; Sánchez, Claudio. "Ordinatio...": 737; Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...*: 430. See, *contra*: Nieto, José Manuel. *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)*. Madrid: Eudema, 1988: 62 and 67.



reduction of the sacralisation dimension of the ceremony, confirms the increasing monarchical aspiration of secularisation and the growing tension between both temporal and spiritual spheres.

Nevertheless, as we have tried to show in this article, this royal autonomy or secularisation should not be viewed as a “progressive-lineal” evolution. There were many breaks and ups-and-downs in this supposed progression. On the one hand, this crooked line demystifies the idea of a supposed “theocracy” from Visigothic Spain that would survive in the Spanish Habsburg monarchy and largely mark the whole development of Spain, until the twentieth-century Francoist regime. But it also denies (or at least moderate) the typical Spanish “special way” (“Spain is different”), in this case the experience of a radical royal secularisation (or the “un-sacred” monarchy) lacking in other classic European monarchies such as those of France and England¹⁰³.

As a consequence of this variation in the models of unction and coronation among Iberian kings, critics have oscillated between the thesis of sacralisation and the thesis of un-sacred and secularisation. Perhaps they have not stressed enough the ruptures in each of the two eventual developments, focusing instead on the continuities, looking for a lineal evolution. I would argue that it would be very useful to apply to this historical problem the hypothesis of political-theology, well established in political philosophy but absent from historiographical debate¹⁰⁴. This could help explain the meaning of the ritual ceremonies of royal installation, particularly unction and coronation, and their ability to transfer certain sacred categories to the secular sphere. This approach avoids the excessive polarisation (sacralisation vs. secularisation) into which the history of symbolic meaning in medieval Iberian monarchies is prone, and allows us to analyse the whole process in terms of eventual and maintained transferences of certain sacred categories to the secular sphere, and vice-versa¹⁰⁵.

103. As the Bloch's classic book showed long time ago: Bloch, Marc. *Les rois thaumaturges...*

104. As well known, Ernst Kantorowicz used this concept for his great study on the theory of the king's two bodies (*The King's Two Bodies...*). The concept was coined by Carl Schmitt at the beginning of the twentieth century. En excellent approach to the meaning of Schmitt's concept of political theology in: Herrero, Montserrat. *El nomos y lo político: la filosofía política de Carl Schmitt*. Pamplona: Eunsa, 2007: 341-418.

105. Certainly, José Manuel Nieto Soria (“Origen divino, espíritu laico y poder real en la Castilla del siglo XIII”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 27/1 (1997): 43-100, especially, 97-98) has argued for the hypothesis of the “transference”, taken from Kantorowicz idea of “Mysteries of State”, and more properly (although he did not quote it) from Carl Schmitt's idea of “political theology”, although he has not developed further these hypothesis and he has written extensively on the thesis of Castilian monarchy sacralisation rather than properly the transposition of sacred realities into the temporal sphere. By the other side, other historians have sustained the theory of the secularization of Castilian monarchy, which sharply contrast with other European royal lineages, starting for the neighbour Portugal and Aragon: Ruiz, Teófilo F. “Une royauté sans sacre: la monarchie castillane du Bas Moyen Age”. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 39 (1984): 429-453; Linehan, Peter. *History and historians...*: 426 and following; O'Callaghan, Joseph. *El rey sabio...*: 47-49; Rucquoi, Adeline. “De los reyes que no son taumaturgos: fundamentos de la realeza en España”. *Relaciones. Estudios de historia y sociedad*, 13 (1992): 55-83. For the “process of secularization” of the Crown of Aragon, see: Palacios, Bonifacio. “Los actos de coronación y el proceso de “secularización” de la monarquía catalano-aragonesa (siglos XIII-XIV)”, *État et église dans la genèse de l'état moderne*, Bernard Vicent, Jean-Philippe Genet, eds. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1986: 113-128.



DANTE ALIGHIERI'S *QUAESTIO DE AQUA ET TERRA* IN THE RENAISSANCE

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Date of receipt: 12th of December, 2012
Final date of acceptance: 21st of May, 2014

ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes Dante Alighieri's astrological response, in his *Quaestio de aqua et terra* (1320), to the dilemma posed by Aristotelian cosmology regarding the existence of dry earth over watery surface in the system of concentric elemental spheres. Considering that this Treatise was known only in early 16th Century, this work takes into account both the cultural context in which it was received and the Renaissance conceptions on the stellar argument put forward by medieval tradition, proposing from such evidence an interpretation of the scarce spreading of Dante's propositions¹.

KEYWORDS

Dante Alighieri, Aristotelian Cosmology, Astrology, *terra firma*, Globe.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Dante Alighieri, Cosmologia aristotelica, Astrologia, Terra firma, Sphaera.

1. Introduction

Medieval cosmology stemmed from the combination of two traditions: the Greek conception of a sphere of earth surrounded by material orbits of heavenly bodies and the Christian interpretation of this structure. This mix carried as a significant consequence the need to work out the divergences between those explanations without threatening both theological notions and observed phenomena. The debate about the existence of dry earth over watery surface which went through until Greek cosmology was left behind in early 17th Century, is arguably the most relevant example of this process. The widespreading of medieval treatises on this subject during the so called Age of Discovery shows not only the importance of medieval legacy in Renaissance context, but also the complex process of adaptation that previous cosmological conceptions had to undergo in their new cultural stage. The current work intends to analyze the peculiar kind of Dante Alighieri's explanation as it appears in his *Quaestio de aqua et terra* and the cultural context in which it was first disclosed.

2. The *quaestio de aqua et terra* and the problem of elemental spheres

Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) read his *Quaestio de aqua et terra* before Cangrande della Scala's court in Verona in 1320, but this work was known only in early 16th century when Benedetto Moncetti da Castiglione Aretino, Prior of the Paduan Augustinians, discovered and published the text in Venice in 1508. For many years, much of the historiographical debate on this text was concentrated on the work's authenticity, going as far as to propose a forgery plotted by the Augustinian monk². The discovery of the third version of Pietro Alighieri's commentary on the Comedy in mid 20th Century cleared up this dispute as he displayed in it his father's arguments on the place and shape of water and earth spheres³.

According to Dante himself, the aim of that work was to report the dispute in which he had taken part time back in Mantua, for, if it seemed it had remained open

1. Research funded by the Government of Chile through a Fondecyt Project (n. 11100203) and by the *Vicerrectoría de Investigación y Estudios avanzados de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso* (project n. 183.713). Translated by Alfonso Iommi. The author thanks sincerely to Amelia Herrera and Sebastián Salivas for their collaborative participation in the preparation of the article such as students of the History Program at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso.

2. Concerning the text's authenticity see: Luzio, Alessandro; Reiner, Rodolfo. "Il probabile falsificatore della *Quaestio de aqua et terra*". *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana*, 20 (1892): 125-150. The disparition of the original is the main support of this hypothesis.

3. Mazzoni, Francesco. "La questio de aqua et terra". *Studi Danteschi*, 34 (1957): 163-204. About the dispute see the explanatory note in: Bouloux, Nathalie. *Culture et savoirs géographiques en Italie au XIV siècle*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002: 27 (n. 36).



or unsolved, it was an opinion based in appearances and not in truth⁴. Thus, Dante intended firstly to make public the terms of the debate, and then to single out the reasons by which it was concluded.

However, the History of Medieval thought shows that this was one of Aristotelian Cosmology's most conflicting features, and that it remained unsolved until the complete abandonment of that explanatory system. According to the Stagirite, the earth sphere was surrounded successively by concentric spheres of water, air and fire⁵. This arrangement resulted from each element's tendency towards its natural place, considering earth the most heavy element and placing it, therefore, in the center of the universe. This explanation implied that earth was completely covered by water, and the existence of *terra firma* or dry earth was physically impossible. Even if Aristotle himself accepted, in other places of his work, the possibility of inhabitable earth in several parts of the sphere⁶, he never put forward a theoretical solution to understand its existence. Dante's Treatise belongs to the medieval tradition that tried to settle this issue⁷. In fact, the *Quaestio* sums up many approaches previously adopted and expounds solutions well-known to Europe's scientific *milieu* in early 14th Century⁸.

After introducing the subject, Dante describes five arguments that were used in the dispute in defence of placing water over earth: the eccentricity of both elemental spheres, evident to eyesight by watching the earth sphere at times submerged and at times raised over the water sphere; the conception of water as the noblest element and, therefore, necessarily closest to heaven; navigators' perception, according to which mountains are placed below themselves; water's tendency to descend as a proof that water sphere is placed over earth, because otherwise lakes, sources and streams would be dry; and, finally, the link between the course of the moon and

4. Alighieri, Dante. "De forma et situ duorum elementorum aque videlicet et terre", *Tutte le Opere*. Milan: U. Mursia & C., 1965: 915.

5. Aristotle, *De Caelo*, II, 4. 287a (Aristotelis. *Opera*. Oxford: Typographeo Academico, 1837: II, 30-31. 12th September 2012 <<http://www.isnatura.org/Files/Aristotle>>).

6. Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, II, 5, 362b. 287a (Aristotelis. *Meteorologicorum libri IV*. Leipzig: Vogel, 1834: II, 30-31. 12th September 2012 <<https://archive.org/details/meteorologicorum01aristoft>>).

7. For an examination of the different arguments displayed, see: Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde. Histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic*. Hermann: Paris, 1965: IX, 79-235; Randles, William G. L. "Classic models of world geography and their transformation following the discovery of America", *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, European Images of the Americas and The Classical Tradition, eds. Wolfgang Haase, Meyer Reinhold. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994: I, 5-76. Collected also in: Randles, William G. L. *Geography, Cartography and Nautical Science in the Renaissance: The Impact of the Great Discoveries*. Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000: 5-76.

8. Dante's Treatise has been studied from a scientific point of view by: Boffito, Giuseppe. *Intorno alla Quaestio de aqua et terra attribuita a Dante*. Turin: Carlo Clausen, 1902: 75-159; Mazzoni, Francesco. "Quaestio de Aqua et Terra. Introduzione, traduzione e commento di Francesco Mazzoni", *Alighieri, Dante, Opere Minori*. Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1979: II, 691-880. The cosmological problem in its turn has been recently considered in: Alexander, David. "Dante and the form of the land". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 76 (1986): 38-49, emphasizing the place of the text in the history of medieval thought. Although Alexander does not quote him, arguably the most important analysis in this perspective was carried out by Duhem early in the 20th Century (widely acknowledged by Mazzoni).



waters that should be expressed by making the eccentricity of the water sphere similar to the orbit of the moon⁹.

Afterwards, Dante presents his thesis denying the very possibility of water being higher than the surface of inhabitable earth. In order to achieve this point, he firstly draws on sensitive evidence: given that we perceive rivers flowing downwards to the sea, it is impossible for the water to be higher than emerging earth anywhere around it. He rules out, then, the eccentricity of both spheres by means of an example exploring the consequences this would imply in the diverging descendent courses of these elements to their natural places; and he does so precisely to reject, finally, the existence of a watery swelling contrary both to water's tendency to move towards its center and to its nature, unable to contain itself. He thus concludes that water is concentric with earth and has a spherical surface.

Following his exposition of the arguments backing up his theory, the poet explains the reasons due to which water does not cover completely the earth, considering that by the latter's nature it should lie underneath the former. According to the author, Universal Nature requires that earth raise to achieve the mix between both elements. In fact, says Dante, dry earth is a crescent-moon-shaped excrescence spanning from Cádiz to river Ganges.

After establishing the final cause of this earth swelling, the author devotes the last part of his piece to delineate the efficient cause of the bulge, insisting that his Treatise deals solely with material affairs, separating himself from those who claimed that a divine miracle was enough to solve the question¹⁰. Thus, he sets off by excluding earth itself as a cause of its swelling, because, as it happens in other elements, it is an homogeneous body that produces no bulge. In absence of other options, Dante places the cause in heaven. He rules out the moon, in the first place, which turns around the whole earth sphere and, therefore, should exert attraction all across the surface and not only in a single portion of the northern hemisphere. By this very same reason, he rejects the influence of every other planetary orbit and of the *primum mobile*, for, being uniform forces, it would be impossible to explain their higher incidence in a unique part of the earth. On this ground, the cause must be found, according to Dante, in the firmament or eighth sphere. For the author, even if firmament is uniform in substance, we can discern in it different sizes of stars and constellations that must be intended to raise the earth over watery surface:

Videmus in eo differentiam in magnitudine stellarum et in luce, in figuris et ymaginibus constellationum; que quidem differentie frustra esse non possunt, ut manifestissimum esse debet omnibus in philosophia nutritis. [...] Unde cum vultus inferiores sint similes vultibus superioribus ut Ptolomeus dicit, consequens est quod, cum iste effectus non possit reduci nisi

9. In his English edition, Alain Campbell Smith calls these proofs geometrical, ethical, experimental, economical and astronomical. Campbell, Alain. "A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra". *Annual Reports of the Dante Society*, 21 (1902): 1-59, especially, 6.

10. That was, for instance, William of Auvergne and Manegold of Lautenbach's response. See: Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du Monde...*: IX, 109-110; Bartlett, Robert. *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2008: 41-44.



*in celum stellatum ut visum est, quod similitudo virtualis agentis consistat in illa regione celi que operit hanc terram detectam*¹¹.

When he asks why this prominence takes place in the northern hemisphere and not in the southern, Dante states that it is the result of a divine choice which is beyond the limits of human understanding.

Robert Bartlett emphasizes that Dante's naturalist argument, though different from theological arguments put forward by previous authors, should not be considered as an expression of the progress of western science, but as an example of a far more complex intellectual process. Bartlett reminds that the theological explanation strove, at its turn, to counteract solely physical solutions to a cosmological problem. From this point of view, Dante's position would not mean the triumph of a naturalist bias, but just a part of an ongoing debate¹². This feature is emphasized by Nathalie Bouloux's opposite interpretation of the Treatise. She asserts that the response displayed by the Florentine poet hinders any kind of discussion because his solution is merely metaphysical and not physical¹³. Thus, while Bartlett considers the *Quaestio* a physical response to the dilemma, Bouloux sees in it a blatant example of a theological resource put into work.

Two important aspects of the Treatise hold this variety of interpretations: the emphasis on divine will as a cause of earthly things, and the concern with finding a natural cause to explain the elevation of earth mass. Though the latter clearly depends on the former, resorting to the stellar attraction of the earth—similar to the action of a magnet on iron—means giving a physical response determined by a supernatural final cause.

3. The tradition of the astrological argument as explanation of *terra firma*

It is difficult to follow the History of the argument founded on the stellar incidence on the raising of the inhabitable quarter of the earth, for it is found in very few authors among those who deal with the problem of the order of elemental spheres. The very first apparition takes place in the *Commentary to the Sphere of Sacrobosco* written in 1271 by Robertus Anglicus¹⁴. In relation to Sacrobosco's reference to the existence of dry earth in the northern hemisphere, Anglicus asserts:

11. Alighieri, Dante. "De forma et situ duorum elementorum...": 926.

12. Bartlett, Robert. *The Natural and the Supernatural...*: 50.

13. Bouloux, Nathalie. *Culture et savoirs géographiques...*: 29.

14. On Anglicus see the review by: Thorndike, Lynn. "Robert Anglicus". *Isis*, 34 (1943): 467-469. By the same author see: Thorndike, Lynn. "Robertus Anglicus and the Introduction of Demons and Magic into Commentaries upon the Sphere of Sacrobosco". *Speculum*, 21 (1946): 241-243.



*Tertio nota quod omnia elementa orbiculariter circumdant terram ex omni parte nisi aqua, cuius rei triplex potest esse ratio. Una voluntas divina propter vitam animalium salvandam. Alia siccitas terre imbibens partes aque, ut habetur in De generatione et corruptione, nisi terra esset permixta cum aqua, decideret in pulverem. Tertia est influentia stellarum, ut coniunctio aliqua super aliquam partem terre efficit ipsam siccam, cuius signum est quoniam loca que solebant esse plena aquis modo sunt desiccata*¹⁵.

Thus, according to Anglicus, stellar influence is one of three possible ways of explaining earth's swelling, along with divine will and the dryness of the earth. As Pierre Duhem noticed, notwithstanding the English astronomer's reproduction of other author's explanations, there is no reference to this argument in prior works. Even though the Brethren of Purity or Sincerity—a group of Arab philosophers established in Basra during 10th Century—had approached in general terms the question regarding the attraction the sky exerts on earth, they had described as well the opposite effect: repulsion¹⁶. Besides, this tradition—resumed by Al Bitruji in 12th Century—emphasized the influence of stellar movement on continental movement, being a different explanation than Anglicus' and not intended to give a solution to Aristotle's dilemma¹⁷.

Later than Anglicus, the Dominican Bernard of Trilia (1240-1294) quotes most of the explanations merging the supernatural divine intervention, heavenly universal order and stellar action¹⁸. For Duhem, this combination is not strange, for if Roger Bacon had solved the Aristotelian question drawing on the action of universal nature instead of turning to the particular nature of elements, and Thomas Aquinas had resorted to universal order, stellar influence was but another name to denote the same kind of teleological explanation about the exceptionality of *terra firma*¹⁹.

The use, in that era, of astrological criteria in natural philosophy is not necessarily in contradiction with the foundations of medieval theology. Even if Eugenio Garin believes that scholastic ordered rationality is unconciliable with the continual questioning of the structures of the universe inherent to astrology—leading to the reduction of this discipline to the field of demonic knowledge and experimental contingency²⁰, the existence of nuances in the beliefs about stellar influence gave room enough to Astrology to play a peculiar part in the period's cosmological thought. Although some of the earliest Christian authors had acknowledged a

15. Thorndike, Lynn. *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and its Commentators*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949: 150. In some versions it's added at the end [...] *ut in quibusdam partibus Anglie*. Boffito quotes a version of this passage attributing it to Sacrobosco himself, Boffito, Giuseppe. *Intorno alla Quaestio de aqua et terra...*: 120. The author reproduces as well a section of Averroes commentaries to the *Meteorologica* in which the joint action of the Sun and the stars is mentioned as a cause of dryness in northern earth, Boffito, Giuseppe. *Intorno alla Quaestio de aqua et terra...*: 96.

16. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IX, 99.

17. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IX, 133-134.

18. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IX, 138. Duhem quotes the *Questions de spera edita a Magistro Bernard de Trilia*, Bibliothèque Municipale de Laon. Ms. 171, f. 75.

19. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IX, 134.

20. Garin, Eugenio. "Magia y astrología en el Renacimiento", *Medioevo y Renacimiento*. Madrid: Taurus, 1981: 112-124, especially, 117-118.



restricted power to signals conveyed by stars²¹, in medieval world the validation of the observation of the skies as a parameter for analyzing and understanding terrestrial world originated in 12th Century. It was then that the translations of Ptolomy's *Tetrabiblos* and Albumasar's *Introduction to Astrological Science* led to a "renovated interest in astrology and a more favourable approach to its doctrines"²². If until then available sources were Macrobius' *Commentary on The Dream of Scipio*, Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis*, latin comentaries on the *Timaeus* and brief mentions by Isidore of Seville and Bede, the spreading of these treatises, preserved and translated by Arabs, made possible to integrate astrological tradition and Aristotelian natural philosophy²³.

Thus, from 12th Century onwards Astrology acquired an increasing relevance as a way to understand cosmos, different when required from horoscopic science. While the former was a respectable branch of natural philosophy, the latter became object of a series of adverse criticism all along the Middle Ages²⁴ which aimed not as much to the belief in real heavenly influence as to the risk of determinism implicit in stellar dictates²⁵. In this way, when astrology was considered a rational discipline providing among other things principles for agriculture, navigation and medical prognosis, different from ceremonies of superstitious invocation of stellar entities, it was a permitted and legal science²⁶.

According to Edward Grant, Astrology as prediction of events and behaviours from the knowledge of heavenly bodies did not play a relevant part in scholastic philosophy, but the influence exerted by these bodies on terrestrial matter was a principle universally accepted²⁷. This idea coincided with a hierarchical conception of cosmos in which the heavenly area should influence and guide the less noble and perfect one²⁸. Even if in most cases stellar light and movement were the means of stellar action, when an effect could not be explained through any of them, people resorted to the possibility of a sort of invisible influx radiating from the sky. Some

21. Among them we find Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius and even Saint Augustine. See: Seznec, Jean. *La sopravvivenza degli antichi dei. Saggio sul ruolo della tradizione mitologica nella cultura e nell'arte rinascimentale*. Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1990: 37-38.

22. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia occidental*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2002: 350-351.

23. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia occidental...*: 350-351; Seznec, Jean. *La sopravvivenza degli antichi dei...*: 44. Isidore of Seville's astrological references are contained in his *Etymologiae* and *De rerum natura*, and Bede's in his *Treatise on the nature of things*. See: Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1923: I, 632-636. Thorndike asserts that the process was rather the opposite way: the reading of such authors as Firmicus originated an interest in Astrology that led to the search of more texts on the subject. See pages 690-691.

24. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia occidental...*: 346.

25. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia occidental...*: 349.

26. Federici, Graziella. *Medioevo magico. La magia tra religione e scienza nei secoli XII e XIV*. Turin: UTET, 2008: 323.

27. Grant, Edward. *Planets, Stars, & Orbs, The Medieval Cosmos, 1200-1687*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1996: 569-570.

28. Grant, Edward. *Planets, Stars, & Orbs...*: 612.



phenomena, like magnetic attraction for instance, were explained in such a way²⁹. It is not strange, thus, that Dante compared the power of northern hemisphere stars exerted on terrestrial mass with the effect of magnets, for both dealt with an invisible force that caused perceptible effects in sublunar world. This principle, reducible to the concept of a natural or universal order that preserved the cosmos, allowed to solve the dilemma posed by Aristotelian cosmology.

The same argument reappeared in *La composizione del Mondo* by Ristoro d'Arezzo written in Vernacular in 1282. Trying to explain the shape of the world, d'Arezzo follows the Aristotelian distinction of spheres and explains the earth bulge as a consequence of stellar attraction, emphasizing the excellence of northern hemisphere because of the great amount of stars and constellations existing there:

*Adunque è mistieri per forza di ragione che la terra sia scoperta dell'acqua nella parte diritta del cielo, la quale è più spessa, e più forte e più potente: la qual potemo chiamare per ragione parte di sopra, come quella di settentrione, la quale è piena di figure e di grandissima moltitudine di stelle*³⁰.

For d'Arezzo, the heavenly virtue acts on water taking it apart from the terrestrial quarter to permit its inhabitability³¹. This last point is one of the few that Dante did not used in his work, keeping instead the insistence on the concentration of stars over the northern hemisphere and the likeness between heavenly attraction and magnetism³². We could explain this coincidence by the possible popularity in late Middle Ages—as shown in preserved manuscripts—of *La composizione del mondo*³³. In fact, Pietro d'Abano (c.1250-1315/16), philosopher, physician and astronomer from the School of Padua, included in one of his most celebrated works, the *Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum et praecipue medicorum*, the astrological argument as a possible cause of the terrestrial bulge³⁴. Just like d'Arezzo, the author stated that constellations placed in the northern section held the sea and prevent it from flooding the earth³⁵. Nevertheless, he did not adopt this explanation as final and only mentioned it among the causes displayed to resolve the issue.

29. Grant, Edward. *Planets, Stars, & Orbs*...: 612 and 615.

30. "It is needed, by the force of reason, that the earth is discovered from the water on the straight of the sky, which is thicker, stronger and more powerful. We reasonably can call it part above, like that of the north, which is full of figures and great multitude of stars" (Arezzo, Ristoro d'. *La composizione del mondo*. Rome: Tipografia delle Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche, 1859: 77).

31. Arezzo, Ristoro d'. *La composizione del mondo*...: 78.

32. Alexander, David. "Dante and the form of the land...": 47.

33. Duhem. *Le Système du monde. Histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic*. Paris: Hermann, 1954: IV, 207-208. About the manuscripts see: Enrico Narducci's introductory essay to his edition of the text, Arezzo, Ristoro d'. *La composizione del mondo*...: IX-XXXI.

34. Pietro d'Abano had finished this work in the first years of 14th Century. See: Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1923: II, 879.

35. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde*...: IX, 151. See: *Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum [et] medicorum in primis doctoris (...)* Petri de Abano. Venice: Luca antonio Giunta, c.1520: f. 18v.



Paolo Veneto (c.1369-1429) picked back this argument in his work *De compositione mundi* which is mostly an abridged translation into Latin of Ristoro d'Arezzo's Treatise³⁶. Veneto asserted that the multitude of stars in the northern part of heaven not only turned it into the noblest section of the skies, but also kept the inhabitable quarter free from water³⁷. A similar approach was taken by Giovanni Michele Alberto da Carrara (1438-1490) in his *De constitutione mundi*, a work that was most likely never published and kept solely in manuscript form³⁸. Even if the Treatise was written in the second half of 15th Century, when the results of Portuguese navigations across southern Africa were widely known, its author kept Ristoro's stellar explanation to undersatnd the exceptional existence of dry earth in northern hemisphere. The contents of this work were hardly original, for all its arguments are drawn from Paolo Veneto and Ristoro d'Arezzo's treatises³⁹. As we can see, Anglicus's argument was well received in Italian intellectual *milieu*. This is not strange, for Astrology held there an important place, merging in that time scientific texts with astronomical observations and geometrical deductions⁴⁰. As Fritz Saxl states, if in 13th Century Astrology was a traveller recently arrived from the East, in 15th Century the distance that had separated astrological paganism and medieval christianity no longer existed⁴¹. In Dante's case this seems to be the only time in his work in which he alluded to the role of heaven in the generation of an inanimated object⁴². Generally his main interest focused on stellar influence on human contexts, acknowledging that our life and other beings' is caused by Heaven (*Convivio*, 4.23). Nevertheless, Dante conciliated this position with Christian perspective for he considered stars as God's instruments to express his will through nature⁴³.

36. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IV, 209-210; Duhem, Pierre. *Études sur Lèonard de Vinci: Ceux qu'il a lus et ceux que l'ont lu*. Paris: Éditions des archives contemporaines, 1984: I, 325. Alexander, omits this relation by affirming that Paolo Veneto repeats Dante's explanation, see 46.

37. Veneto, Paolo. *Liber de compositione mundi*. Lyon: SimonVincent, 1525: chapter XVIII Sub Septentrione terra est aquis discoperta.

38. Thorndike, Lynn. "Relations of the Inquisition to Peter of Abano and Cecco d'Ascoli". *Speculum*, 1 (1926): 338-343, especially, 341.

39. Thorndike, Lynn. "The *De constitutione mundi* of John Albert Michael Albert of Carrara". *The Romanic Review*, 17 (1926): 193-216.

40. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IV, 186.

41. Saxl, Fritz. "El renacimiento de la astrología a finales de la Antigüedad", *La vida de las imágenes*. Madrid: Alianza, 1989: 72-81.

42. Kay, Richard. *Dante's Christian Astrology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994: 4.

43. Kay, Richard. *Dante's Christian...*: 9. As said by Boll and Sez nec, even if most rigorous thinkers emphasized the threat for free will implied in stellar power, this did not mean that they refused its conditioning action. Such is Thomas Aquinas' case, who, in *Summa* 1.115.4, concedes to the stars the power to define individual character, and Dante's too, who accepted the influx of cosmic forces in human life in *Purgatory* 16.73-76. See: Boll, Franz. *Storia dell'Astrologia*. Bari: Laterza, 1985: 80-82; Sez nec, Jean. *La sopravvivenza degli antichi dei...*: 41-42.



4. The spreading of Dante's argument in the Renaissance

In the 1577 edition of his commentary to Sacrobosco's *Sphere*, the Florentine monk Francesco Giuntini (1523-1590) dedicated a long section to the problem of water and earth spheres. Along with reproducing Christoph Clavius's (1538-1612) arguments in favour of a single sphere composed of both elements, Giuntini added as evidence the mention in Dante's *Comedy* of some stars in the southern hemisphere unknown to travellers: *I' mi volsi a man destra, e puosi mente/ a l'altro polo, e vidi quattro stelle/ non viste mai fuor ch'a la prima gente* (Purgatorio, I, 22-24)⁴⁴. A few years later, Francesco Pifferi (1548-1612), a Camaldulean monk, repeated this reference suggesting that even if it was impossible for Dante to know the four stars mentioned, he had at least intuited their existence⁴⁵. This cosmological interpretation of that passage was different from the symbolical and religious one put forward by previous authors such as Cristoforo Landino (1425-1498) who saw in those stars a sign of the four cardinal virtues⁴⁶. In fact, this approach accounts for an attempt to make of Dante a part of that time scientific thought by means of inquiring into geographical and astronomical signs in his work. Notwithstanding this intention, there is no mention to what is most probably his only Treatise on the subject.

In his dedication to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, Benedetto Moncetti introduced the *Quaestio* as an expression of Dante's wit and of his skills in astronomical speculation⁴⁷. Nevertheless, renaissance authors seemed to have preferred to limit themselves to the *Commedia*. Comparing the ideas on southern hemisphere contained in both works, Alfred Hiatt states that the two texts mention the possibility of *terra firma* in the other hemisphere: while in the *Quaestio* the restriction to northern hemisphere is explained as a mystery beyond human understanding, in the *Inferno* the terror that resulted from Lucifer's fall from heaven would have moved earth northwards, turning the current world into an inversion of the original⁴⁸. Thus, there was a poetic and religious justification for the physical explanation of earth prominence caused by stars⁴⁹. It is interesting in this sense that neither Giuntini nor Pifferi, in their attempts for using Dante's statements as proofs of prior knowledge of southern hemisphere, quote the option opened by the *Quaestio*. Although the 1508 edition was apparently hard to find, we believe that its omission was due to the kind of

44. "I turned to the right, and fixed my mind / to the other pole, and saw four stars / unseen before by other people" (Giuntini, Francesco. *Commentarium in Sphaeram*. Lyon: apud Philippum Tinghium, 1577: 201).

45. Pifferi, Francesco. *Sfera*. Siena: appresso Siluestro Marchetti, 1604: 26-27.

46. *Queste quattro stelle pare che pongha per le quattro virtù cardinali, le quali non sono ne gl'huomini perfettamente se non sono in stato di gratia, et però non furon mai viste se non da' nostri primi parenti, quando erono in stato di gratia* (Landino, Cristoforo. *Commento sopra la Comedia*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli. Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2001: III, 1047).

47. Reproduced in Alessandro Torri's edition. *Quistione trattata in Verona da Dante Alighieri intorno alla forma del globo terracqueo ed al luogo rispettivamente occupato dall'acqua e dalla terra*. Livrono: coi tipi di Paolo Vannini, 1843: XII.

48. Hiatt, Alfred. *Terra Incognita. Mapping the Antipodes before 1600*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008: 128.

49. More on the two explanations in: Alexander, David. "Dante and the form of the land...": 45.



argument put forward by the poet and to the 16th Century interpretation of such an approach.

Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-1579) asserted in his *La sfera del mondo* that the existence of dry earth was the consequence of the heterogeneous density of earth, and because its center of magnitude was different from its center of gravity water did not cover it completely⁵⁰. He stated then that this was the only true reason, refuting those who *vogliono che nel polo Settentrionale, o a quel vicino, sieno alcune stelle, che con la loro influentia impediscono, che l'acqua non copra la terra in qualche parte*⁵¹. The Jesuit Christoph Clavius, as well, referred, as a defense of a single earth and water globe, to the ridiculous reasons of those who explained the existence of *terra firma* as a consequence of the forces of arctic constellations whose alleged virtue was capable of moving oceans⁵². The disdainful tone used by the most quoted 16th Century cosmological authors makes evident the scarce effect of Dante's response in that time⁵³.

In his classical history of astrology, Franz Boll says that the reputation of this science constantly grew in the 15th and 16th Centuries, as shown by Pope Julius II and Pope Paulus II's interest in calculating the proper time for some ceremonies and by Pope Leo X's foundation of the Chair of Astrology in the University of La Sapienza⁵⁴. The interpretation of such practices poses a problem that historiography has analyzed from two basic points of view. On the one hand, researchers have emphasized the difference between judicial astrology —aimed at prognosis— and mathematical astrology —devoted to the calculus of astral positions—, an emphasis that “comes down to the distinction between what indicates the development of scientific research and what is a remain of old religions or a sign of new forms of superstition”⁵⁵. This approach would issue from the same arguments presented by those who strove to defend their activities against their contemporaries' prejudices and apprehensions⁵⁶. Eugenio Garin, on the other hand, considers that this is a false separation, for both points of view merge continually in the writings of that period⁵⁷. In his words, “really, in the Renaissance there is a constant struggle precisely against such a divorce” —between scientific and occult thought— “in favour of a new convergence”⁵⁸. In this sense, the contradiction between science

50. Piccolomini, Alessandro. *La sfera del mondo di M. Alessandro Piccolomini. Di nuovo da lui ripolita, accresciuta, et fino à sei libri, di quattro che erano, ampliata* (...). Venice: Giovanni Varisco e Compagni, 1566: 73.

51. Piccolomini, Alessandro. *La sfera del mondo*...: 73.

52. Clavius, Cristoph. “Commentarium in Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacro Bosco”. *Opera Mathematica*. Mainz: Antonii Hierat excudebat Reinhardus Eltz, 1611: III, 16.

53. Piccolomini and especially Clavius were profusely quoted in cosmological issues by their contemporaries. Both Pifferi and Giuntini, for instance, refer to them as authorities in approaching the problems of the *Sphere*.

54. Boll, Franz. *Storia dell'Astrologia*...: 75.

55. Garin, Eugenio. “Magia y astrología en el Renacimiento...”: 112-124, see 131.

56. Garin, Eugenio. “Magia y astrología en el Renacimiento...”: 131.

57. Garin, Eugenio. “Magia y astrología en el Renacimiento...”: 133. See: Garin, Eugenio. *Lo zodiaco della vita. La polemica sull'astrologia dal Trecento al Cinquecento*. Bari: Laterza, 2007: 27.

58. Garin, Eugenio. “Magia y astrología en el Renacimiento...”: 124.



and astrology in Renaissance period is denied, since for some authors the principle of astral causality is the natural law *par excellence*, the one law that guarantees the unbreakable regularity of facts and that allows to discover the cosmic order of the universe⁵⁹.

Considering these approaches, it is difficult to precise the role of Astrology in that period, not only because of its sometimes implicit presence, but also because what we properly call Astrology is wide enough as to admit distinctions. In the case we now focus on, we can appreciate a transformation during 15th and 16th Centuries that led to the abandonment of the stellar argument as a principle to resolve the dilemma of *terra firma*. If the Florentines who read Ptolomy's *Geography* for the first time were not interested in the idea of a terraqueous globe it included, but their readings were determined by astrological concerns⁶⁰, in the mid 16th Century, the possibility of earth in the southern hemisphere was one of the most quoted examples of the text⁶¹, accounting for a turn in the cosmological approach.

A similar attitude could explain the scarce spreading of Dante's ideas put forward in the *Quaestio*. A scan of the catalogues of Renaissance private libraries reveals that during the 15th Century the only text contained in those collections that reproduced the stellar argument as an explanation of the existence of uncovered earth was Pietro d'Abano's *Conciliator*⁶². Although the important library of Cardinal Bessarion kept

59. Seznec, Jean. *La sopravvivenza degli antichi dei...*: 51. On the influence of astrological thought in Renaissance science, see: Vernet, Juan. *Astrología y astronomía en el Renacimiento*. Barcelona: El Acanalado, 2000: 9-31.

60. Gautier, Patrick. *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVe-XVIe siècle)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009: 168 and 214. Thomas Goldstein, in a different interpretation, insist in the influence exerted by the idea of navigable southern hemisphere on the Florentines. See: Goldstein, Thomas. "Geography in Fifteenth-century Florence", *Merchants and scholars. Essays in the history of exploration and trade*, John Parker, ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965: 9-32.

61. See: de Rinaldi, Dante. *La Sfera di messer Giovanni Sacrobosco tradotta emendata & distinta in capitoli da Piervincenzo Dante de Rinaldi con molte e utili annotazioni del medesimo*. Rivista da frate Egnatio Danti cosmografo del Gran Duca di Toscana. Florence: Stamperia de Giunti, 1571: 35; Giuntini, Francesco. *La Sfera del mondo*. Lyon: Appresso Simforiano Beraud, 1582: 275-276.

62. Contained in Piero Leoni and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's libraries. See: Dorez, Léon. "Recherches sur la bibliothèque de Pier Leoni, médecin de Laurent de Médicis". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 7 (1897): 81-106; Pearl Kibre. *The library of Pico della Mirandola*. New York: Columbia University Press, 193. In addition to this we checked the following catalogues: Giorgio Valla's in: Heiberg, Johan L. "Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's und seiner Bibliothek". *Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 16 (1896); Medici's in: Ullman, Berthold L.; Stadter, Philip. *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence*. Padua: Antenore, 1972; Pietro Barozzi's in: *Librorum XV saec. Impressorum indez. Appendix Petri Barocii Bibliothecae inventarium*, E. Govi recensuit. Padua: Typ. Antoniana 1958; Nicholas of Cues' in: Marx, Jakob. *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospital zu Cues*. Trier: Schaar und Dathe, 1905; Angelo Decembrio's in: Capelli, Adriano. "Angelo Decembrio". *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 19 (1892): 110-117; Francesco Filelfo's in: Calderini, Aristide. "Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo". *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 30 (1913): 204-424; Guarino Veronese's in: Omont, Henri. "Les manuscrits grecs de Guarino de Vérone et la Bibliothèque de Ferrare". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 2 (1892): 78-81 and Francesco Petrarca's in: de Nolhac, Pierre. "Le catalogue de la Première Bibliothèque de Pétrarque a Vaucluse". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 16 (1906): 341-344.



works by Robertus Anglicus and Paolo Veneto, neither the former's commentary on the *Sphere* nor the latter's *De compositione mundi* are mentioned⁶³.

Pietro d'Abano's case could illustrate how the period's intellectuals considered the medieval astrological approach. As Graziella Federici Vescovini shows, some authors of that era turned the keen doctor and rational philosopher into a magus trading with devils⁶⁴. Although in the *Conciliator* its author only referred to the explanation put forward by Anglicus, the judgment on his work accounts for the transformation undergone by Astrology as a scientific discipline and reveals the change that took place from the second half of 15th Century onwards. Pico della Mirandola, for instance, refused to accept the existence of hidden lunar powers, acknowledging only the influence of light and movement⁶⁵. This attitude had started to become established when Moncetti's 1508 edition appeared and it is not surprising that cosmologists in that period were reluctant to adopt or even mention Dante's theory. In fact, we find a confirmation of this if we check the catalogues of 16th Century thinkers' libraries, which shows the absence of references not only to the *Quaestio*, but also to other works that presented the stellar argument about *terra firma*⁶⁶.

63. Labowsky, Lotte. *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six early inventories*. Rome: Ed. Di Storia e Letteratura, 1979.

64. Federici, Graziella. *Medioevo magico...*: 348.

65. Garin, Eugenio. *Lo zodiaco della vita...*: 90.

66. We checked the catalogues of the following libraries: Girolamo Aleandro's in: Léon Dorez. "Recherches sur la bibliothèque du cardinal Girolamo Aleandro". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 2 (1892): 49-68; Léon Dorez. "Nouvelles recherches sur la bibliothèque du cardinal Girolamo Aleandro". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 7 (1897): 293-304; Erasmus of Rotterdam's in: Husner, Fritz. "Die Bibliothek des Erasmus", *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam (Herausgegeben von der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel)*. Basel: Braus-Riggenbach, 1936: 228-259; Pope Julius II's in: León Dorez, "La bibliothèque privée du pape Jules II". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 6 (1896): 97-124; Leonardo da Vinci's in: Fabio Frosini "La biblioteca di Leonardo da Vinci" available in <www.picus.sin.it/documenti/LdV_biblioteche_dei_filosofi.pdf>; Willibald Pirckheimer's in: Emile Offenbacher, "La bibliothèque de Willibald Pirckheimer". *La bibliofilia*, 40 (1938): 241-263; Johannes Reuchlin's in: Karl Christ. *Die Bibliothek Reuchlins in Pforzheim*. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1924; Zwinglio's in: *Huldrych Zwinglis Bibliothek / Katalog von Zwinglis Bibliothek*, ed. Walter Köhler. Zürich: Beer, 1921; Élie Vinet's in: Védère, Xavier. "Catalogue de la Bibliothèque d'Elie Vinet". *Bull. et Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Bordeaux*, 61 (1962): 83-86; Nicolas Colin's in: Henri Jadart. "Nicolas Colin. Sa vie, ses œuvres et sa bibliothèque". *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, 4/17 (1892): 313-349 and 431-442; John Dee's in: *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae externae Mortlacensis D. Joh. Dee, A° 1583, 6 Sept. [Transcribed from the MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.] List of Manuscripts formerly owned by Dr. John Dee. With preface and identifications by M. R. James*. London: 1921; Galileo Galilei's in: Favaro, Antonio. "La libreria di Galileo Galilei descritta e illustrata". *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze matematiche e fisiche*, 19 (1886): 219-293; Favaro, Antonio. "Appendice alla prima libreria di Galileo Galilei descritta e illustrata". *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze Matematiche e fisiche*, 20 (188): 372-376; Justus Lipsius' in: Théophile Simar, "Notice sur les livres de Juste Lipse conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'université de Leyde". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 17 (1907): 261-283 and in: *Bibliotheca Petaviana et Mansartiana: ou, Catalogue des bibliothèques de feu Messieurs A. Petau... et François Mansart... Aux quelles on a ajouté le cabinet considérable des manuscrits du fameux Justus Lipsius*. The Hague: 1722; Montaigne's in: Bonnefon, Paul. "La bibliothèque de Montaigne". *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 2 (1895): 313-371 and; Villey, Pierre. "Les Lectures de Montaigne et leur chronologie", *Les sources & l'évolution des «Essais» de Montaigne*. Paris: Hachette, 1908: I, 52-294; Mulerius, Nicolaus. *Catalogus librorum clarissimi celeberrimique viri D. Nicolai Mulerii*. Groningen: 1646; Jehan Piochet de Salins's in: Crasta, Francesca



Catholic Church's explicit position against Astrology consolidated from mid 16th Century. If during the first half of the *Cinquecento* the condemnation of books aimed especially at avoiding the spreading of reformed doctrines, from the 50's onwards divinatory arts, as a class, were also included⁶⁷. In Pope Paulus VI's *Roman Index*, published in 1559, judicial Astrology was condemned, excluding only stellar observation used for naval, agrarian or medical purposes⁶⁸. In addition to this, the *Index* explicitly mentioned Pietro d'Abano and Robert Anglicus⁶⁹, the two most influential authors who had addressed in their works to the principle of stellar attraction of earth mass⁷⁰. In 1586, Pope Sixtus V promulgated his well-known bull *Coeli et Terra* in which he declared himself against the practice of judicial astrology and the ownership and reading of books on the subject, allowing only the forms of natural astrology mentioned in the 1559 *Index*⁷¹. Even if this prohibition had an evident impact on the decrease of publications on this subject or at least on the acknowledgment of their ownership⁷², it also makes visible the attempt at distinguishing between divination and the uses of stellar observation in scientific and daily activities. If on the one hand it rejected the form of determinism implicit in horoscopes, on the other hand it accepted the influence of stars in sublunar world. Now, the form of this influence was a point at issue, and the solution of cosmological aenigmas by means of an occult astral resource was considered then a simplifying and ignorant argument, or even "ridiculous" as Clavius said about the astrological explanation of *terra firma*.

Thus, when Francesco Storella in 1576 published the second edition of the *Quaestio* in Naples, he made it a part of a collection of scientific works that included

Maria; Ragghianti, Renzo. "La Biblioteca di Jehan Piochet de Salins e il Seigneur de la Montaigne". *Rinascimento*, 46 (2006): 403-477; Guillaume Pellicier's in: Omont, Henri. "Inventaire de la bibliothèque de Guillaume Pellicier évêque de Montpellier (1529-1568)". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1 (1891): 161-172; Joseph Justus Scaliger's in: *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae illust. viri Josephi Scaligeri*. Leiden: Officina Thomae Basson, 1609; Girolamo Sirlot's in: Dorez, Léon. "Recherches et documents sur la bibliothèque du cardinal Sirlot". *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 11 (1891): 457-491; Bonaventura Vulcanus' in: *Bibliotheca Bonaventurae Vulcanii*. Leiden: Officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1610. Even if in some cases commentaries to Sacrobosco's *Sphere* are referred to, Robert Anglicus' name does not appear at all. We must mention as well that Ristoro d'Arezzo's Treatise remained unpublished until 19th Century. Most of the catalogues checked can be found in the site picus.sns.it constructed by the Gruppo di ricerca sulle Biblioteche filosofiche private in età moderna at Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa.

67. Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953: VI, 146.

68. Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic...*: IV, 147.

69. *Index Auctorum et Librorum, qui ab Officio Sanctae Rom et Universalis Inquisitionis caveri ab omnibus et singulis in universa Christiana Republica mandantur*. Rome: ex officina Saluiana, 1559: 57 and 60.

70. Their names appeared in the *Index Librorum Authorumque S. Sedis Apostolicae Sacrique Concilii Tridentini auctoritate prohibitorum*. Munich: ex. Adamus Berg, 1582: 85 and 87; and in *Index librorum prohibitorum: cum regulis confectis per Patres à Tridentina Synodo delectos; auctoritate Pii IIII primus editus, postea vero a Sixto V auctus, et nunc demum S.D.N Clementis Papae VIII iussu recognitus & publicatus/ instructione adiecta De exequenda prohibitionis, deque sincere emendandi & imprimendi libros, ratione*. Rome: Impressores Camerales, 1596: 34, 57 and 59.

71. Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic...*: VI, 156-157.

72. Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic...*: VI, 157-158.



among other titles a translation of *Asclepius* annotated by the editor himself⁷³. Storella was a professor of Rhetoric at the University of Naples and is remembered for publishing the last Latin edition of the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise on magic and astrology *Secretum secretorum*. As William Eamon says, in 1576 the work was widely considered spurious and it was rarely mentioned during the 16th Century as a part of the Aristotelian corpus. In fact, he asserts that Storella paid more attention to the work than usual, if we keep in mind the scholarly opinions his contemporaries shared regarding the text⁷⁴. From this point of view, the second edition of Dante's Treatise was due to an author's interest in the divulgation of writings on astrological magic, which accounts for the position that a cosmological explanation like Dante's took in late *Cinquecento*. It is not surprising then, that the reputation of the Florentine poet were protected by Giuntini or Pifferi, who preferred to remember his inspired allusion to the Southern Cross contained in the *Commedia* rather than praising his analysis of the existence of uncovered lands included in the *Quaestio*.

5. Conclusion

The explanation put forward by Dante Alighieri to the dilemma posed by Aristotelian cosmology is part of the medieval tradition that strived to link the structure of sublunar world and celestial spheres. From this approach, the attribution of an invisible but active force to the stars echoed the interest in submitting the terrestrial phenomena to astral designs, considered as an expression of divine will. Thus, the stellar argument enjoyed some good fortune among authors who emphasized this connection and did not intend to solve physical problems solely by means of perceptible and checkable natural variables. When the text became known for the first time early in the 16th Century, the intellectual scene was different enough to make such an explanation obsolete. Renaissance authors preferred to quote Dante's alleged intuitions regarding the southern hemisphere included in the *Commedia* rather than associate him to Robert Anglicus or Pietro d'Abano's cosmological conceptions.

The transformation suffered by cosmological thought during the Renaissance implied a negative assessment of Dante's argument, as reflected in Piccolomini and Clavius disdainful remarks on the possibility of stellar influence as a cause of earth swelling. The progressive acceptance of the terraqueous globe as a reality and the knowledge of southern continents, clearly increased the dismissal of this idea first put forward in late 13th Century. Along with this, the increasing caution regarding the beliefs in stellar influences on earth and the following ecclesiastical condemnation, ended up by weakening the spreading of the medieval explanation.

73. See Torri's edition: XV.

74. Eamon, William. "How to read a Book of Secrets", *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500-1800*, Elaine Long, Alisha Rankin eds. Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2011: 23-46, especially, 24-25.



INTERTWINED LEGAL SYSTEM: CHURCH AUTHORITIES VERSUS LOCAL FEUDAL LANDLORDS (IN CENTRAL-SOUTHERN EUROPE)

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Date of receipt: 31st of January, 2014

Final date of acceptance: 26th of September, 2014

ABSTRACT

According to the Nomic's Charter, preserved in the Land Inventory of the church property of the largest landowner in Polog –north-western part of Macedonia, the Monastery of Bogorodica Htetovska (Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Htetovo), in the first half of the 14th century there had been a land dispute between the Church and a local feudal landlord called Progon, which lasted for several years.

Nevertheless, the church managed to regain the disputed property. Although Progon had bought the land, he lost the very same after proven by oral claims that it had been the Church property from ancient times.

The article treats; the land-legal dispute; the entwine of the church law and civil law in the specific region in which there were local Macedonian no codified legal norms, the Byzantium legal traditions were also present, as well the Serbian legal system was imposed; defining the time of the sources; the historical context of data.

KEYWORDS

Polog, Macedonia, Church, Feudal Landlords, Progon, Legal System, Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Htetovo.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Polog, Macedonia, Ecclesia, domini feudales, Progon, Systema Legale, Sacrae Virginis Htetovo monasterium.

The land-legal dispute between the Church and Progon –local noblemen from the north-western part of Macedonia called Polog¹ in the first half of the 14th century²

1 The Polog area is in the north-western part of Macedonia spread out in the middle of the Central-southern Europe i.e. the Balkans, see: Трифуноски Јован (Trifunoski, Jovan). "Полог. Антропогеографска проучавања" (*"Polog. Anthropogeographical researches"*). Српски етнографски зборник, књ. ХС. Одељење друштвених наука. Насеља и порекло становништва књ, Belgrade: С.А.Н.У. (publisher: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts-S.A.N.U.), 1976: 5. Polog spreads from 41°45'27" latitude in the Gostivar area up to 42°00'50" latitude in the Tetovo area. Its longitude is between 18°35'20" longitude in the Gostivar area up to 18°45'30" longitude in the Tetovo area. There were different opinions in historiography whether medieval Polog was a town or a province. The recent researches, however, prove that Polog was a medieval region, see Петровски, Бобан (Petrovski, Boban). "Прашањето за постоење на средновековен град Полог" (*"The issue about the medieval town Polog"*). *Balcanslavica*, 34-36 (2009): 69-88, where analyzing all sources and historiography attitudes regarding this issue.

2 In 1282 the Serbian king Miloutin (Milutin) (1282-1321) set off on a campaign against Byzantium towards the northern parts of that time Byzantine Macedonia. According to Miloutin's biographer, the archbishop Danilo II, he conquered Polog (see: Danilo et alii. "Животи краљева и архиепископа српских", написао Данило и други, издао Ђ. Даничић (*"Lives of Serbian kings and archbishops"*), Zagreb: Gj. Daničić, 1866: 108-109 ("Животи краљева и архиепископа српских", превео Л. Мирковић, предговор написао Н. Радојчић (*"Lives of Serbian kings and archbishops"*, translated by L. Mirković, preface by N. Radojčić). Belgrade: Српска књижевна задруга (Publisher: Srpska književna zadruga), 1935: 82 (Serbian translation); "Документи за борбата на македонскиот народ за самостојност и за национална држава", Том први (*"Documents on the struggle of the Macedonian people for independence and a nation-state"*, I). Скопје: Универзитет Св. Кирил и Методиј Скопје, Филозофско-историски факултет (Publisher: Ss Cyril and Methodius University Skopje, Faculty of Philosophy and History), 1981: 124 notes 585, 586. The Byzantine renowned authors Giorgio Pachimeres and Nicephori Gregorae kept quiet regarding these events. Only Ioannis Katakouzenos indirectly reports about these conquests: *Joanis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*, ed. Ludwing Schopen. Bonn: ed. Weberi, 1832: III, 133, 19-22; "Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије", VI (*"Byzantine sources for the history of the peoples of Yugoslavia"*, VI), Belgrade: Византолошки институт, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности (Publisher: Institute d'études Byzantines, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), 1986: 517 and note 506a. See: Мошин, Владимир (Moshin, Vladimir). "Крал Милутин според неговата биографија од Данило II, неговото "Житие по свиток" и неговата автобиографија. Текстови" (*"King Milutin according to his biography by Danilo II, his "Hagiography roll" and his autobiography. Texts"*). Споменици за средновековната и поновата историја на Македонија, II (*"Monuments relatifs a l'histoire médiévale et modern de la Macédoine, II"*), Скопје: Архив на Македонија (Publisher: Les Archives de Macédoine), 1977: 316, 342, 361-362. Also see: "Историја српског народа". Прва књига (*"History of Serbian people"*, I) (Од најстаријих времена до Маричке битке 1371г.). Belgrade: Српска књижевна задруга (Publisher: Srpska književna zadruga), 1981: 439; Fine V.A., John Jr. *"The Late medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest"*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996: 219; Živojinović, Marija. "La frontière serbobyzantine dans les premières décennies du XIVe siècle". *Bužantio kai Serbia katá ton ID' aióna* (Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th Century), Eutychia Papadopoulou, Dóra Komíni-Dialéti, eds. Athens: Institute of Historical Research-Section of Byzantine Research, 1996: 57; Nicol M., Donald. *"The last centuries of Byzantium (1261-1453)"*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1999 (repr.): 68; Божилев, Иван-Гюзелев, Васил (Božilov Ivan-Gjuzelev, Vasil). *"История на средновековна България VII-XIV век"* (*"History of Medieval Bulgaria VII-XIV century"*). Sofia: Анубус (Publisher: Anubis), 1999: 538; *"Историја на македонскиот народ", Том први* (*"History of Macedonian people"*, I). Македонија од праисториско време до потпаѓањето под турска власт (1371 година). Скопје: Институт за национална историја (publ. Institute of National History), 2000: 187; Reinert W., Stephen. "Fragmentation (1204-1453)". *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, Cyril Mango ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002: 260; Атанасовски Александар (Atanasovski, Aleksandar). "Македонија во XIV век" (*"Macedonia in the 14th Century"*). Tetovo: Напредок (Publisher: Napredok), 2009: 21-23; Бошкоски, Милан (Boškoski, Milan). *"Скопје и скопската област од VI до крајот на XIV век"* (*"Skopje and the Skopje District in the Middle Ages between VI and XIV century"*). Скопје: Македонска Реч-Институт за национална историја (Publisher: Makedonska Rech-Institute of National History), 2009: 191-192; Петровски, Бобан (Petrovski, Boban).



is the matter of interest of this article. There are very few sources referring to this topic with strictly limited information about it. Crucial data are contained in the Nomic's Charter preserved in the Land Inventory-Brebion³ of church properties of the largest landowner in Polog, the Monastery of Bogorodica Htetovska (Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Htetovo)⁴.

The Land Inventory-Brebion, based on its concept and purpose, offers information about all land holdings of the Monastery and in some cases even specific records on donors, or copies of records for various litigations and other legal developments occurring in different periods. A detailed analysis of the Brebion shows that it contains information on 84 different properties owned by the Monastery. Most of them were fields, to be followed by vineyards, meadows, a mill and two mulberries.

“Историја на балканските земји во XIV-XV век” (*“History of the Balkans Lands in XIVth-XVth Century”*). Skopje: Филозофски факултет (Publisher: Faculty of Philosophy), 2010: 55), which stayed under Serbian rule also during the rule of his successors Stephen Dechanski (Stefan Dečanski) (1321-1331), Stephen Doushan (Stefan Dušan) (1331-1355), Ourosh (Uroš) V (1355-1371). Since the beginning of the 14th century Polog was under the church jurisdiction of the Serbian Bishopric Prizren (Јанковић, Милица (Jankovich, Milica). “Епископије и митрополије српске цркве у средњем веку”. (*“Episcopates and Metropolitan's dioceses of Serbian Church in the Middle Ages”*), Belgrade: Историјски институт у Београду (Publisher: Institute of History, Belgrade), 1985: 57. See: Селишев М., Афанасиј (Selishchev, Afanasiy. “Полог и его българское население” (*“Polog and its Bulgarian population”*). Исторические этнографические и диалектологические очерки северо-западной Македонии (с этнографическою картою Полога), Sofia: Издание македонского научного института (Publisher: Makedonskogo nauchnogo instituta, 1929: 96, 103) and Грујић М, Радослав (Grujich, Radoslav. “Полошко-тетовска епархија и манастир Лешак” (*“Polog's-Tetovo diocese and monastery Leshok”*). Гласник Скопског научног друштва Књ. (Bulletin de la Societé Scientifique de Skoplje), 12 (1933): 42, 45, believed that it happened earlier, soon after 1282/83.

3. The source is published six times so far (about them see Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). “О називу и времену настанка Пописа имања Хтетовског манастира” (*“Sur l'appellation et de la datation de l'Inventaire des biens du monastere de Htetovo”*). Стари Српски Архив, књига 1 (*Anciennes Archives Serbes, Livre 1*), Филозофски факултет у Београду (Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade)-Филозофски факултет у Бањој Луци (Faculty of Philosophy, Banja Luka)-Филозофски факултет у Српском Сарајеву (Faculty of Philosophy, Serbian Sarajevo)-Историјски институт у Бањој Луци (Institute of History, Banja Luka)-Међуопштински историски архив у Ваљеву (Intercommunity Historical Archives, Valjevo)-Историјски архив у Чачку (Historical Archives, Chachak), Лакташи (Laktashi) 2002: 178 note 6), but we are using the latest one: Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). “Дипломатичко-правните споменици за историјата на Полог и соседните краевии во XIV век” (*“Diplomatic-legal monuments for history of Polog and neighboring territories in the 14th century”*). Споменици III (*Monuments, Vol. III*), Skopje: Архив на Македонија (Publisher: Les Archives de Macédoine), 1980: 283-299. Also see “*Actes de Chilandar*”. Deuxieme partie. Actes Slaves. Ed. Basile Korablev. Petersburg: Tipografija A. Smolinskogo, 1915: 483-489.

4. The Monastery is in the village of Htetovo, today's town of Tetovo. The continuity of the village of Htetovo according to the written sources could be followed from the beginning of the 13th century, see Protocols – Synodal acts of Ohrid Archbishopric church court under Demetrious Chomatianos, in *Demetrii Chomateni, Ponemata Diaphora*. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XXXVIII, Series Berolinensis, Ediderunt H.-G.Beck, A.Kambylis, R.Keydell. Recensuit Günter Prinzing, Berolini et Novi Eboraci MMII (2002): 316, 10-11. In the 14th century Htetovo's church dignitaries were considered to be among the most renowned in the newly expanded Serbian medieval state, and Htetovo grew into a respectable settlement, see: Kravari, Vassiliki. “*Villes et villages de Macédoine occidentale*”, Paris : P.Lethielleux, 1989: 190; Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). “Полог (Polog)...”: 131, 311 note 12; Томоски, Томо (Tomoski, Tomo). “Средновековен Полог” (*“Medieval Polog”*). Историја (journal History) XII/1-2, Skopje: Сојуз на друштвата на историчари на Македонија (Publisher: Association of societies of Historians in Macedonia), 1976: 75.



The Brebion also mentions 15 villages and two smaller settlements, which, some fully and others partially, were owned by the Htetovo Monastery.

Furthermore, the Brebion contains information about rich and influential noblemen who lived in Polog. For some of them, except for their names, secular and spiritual functions, no other information is provided in the Brebion. However, Brebion kept modest, even though unique and important data about such people, undoubtedly local feudal landlords. Among them very valuable information is provided about a local feudal landlord called Progon, regarding the problems that the Prizren bishop George (Georgi) Markush caused him. Reviewing the events that happened in Polog could give an insight into the intertwined legal system which was applied at that time.

Exclusive data can be found in the Nomic's Charter which is nowadays part of the Land Inventory-Brebion (article 46).

The Nomic's Charter reads that on 4 November some local noblemen and people gathered at Htetovo's Monastery (some of the names and titles of the noblemen follow). They all were asked by the Bishop of Prizren, George Markush to swear to tell the truth. Also some elders were invited to join them and they all went to the disputed piece of land, which was actually a hill, called Plesh⁵. There, on the hill of Plesh, they should have found, according to a testimony, who the disputed land belonged to: to the Progon or to the church. The elders, listed by names in the source: Pribislav, Bratina and Stanko, said that the estate "belonged to the church from ancient times". They also said that "at the beginning the land was owned by four brothers, but two of them secretly sold half of it to Progon for the price of three buckets of wine". Then the nobleman Kir Aleksa said: "when my bother bishop Vlach, was the archimandrite at Htetovo, at that time I was a child and I knew well that Plesh was not in Progon's possession. Progon planted barley on Plesh, but my brother, bishop Vlach, ordered for the whole cattle from the village to be taken to the hill and they grazed it". After these words, the Nomics' Charter states the witnesses. Then follow the words of the Bishop of Prizren at the time, George Markush, who said he intended to buy every property and to restore the church possessions because he considered himself to be "the real master of the local church estate". Then a sanction is imposed requiring a payment of a fine of five hundred perpers to the royal treasury by all those who were to violate the will of the bishop of Prizren. At the end of the Nomic's Charter reads: "written and signed by priest Nicholas inomic"⁶.

5. Nowadays, there is not a fact in the local toponymy which could help for Plesh to be located. But, according to the poor original description, this hill was situated very close to the village Htetovo.

6. The integral source text follows: "Мѣсеца ноября .4. днь събраше се вѣстеле и хора къ матери боини оу Хтетовоу, севасть Пасарель, киръ Калиникъ, Макарие, Калоганъ, Пар'до и брат' моу' Феодоръ и Феодоръ вѣдъ Лѣскованъ и Геурги Соулима, и киръ Алеѣда, братъ Влахо кивиконъ, и ниинъ пробиъ воляре и хора. И закле ихъ кивиконъ призрѣнски Геурги Маркоушъ все старце и вѣстеле, и идоще на Пѣшъ на вѣдо, да изидоутъ по свѣдоу' вѣ' Бия къ Пѣшъ, ниинъ кетъ црквины ниинъ Прогонъ. И закле кивиконъ и киръ Калиникъ: кто знаещо право та не хже рече, да кетъ проклетъ. И ребе старецъ Призклавъ, Маркоушенъ Ылоѣкъ, и Братина и Стан'коуши црквины кетъ Пѣшъ вѣтъка, и дръкали соу' црквиноу' стасъ .4. братина, и оутрадоства се два врата и продадоше Прогонъ половеику Пѣшъа за 4. вѣдра вина. И ребе киръ Алеѣда: каѣда вѣшше мои братъ Влахо кивиконъ оу' Хтетовѣ архимандрите, тога вѣхъ та оу' манастири дѣтетель и дѣрѣи знамъ крѣ не метехаше Прогонъ съ Пѣшъиамъ,



This source has so far raised scientific interest with a very small group of researchers who only partially treat the authentic information, or more precisely only as a part of their subject of interest. The historiography has not given a final answer to numerous questions which originated from the authentic sources. Moreover, the issues that are dealt with further in this article were not put in the suitable historical context. This has provoked my scientific interest towards the 3 (three) main points which I am going to refer to in this research: (1.) First: the Source itself -its origins/genesis and dating; (2.) Second: Content and context of the events: Legal System; (3.) Third: The issue of defining the time of the events. Offering answers I hope I will give contribution to answering these open questions in historiography.

1. The Source itself - its origin/genesis and dating

The Source is preserved as a copy of Nomic's Charter⁷ in the Land Inventory (article 46) of church properties of the largest landowner in Polog, the Monastery of Bogorodica Htetovska (Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Htetovo). The Land Inventory-Brebion, in original called Brevno⁸, nowadays is kept at the famous Chilandar Monastery at Mount Athos under No. 95, with a topographic signature A1/18.

There are some arguments in modern historiography about the dating of the Land Inventory-Brebion. Namely, this Source itself is not dated. However, most of the theses in modern historiography are that the Land Inventory-Brebion's genesis and occurred date from about 1343 and its dating is linked to king's Stephen Doushan

паче вѣ посѣдѣхъ. Прогонъ кчмень, и рече вратъ ми Влахоу книскѣи и сѣбрахоу говеда всего села и попасоше га" followed by the witnesses, and the text continues with the words of the bishop who also intended to buy every other property "втыкоутии хуао, где нахоуто цркыню мѣсто, понеже кель соуци господарь и втыкоутихъ. Да кто хъ не сие потворити да плати господиу кралоу Фѣ перперъ. Попъ Никола иномик писа и подписа", see Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 289-292. Also see *"Actes de Chilandar"*, II...: 486.

7. Nomics are in fact the people who actually wrote documents and sometimes acted as public notaries. See Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "Српски номинци" (*"Serbian Nomics"*). Belgrade: Византолошки институт, САНУ (Publisher: Institute d'études Byzantines, S.A.N.U.), 2004: 111-114, who accepts the position of Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 143-144 note 18, 292 note 30, that the recorder of the deed, priest Nicholas Inomic apart from being a priest, he also acted as a public notary in the Htetovo region.

8. The scientifically accepted name Brevno (Брѣвно матере Божихъ вѣтѣвскихъ), according to the latest researches by Gjorgje Bubalo, should be changed into Vrevio, see Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "О називу..." (*"Sur l'appellation..."*): 180-181. The name of this act derives from the Greek word "βρεβιον" (Lat. breve; Old Slavonic-Serbian variant: vrvavie, see "Грчке повеље српских владара" (*"Greek Documents of the Serbian rulers"*). Издање текстова, превод и коментар од Соловјев, Александар (Solovyev, Aleksandar)-Мошин, Владимир (Moshin Vladimir), Belgrade: Зборник за језик, историју и књижевност српског народа (Publisher: Zbornik za jezik, istoriju i knjizhevnost srpskog naroda), 1936: 414), according to which it is a document that gives the owner certain rights and privileges (see Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 158-159, 278), providing an inventory of the monastery properties (see The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Alexander Kazhdan et alii ed. New York: Oxford University Press 1991, Vol. I, s.v. brebion (Alexander Kazhdan). Also see Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "О називу..." (*"Sur l'appellation..."*): 177).



Charter given to the Polog Monastery of Bogorodica Htetovska (Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Htetovo), well known as the Htetovo's Charter.

On Brevno's dating there are several scientific views. A. Selishchev, based on data on the Brevno according to which some of the gifts to the Monastery were given by the very "dignitary, the king" (Stephen Doushan), concludes that it was produced several years after the issuance of Htetovo's Charter⁹. R. Grujic believes that this document was produced during the time of king Stephen Doushan based on older documents from the Byzantine and Serbian times and it was used as the basis for issuing the Htetovo's Charter, which is dated in 1337-1346¹⁰. A. Solovjev, discussing the Konche (Konče) Praktik¹¹ (Inventory of households in theborough of Konche-eastern Macedonia) also points out the wrong entering of the Brevno in the old catalogue of the Chilandar archive as "Запис господина Оливера за црковъ Богородице Хтетовске" (Entry by Master Oliver for the Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Htetovo), which would mean that the Brevno chronologically should be placed in the middle of the 14th century¹². L. Slaveva, accepting the opinion of R. Grujic, specifies that the Brevno was produced in 1343¹³. Still these views of hers are insufficiently supported. These hypotheses of hers relied only on the information about two fields and half of the Village of Sedlarevo from the Brevno, which in Htetovo's Charter are repeated in a more precise form¹⁴. On the other hand, M. Jankovic believes that the Brevno was produced in 1346, based on the data he found in Htetovo's Charter, supporting his premise with more comprehensive information about four cases from the Brevno regarding the pointed out Htetovo's Charter¹⁵. The last one who looked into this problem is Gj. Bubalo. Based on the data comparisons on the Monastery's properties offered in Articles 21 and 32 of the Brevno and Article 5 of Htetovo's Charter, as well as the functions of the officials mention in the Brevno (the Bishop of Prizren George Markush and a certain Bishop Vlacho), Gj. Bubalo concluded that the Brevno was

9. Селищев М., Афанасий (Selishchev M., Afanasiy). "Полог (Polog)..." : 94.

10. Грујић М, Радослав (Grujich M., Radoslav). "Полошко-тетовска епархија..." ("Polog's-Tetovo diocese..."): 46.

11. Praktik means an Inventory of households (see Лексикон српског средњег века, приредили (Lexicon of Serbian Middle Ages), С. Ћирковић и Р. Михаљчић (Sima Ćirković and Rade Mihaljčić) eds., Belgrade: Knowledge, 1999, s.v. Практик (Максимовић, Љубомир) (Praktik (Maksimovich, Ljubomir)): 572-573) and it is not the same as a Brevno (see Синдик, Душан (Sindik, Doushan). "Српска средњовековна акта у манастиру Хиландару" ("Serbian medieval monuments in monastery Chilandar"). Хиландарски зборник 10. (Recueil de Chilandar, 10), Belgrade: С.А.Н.У. (Publisher: S.A.N.U.), 1998: 90, who Brevno incorrectly calls it Praktik).

12. Соловјев, Александар (Solovyev, Aleksandar). "Кончански практик" ("Konche Inventory of households"). Зборник радова византолошког института, књ. 3 (Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études Byzantines, 3), Belgrade: Византолошки институт САНУ (Publisher: Institute d'études Byzantines, S.A.N.U.), 1955: 84 note 1. This dating would have been offered if the abovementioned Oliver is the same person as the renowned Jovan Oliver, the most prominent Doushan's nobleman.

13. Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)..." : 159, 277.

14. Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)..." : 159.

15. Јанковић, Милица (Jankovich, Milica). "Епископије..." ("Episcopates..."): 145-146.



produced before the Htetovo's Charter in the period between November 1342 and the middle of 1343¹⁶.

In this sense, the main arguments regarding the time link between the Land Inventory-Brebion and the Htetovo's Charter are the tremendous similarities in the content of these two sources. Unfortunately, Htetovo's Charter is also not dated¹⁷. However, this Charter contains information according to which, it seems, it is possible to establish it. Namely, according to the words used in Charter's prooimia (arenga), "finding Htetovo's Monastery ruined, king Stephen Doushan along with his son, young king Ourosh, became the new ktitor (founder) of the Monastery"¹⁸. Precisely this piece of information about Doushan's title and his son's title are very helpful to us. In this sense, on one hand *terminus ante quem* is Doushan's coronation as Emperor in Skopje, Macedonia, on 16 April 1346 and on the other hand *terminus post quem* is the birth of Ourosh in the year of 6845 (the Byzantine year that matches the period between 31 August 1336 and 1 September 1337) when the title "young king", meaning crown prince, was given to him¹⁹.

Having in mind this time framework (1336/37-1346), L. Slaveva determines the date of this deed to be sometime around 1343. She came up with this hypothesis, as she states, after starting with the assumption that the Brevno was produced in 1343 (without offering any arguments how she decided on this date), just before the above mentioned Charter. L. Slaveva also uses as basis the information contained

16. Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "О називу..." ("Sur l'appellation..."): 183-193; Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "Влахо епископ или Влахоепископ" ("Bishop Vlaho or Vlahoepiskop"). Зборник радова византолошког института 39 (*Recueil des travaux de l'Institute d'études Byzantines*, 39), Belgrade: Византолошки институт САНУ (Publisher: Institute d'études Byzantines, S.A.N.U.), 2001/2002: 211, 219.

17. We do not have the original of the Deed but a copy made at Chilandar, probably after the Htetovo's Monastery was passed on under the authority of the Aton Monastery in 1347-1348 (Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 301, 302). There are several publications of this Charter, and we use: Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 306-322; "*Actes de Chilandar*", II...: 461-468; Новаковић, Стојан (Novakovich, Stoyan). "Законски споменици српских владара средњег века" ("*Legal monuments of Serbian rulers in the Middle Ages*"). Belgrade: Српска Краљевска Академија (Publisher: Serbian King's Academy), 1912: 657-661. A specialised analysis in the field of the diplomatics and sphragistic analyses of the Charter was done by Корач, Душко (Korach, Dushko). "Повеља краља Стефана Душана манастиру Свете Богородице у Тетову. Прилог српској дипломатици и сфрагистици" ("King Stefan Dušan's Charter for the monastery of the Holy Virgin in Tetovo. A Contribution on Serbian Diplomats and Sigillography"), Belgrade: Византолошки институт САНУ (Publisher: Institute d'études Byzantines, S.A.N.U.), 1984: 141-163.

18. Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 310-311; "*Actes de Chilandar*", II...: 464; Новаковић, Стојан (Novakovich, Stoyan). "Законски споменици..." ("*Legal monuments...*"): 657.

19. Originally confirmed in the Koporin, Pec and Belo Polje's annals, see Стојановић, Љубомир (Stojanovich, Ljubomir). "Стари српски родослови и летописи" ("Serbian ancient genealogies and annals"). Belgrade-Sremski Karlovci: Српска Краљевска Академија (Publisher: Serbian King's Academy), 1927: 82, 202. The mentioning of Ourosh with the title of a "young king", in addition to the above stated Charter is also present in Doushan's Charter for the Monastery of St. Bogorodica Perivlepta (Virgin Peribleptos) in Ohrid from 1342-1345, see Новаковић, Стојан (Novakovich, Stoyan). "Законски споменици..." ("*Legal monuments...*"): 672-674. According to Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya)-Мошин, Владимир (Moshin, Vladimir). "Српски грамоти од Душаново време" ("Les Diplomes Serbes de la period de Doushan"). Prilep: Институт за старословенска култура (Publisher: Institute for Old Slavic Culture), 1988: 123-124; the Charter is from 1345.



in the further text of the Charter on incorporating Polog within the “Serbian land”, as well as the realistic possibility of Doushan’s stay in the area²⁰. Hence, L. Slaveva overlooks another information contained in the Charter, which is very important for its dating²¹.

Namely, in the Charter there is information which seems crucial for its more precise dating. It is about Stephen Doushan’s signature, according to which he is “Stephen, Faithful to Lord Christa king of all Serbian, Maritime and Greek Lands”²². Bearing in mind Doushan’s intitulations, until the spring of 1343, he was only a king and a king of all Serbian and Maritime Lands. And starting from the autumn of 1345, namely after conquering Serres (24 September 1345) —a town in south-eastern Macedonia, he proclaimed himself the Emperor, thus adding to his signature “Master of almost the entire Empire of Romania (Byzantium)”. (A letter that dates before 15 October 1345; and also in a Charter from the autumn of 1345 granted to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, in the vicinity of Serres, where Doushan’s signature is the King of Serbia and Romania (Byzantium)²³. Looking into Doushan’s intitulations during the year of 1343, at the end of March, for the first time Doushan was no longer only the king of the Serbian and Maritime lands—he was also “chasnik Grkom”, which means honorific among the Byzantines or associate (participant) in the Empire²⁴. During the period between the spring and the autumn of 1343 there were fluctuations in his intitulation, but after that his signature regularly contain phrases as associate (participant) and/or king of Greek

20. Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). “Полог (Polog)...”: 159, 172, 277.

21. Кораћ, Душко (Korach, Dushko). “Повеља краља Стефана Душана...” (“King Stefan Dušan’s Charter...”): 156-157.

22. This Doushan’s signature can be seen on the photographs taken by V. Moshin and was first published in Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya)-Мошин, Владимир (Moshin, Vladimir). “Српски грамоти...” (“Les Diplomes Serbes...”): 99. See Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). “Полог (Polog)...”: 322. The same signature is also offered by Кораћ, Душко (Korach, Dushko). “Повеља краља Стефана Душана...” (“King Stefan Dušan’s Charter...”): 157, based on the records that are kept in the documentation collected for the Serbian diplomatics Archives (srpski diplomatar) at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The signature presented by S. Novakovich (Новаковић, Стојан. “Законски споменици...” (“Legal monuments...”): 661) and B. Korablev (“*Actes de Chilandar*”, II...: 488) contains only “**Стефанъ въ христа бога благоверни краљъ**”.

23. On these intitulations of Doushan compare with: Соловјев, Александар (Solovyev, Aleksandar). “Историја словенских права” (“History of the Slavic Law”). Законодавство Стефана Душана цара Срба и Грка (*Emperor Stephen Doushan’s Law*). Belgrade: Класици југословенског права 12. Службени лист СРЈ (Publisher: Sluzhbeni List SRJ), 1996: 381; “Историја српског народа” (“History of Serbian people”)...: 523, 526. Stephen Doushan is also referred to as “the King and Autocrat of whole Serbia and the Maritime and Romaiorum (Romaioi)” in a Greek inscription on the western wall of the gallery of the church of St. Gjorgji in the Kavadarci’s village of Poloshko. More can be found on this in the works of Грозданов, Цветан (Grozdanov, Cvetan)-Ћорнаков, Д. (Chornakov, D.). “Историјски портрети у Полошко (I)” (“Historical portraits at Pološko (I)”). Зораф (*Zograf*) 14 (1983): 62, 63, who based on this intitulation of Doushan date those portraits in the period between the middle of 1343 and the end of 1345.

24. Ćirković, Sima (Chirkovich, Sima). “Between Kingdom and Empire: Dušan’s state 1346-1355 Reconsidered”. *Bυζαντιοι και Σερβια κατά τον ΙΔ΄ αιώνα (Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th Century)*, Eutychia Papadopoulou, Dóra Komīni-Dialēti, eds. Athens: Institute of Historical Research-Section of Byzantine Research, 1996: 117, 118 note 22. About this formulae (Latin: *particeps Romaniae*) used in Doushan’s intitulation see also Subotić 1981, 114-119.



about the presence of Stephen Doushan in Polog in the stated period, these original excursions show significant probability that the Serbian sovereign visited Polog personally at the time that coincides with the date when the Charter was issued. On the other hand this leads us to the conclusion that Doushan issued the Htetovo's Charter in Polog, and not at some other location in the spacious medieval Serbian state.

The question is whether in this year (1343) it was possible for Doushan to have been in Polog bearing in mind his state duties. According to the itinerary of Stephen Doushan his presence was registered in Prizren in May of 1343 where he started with the preparations for the construction of his foundation (Monastery of the Holy Archangels near Prizren) and on 19 May the same year he issued a Charter for the elder Grigorij²⁹. In October 1343 Stephen Doushan in Debreshte near Prilep signed the Charter for Ss. Peter and Paul on Lim³⁰. It is possible that in the period between May and October 1343 during his military campaign on its way from Prizren and/or to Debreshte, near Prilep, king Doushan to have passed through Polog and to have stayed sufficiently long to issue the Htetovo's Charter³¹.

Comparative content analysis of these two sources: the Land Inventory-Brebion and the Htetovo's Charter, show their obvious close time of occurrence. Thus, some scholars in their papers that are relevant for this issue, state that Brebion was created before Htetovo's Charter and other scholars state that Brebion occurred after Htetovo's Charter, but in both cases definitely at a time close to the issuance of the Doushan's Charter.

According to my observations, given the inconclusive attempts in historiography for precise dating of the source made in the absence of concrete information, the exact dating of Brebion so far remains insoluble enigma. Namely, it is quite possible for this source to have occurred before Htetovo's Charter and used as a template for the Charter. On the other hand, it is unlikely that Brebion was produced based on Doushan's Charter and created after its issuance.

(Polog)...": 308, 310-311; "*Actes de Chilandar*", II...: 463, 464; Новаковић, Стојан (Novakovich, Stoyan). "Законски споменици..." ("Legal monuments..."): 657.

29. Новаковић, Стојан (Novakovich, Stoyan). "Законски споменици..." ("Legal monuments..."): 412-413.

30. The latest publication of this charter (Previously it was published three times) with its diplomatics analysis as well as prosopographic and topographic information was done by Вујошевић, Жарко (Vuyoshevich, Zharko). "Хрисовуља краља Стефана Душана манастиру Св. Петра и Павла на Лиму" ("Chrysobulle du roi Stefan Dušan au monastère Saint-Pierre-et-Paul sur li Lim"). Стари Српски Архив, књига 3 (*Anciennes Archives Serbes, Livre 3*), publ. Филозофски факултет у Београду (Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade)-Филозофски факултет у Бањој Луци (Faculty of Philosophy, Banja Luka)-Филозофски факултет у Српском Сарајеву (Faculty of Philosophy, Serbian Sarajevo)-Историјски институт у Бањој Луци (Institute of History, Banja Luka)-Међуопштински историсјки архив у Ваљеву (Intercommunity Historical Archives, Valjevo)-Историјски архив у Чачку (Historical Archives, Chachak), Лакташи (Laktaši) 2004: 45-69 (pp. 47-50 - the text of the Charter; pp. 51-53 - translation of the Charter).

31. This was also realised by Кораћ, Душко (Korach, Dushko). "Повеља краља Стефана Душана..." ("King Stefan Dušan's Charter..."): 159 note 99. Analysing the Arenga of Doushan's Charter for the Monastery of Ss. Peter and Paul in Lim, Вујошевић, Жарко (Vuyoshevich, Zharko). "Хрисовуља..." ("Chrysobulle..."): 61, points out that in it there were allusion to the Serbian conquests in Albania and Southern Macedonia in the course of 1343.



In that sense the dating of the Land Inventory-Brebion is to (or should) be considered around 1343-1345 or even more broadly, in the first half of the 1340s. Bearing this in mind, the fundamental source for my research – the Nomic's Charter occurred³² sometime before Brebion's issuance.

2. Content and Context of the events: Legal System

Analysis of the source information contained in Article 46 of Brebion suggest that they reflect a synthesis of several events related to the land dispute between the Church and Htetovo's local feudal landlord Progon. In addition, I will make an attempt to present the intertwined Legal System which was practiced in Polog, as well as to reconstruct the events pointing to their chronological order.

The intervention of Bishop of Prizren, George Markush³³ to resolve the land dispute, clearly indicates that church officials of Htetovo archimandry complained to

32. Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "Влахо епископ..." ("Bishop Vlaho..."): 217-219, setting off from his conclusion that Bishop Vlaho, who was mentioned in Article 46 of the Brebion (as well as in Doushan's Second and Third Treskavec Charter, see: Мошин, Владимир (Moshin, Vladimir)-Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Грамотите на Стефан Душан за манастирот Трескавец" ("Diplômes de Etien Dušan pour monastère Treskavec"). Скопје: Архив на Македонија (Publisher: Les Archives de Macédoine), 1981: 85-55-185; Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya)-Мошин, Владимир (Moshin, Vladimir). "Српски грамоти..." ("Les Diplomes Serbes..."): 107-120. Also see: Ациевски, Коста (Adzievski, Kosta). "Пелагонија во средниот век (од доаѓањето на словените до паѓањето под турска власт)" ("Pelagonia im Mittelalter (seit dem kommen der Slaven bis zum fall unter Türkischer herrschaft)"). Скопје: Институт за национална историја (Publisher: bl. Institute of National History), 1994: 186-189; Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "За ново критичко издание трескавачких хрисовуља краља Душана" ("Pour une nouvelle édition critique des chrisobulles du roi Dušan destinées au monastère de Treskavac"). Belgrade: Филозофски факултет у Београду (Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade)-Филозофски факултет у Бањој Луци (Faculty of Philosophy, Banja Luka)-Филозофски факултет у Српском Сарајеву (Faculty of Philosophy, Serbian Sarajevo)-Историјски институт у Бањој Луци (Institute of History, Banja Luka)-Историјски архив у Чачку (Historical Archives, Chachak), 2008: 207-228; Милановић, В (Milanovich, Vesna). "Светачки лик у контексту: један нерасветљени пример из ексонартекса цркве у манастиру Трескавац" ("The Saint's image in context: a neglected example from the Exonarthex of the Treskavac monastery church"). Belgrade: Византолошки институт САНУ, књ. 42/1 (Publisher: Institute for Byzantine studies S.A.N.U), 2012: 461), is as a matter of fact identical to the later unnamed Valach bishop (Vlahoepiskop, according to Bubalo) in the region of the Baba Mountain who took over the Valach Bishopric after the Serbian conquest of Florina in the period between the spring of 1342 and 1343. Gj. Bubalo concludes that on the given date of 4 November in the Brebion's Article 46 could refer only to 1342. Compare also Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "Српски номици" ("Serbian Nomics")...: 248-249, where the Charter is dated as 1342, November 4, Htetovo.

33. According to the clarifications and the analysis of the lexemes "Георѓиј Маркуш" done by Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "Епископ призренски Георѓије (О "презименима" средњовековних архиереја)" ("Prizren bishop Georgi (About "surnames" of medieval prelates)"). Историјски часопис књ. XLVIII (*Historical Review*, 48 (2002): 45-48, those were two persons: the Bishop of Prizren George and the local nobleman (landowner A/N.) Markush. But this statement is unacceptable for reasons that before the name of Markush there is nothing that would show that he was a secular dignitary. Namely in case he was a respectable secular dignitary, it would have been stated undoubtedly, because all the summoned elders and noblemen (все старце и влаетеле) sworn before him, and in the text further down the latter are always accompanied by master (мѣ) or their titles.



him that Plesh -located at the nearby Htetovo's hill, was usurped by the local feudal landlord, Progon³⁴. Shortly after the Bishop of Prizren personally came to Polog, which was under his jurisdiction, he convened a court consisting of noblemen, commoners and eminent personalities. They were all sworn and went to Plesh to hear expert evidence. According to the testimony of three of the elders (Pribislav, Bratina and Stanko), Plesh was church property from ancient times, but allegedly the church had given Plesh to 4 brothers to cultivate it under certain conditions. However, two of them without consulting the others, secretly sold half of Plesh to Progon. In the words of the nobleman Aleksa, brother of Bishop Vlach³⁵, the local feudal landlord Progon, immediately after the purchase sown Plesh with barley in order to show he owned that part of Plesh. However, this act did not remain unnoticed and unpunished. Namely, bishop Vlach, those days archimandrite of Htetovo's Monastery, took prompt and vigorous action against Progon. He ordered for all the village cattle to be gathered and released on the usurped property in order to destroy the crop. And it was done.

The authentic data give an insight which proves that the newly introduced Serbian legal system in Polog was not immune to the local legal customs and the Byzantine legal tradition. With that, naturally, they were partially accepted and incorporated into the Serbian legal system.

Namely, in resolving the land dispute between the Church and the landlord Progon a specific form of a local court was established, so called court assembly which consisted of the representatives from the local noblemen and commoners (СЪБРАШЕ СЕ ВЛАСТЕЛ/БОГАРЕ И ХОРА). The method which was applied in this case gives an example of how the Byzantine legal tradition in the Serbian newly conquered territories was respected. The Byzantine village communities in the 13th and 14th century had preserved a significant legal independence so the land disputes under the power of the courts consisting of local population, the same method that was

34. This position is also taken by Gjorgje Bubalo (Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "Влахо епископ..." ("Bishop Vlaho...": 197; Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "Српски номици" ("Serbian Nomics")...: 114) who for Progon says that was a small local landlord. Unlike him, Филипоски, Тони (Filiposki, Toni). "Неколку податоци за присуство на номади и благородници од албанско потекло во Македонија во XIV век" ("A few data concerning presence of nomads and noble men of Albanian origin in Macedonia in the 14th Century"). Гласник на Институтот за национална историја, (Buletin of Institute of National History), 47/1-2 (2003): 179 note 9, points out that it is unknown whether Progon, apart from the lost property of Plesh, owned some other property in the surroundings. Still the original facts that Progon in the course of a number of years successfully opposed the very powerful at the time church dignitaries implies that he was a powerful local nobleman.

35. Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "Влахо епископ..." ("Bishop Vlaho...": 197-198, 207 in an attempt to prove that it was not Bishop Vlaho but a Vlahoepiskop-Valach Bishop he points out that during the evidentiary proceeding about the disputed property of Plesh the brother of the abovementioned bishop was present (ЊУ АЛЕКСА БРАТЪ ВЛАХОЕПИСКОПЪ), that on one hand shows that the Vlahoepiskop-Valach bishop was an active archpriest at the time when the Bishop of Prizren George presided with this court proceeding. According to Gj. Bubalo the very phrase "ВЛАХОЕПИСКОПЪ" points out that it was one word that was a possessive pronoun.



used resolving the dispute about Plesh in Polog³⁶. If the Serbian legal system was applied in resolving this dispute then the royal court would have been engaged, as the most competent organ in resolving the land disputes, including the ones concerning the Church.

Furthermore, the authentic information point out that besides local noblemen and commoners the so called "elders" were included³⁷. Detecting the elders in the dispute (все старце) and referring the claim of one of them as a relevant evidence material in the procedure (реце старецъ Призиславъ... црьковни ксть Пльшъ), proves the medieval Serbia gave a significant importance to this institute. The institution so called "elders" was a forum of honest and reliable people who under an oath gave their statement about arguable facts, in which way they confirmed that certain facts were relevant for the trail. They were usually engaged in civil lawsuits, especially when confirming boundaries and land ownership. Their statement was usually combined with the terrain collected evidence.

Apart from the presence of the Byzantine legal tradition and segments of Serbian legal system, according to the last regulations from the original excursus it is vivid that first one no coded valid legal regulation was activated in Polog. Namely, after Progon bought the Plesh estate, he has sowed it with barley, but the legal local church representative Vlaho, including Plesh estate, ordered the village cattle to be gathered and crops to be destroyed (бѣ посѣиахъ Прогонъ кчмень... събрахоу говеда всего села и поискоше га). Analyzing this activity it could be seen that this dispute was resolved by applying the common law in a situation of unauthorized seizing other's land³⁸, as the Church had presented it.

Nonetheless, the intervention by Bishop of Prizren, George Markush to prove church ownership of Plesh, suggests that the actual master of half of Plesh at the time of this bishop's act, was still Progon. On the other hand, if these data are compared to the information reported by nobleman Kir Aleksa, it is not difficult to see that Progon benefited from Plesh for few decades or at least two. Thus, the nobleman Aleksa mentioned that the first usurpation of half of Plesh made by Progon had happened when he was a child, meaning that from that time to the time of those events, undoubtedly few decades had passed, namely, he was no longer a child, but a respected figure.

36. Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 292-293 note 31. About Byzantine village communities, Byzantine agrarian system and economy see: Каждан П., Александр. (Kazhdan P., Aleksandr). "Аграрные отношения в Византии XIII-XIV вв." ("The Agricultural relations in Byzantium XIII-XIV century"). Moscow: Издательство Академии наук СССР (Publisher: Izdatelstvo Akademii nauk SSSR), 1952: 89; Laiou E., Angeliki. "The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Century", *The Economic History of Byzantium, From Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Angelike E. Laiou, ed. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Studies (vol. 39), 2002: I, 317-319, 326-329.

37. About institute "elders" in medieval Serbian law practice see Тарановски, Теодор (Taranovski, Teodor). "Историја српског права у Немањинској држави" ("The History of Serbian law during the reign of Nemanjiqs"). Belgrade: Службени лист СРЈ (Publisher: Sluzhbeni List SRJ), 1996: 760-764. Also see Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 290-291 note 23.

38. About Common law see Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 292 note 27. Also see Тарановски, Теодор (Taranovski, Teodor). "Историја српског права..." ("The History of Serbian law...": 741.



Aleksa's words also show that the first attempt of the church undertaken by Htetovo's archimandrite, at that time Vlacho, did not have lasting results. Archimandrite Vlacho failed to put an end to the usurpation by Progon and to resolve the problem in favour of the church. Most likely soon afterwards the local feudal landlord Progon, at a time unknown to us managed to re-establish the ownership over that half of Plesh. Church officials, thus, were powerless to oppose him effectively.

Progon benefited from Plesh in the coming years, until the above mentioned personal intervention by Bishop George Markush. This Bishop of Prizren succeeded in his intention after which the disputed land was returned to the church. The information contained in the Land Inventory-Brebion for Plesh as a church property, gives me the right to believe that it was not only a short episode, as had happened previously. Surely, this action by George Markush was a success.

Before moving to the third point of this paper —that is defining the time of the events, the question that can be raised is: How frequent were the incidents of usurping church properties in Polog? Namely, whether it was an isolated, occasional or frequent incident!

It seems that an answer to this can be found in the Charter of King Stephen Dechanski, the successor of King Miloutin, granted to the Bishopric of Prizren in 1326³⁹. Article 12 of this Charter refers to incidents that had happened at the time of King Miloutin. That can be seen explicitly from the information according to which when King Stephen Dechanski granted three fields to the village church in Trebosh (Trebosh is a village in region of Polog, nearby Htetovo)⁴⁰, he said that fields had previously been taken by the Polog's people. However, his father, together with bishops Damjan and Ilija, took the fields from Zhegr, and they set his houses to fire. Article 13 of this Charter testifies that even in the time of King Stephen Dechanski the situation was resolved in its entirety. Stephen Dechanski activated the royal court⁴¹ and sent his royal representatives (Despot Dragoslav and Bishop Arsenij)

39. The latest publication of this charter with its diplomatics analysis as well as prosopographic and topographic information was done by Мишић, Сениша (Mishich, Sinisha). "Хрисовула краља Стефана Уроша III Призренској епископији" (*Chrysobulle du roi Stefan Uroš III à l'évêché de Prizren*). Стари Српски Архив, књига 8 (*Anciennes Archives Serbes, Livre 8*), Belgrade: Филозофски факултет у Београду (Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade)-Филозофски факултет у Бањој Луци- (Faculty of Philosophy, Banja Luka)-Филозофски факултет у Српском Сарајеву (Faculty of Philosophy, Serbian Sarajevo)-Историјски институт у Бањој Луци (Institute of History, Banja Luka)-Историјски архив у Чачку (Historical Archives, Chachak), 2009: 11-36 (pp. 12-19 the text of the Charter; pp. 19-24-translation of the Charter).

40. The village has been referred to by: Kravari, Vassiliki. "Villes et villages...": 224-225; Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 136, 270-271; Трифуноски Јован (Trifunoski, Jovan). "Полог..." ("Polog..."): 5; Николић, М. (Nikolich, M.). "Властелинство Свете Богородице на Љевиши" ("Le domaine de la Sainte Verge sur la Ljeviša"), Историјски часопис (*Historical Review*), 23 (1976): 45.

41. Благојевић, Милош (Blagojevich, Milosh). "Државна управа у српским средњовековним земљама" (*Administration in Serbian medieval Lands*). Belgrade: Службени лист CPJ (Publisher: Sluzhbeni List SRJ), 2001: 227.



personally to the area. In the Charter, with this confirmation by Stephen Dechanski about the fields, the king reinstated the situation "as (it was) before"⁴².

When analysing this information one can see that they reflect a synthesis of several events that happened at the time of Serbian King Miloutin. Firstly, the intervention of King Miloutin indicates that the fields were in possession of Trebosh's church before the dispute. Exactly when the church's fields were usurped by the local feudal landlord Zhegr, cannot be established.

However, the mentioning of the names of the Prizren bishops may offer a time frame for the events and even their chronological order. Thus, for Damjan it is known that he was Bishop of Prizren from 1299⁴³, and the last mentioning of him is in the inscription of east side of the Episcopal church of Church of the Holy Virgin of Ljeviše (Bogorodica Ljeviška) from 1306-1307⁴⁴. On the other hand, Ilija was bishop for a very short time from 1306/07 until 1309, because in 1309 Sava became the new Bishop of Prizren⁴⁵.

Consequently, it is evident that the three fields were in possession of the Trebosh's church before 1299, and their usurping happened in the period between 1299 and 1306/07. The mentioning of the names of two bishops suggests that the king, undoubtedly after the complaints by the bishops, was compelled to get involved in two occasions: the first time during the time of Bishop Damjan and the second time during the time of Bishop Ilija. But the bishops apparently were unable to resolve the problem even with the royal support of the court. Thereby, the fields remained in the possession of the local feudal landlord Zhegr. For this reason, after they failed to get results, the king took vigorous measures and personally intervened in the period between 1306/07 and 1309. As expected the local feudal landlord Zhegr was pointed out as the party guilty of usurping unlawfully the fields, and the king—as mentioned in the source—consequently set his houses to fire⁴⁶. Apart from this, the dispute was finally resolved in the advantage of the Church during the reign of Stephen Dechanski. With the personal engagement of the king who sent two representatives on the spot, the situation was proclaimed "as (it was) before".

42. "И оуземъ кооу были полехъ, и издъшаъ к родителъ краиства ми съ епископомъ Дамјаномъ и съ епископомъ Илѣмъ, и вѣкъ вѣтъ егда, коуше моу попили" (article 12), ... "како к вѣтъ испрѣва было" (article 13), see: Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 271-272; Новаковић, Стојан (Novakovich, Stoyan). "Законски споменици..." ("Legal monuments..."): 640; Мишић, Синиша (Mishich, Sinisha). "Хрисовуља..." ("Chrysobulle..."): 16-17, 22.

43. "Actes de Chilandar", II...: 463, 396. Also see Ненадовић, Слободан (Nenadovich, Slobodan). "Богородица Љевишка" ("Holy Virgin of Ljeviše"). Belgrade: Народна књига (Publisher: Narodna knjiga), 1963: 181, 183.

44. "Стари српски записи и натписи" ("Serbian ancient entries and inscriptions"). Belgrade: Просвета-СКЗ (Publisher: Prosveta-SKZ), 986 (repr.): 4 No. 6006. See also Ненадовић, С (Nenadovich, S). "Богородица Љевишка" ("Holy Virgin of Ljeviše"): 24-25, 183-185, according to whom the inscription dates from 1307.

45. Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 271 notes 32, 33. The opinion of Ненадовић, Слободан (Nenadovich, Slobodan). "Богородица Љевишка" ("Holy Virgin of Ljeviše"): 180-181, that Sava became bishop before 1307 and initiated the reconstruction of Holy Virgin of Ljeviše, remains unsupported in historiography.

46. The different views within science regarding the issue of the executor of the punishment are presented by Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)...": 156, 272 note 37.



In this manner, even in this case of land dispute between a local feudal landlord and the church⁴⁷, even though Zhegr managed to resist the pressures by the court, still the final outcome was in favour of the Bishopric of Prizren.

3. The issue of defining the time of the events

Now, I am going back to the events related to the local feudal landlord Progon and Bishop of Prizren, George Markush. All the above mentioned data clearly testify that the events occurred long before they were recorded in the Brebion. Their entering in Land Inventory is only for the Htetovo Monastery to show that Plesh was in its possession, in particular that this land was one of the numerous monastery properties.

Due to insufficient source base in the Brebion, it is impossible to establish precisely the time of the events. Therefore, one cannot determine with certainty when the events occurred, nor to indicate what the time interval between certain events was, or to indicate how much time passed from the time the event took place until the time they were recorded.

One of the very few assumptions that one can give is the approximate time between the occurrence of the last event listed and its recording in Land Inventory-Brebion. It is based on the information in which the prominent 'kir' Aleksa says that those events occurred when he was a child⁴⁸. As already mentioned above, this period must have been at least two decades. But two decades from which exact time point and to which time point is still uncertain.

In this sense, the mentioning of the name of Bishop of Prizren, George Markush is of no help to us. Apart from this scarce information about George Markush, there are no other data. The source material is rather small, not precise, rather destroyed and inconsistent and the information about this Bishop of Prizren cannot be found in the sources where his presence is surely expected. Thus, according to the Synodicon of Orthodoxy (Pevlja's Synodicon) for the years from 1286 to 1292, the following names of Prizren's bishops are known: Jovan, Gerasim, Ilarij, Amvrosij, Varlaam and Jovan⁴⁹. The name of George Markush is also not mentioned among the Prizren bishops listed in Prizren's Pomenik (monastery commemorative book), where the following Prizren bishops are recorded: Simeon, Leontij, Konstantin, Joan, Damjan,

47. It remains undetermined whether Zhegr was also the one who committed the first usurpation between 1299-1306/07 when he was heading the Polog people or by acting on his own he took the advantage of the property being returned by the local Polog nobleman, so he took it over.

48. Overlooking the information that the respected Aleksa, brother of the former Archimandrite and Bishop at that time Vlacho at the moment he was giving testimony about the Plesh case he was addressed as 'kir', which undoubtedly confirms his noble origin, Грујић М, Радослав (Grujić M., Radoslav). "Полошко-тетовска епархија..." ("Polog's-Tetovo diocese..."): 51, incorrectly identifies the expression "Дѣтство" with the meaning of *otrok* — an executive body of the monastery.

49. Мошин, Владимир (Moshin, Vladimir). Moscow: Издательство Академии наук СССР (Publisher: Izdatelstvo nauk SSSR), 1960: 304.



Ilija, Damjan, Sava, Arsenij, Teodosij and Damjan⁵⁰. He is also not to be found among the portraits of the archbishops and bishops painted in the Episcopal Church of the Holy Virgin of Ljeviše (Bogorodica Ljeviška)⁵¹.

Therefore, it is unclear when George Markush headed the Bishopric of Prizren and it is not possible to determine either the period when he was the Bishop of Prizren although in the modern historiography there are some views in this regard, such as —he became bishop soon after the Serbs conquered Polog in 1282⁵²; he was bishop after 1333: before 1342⁵³; until 1346⁵⁴.

50. Радојичић Ђорђе (Radojichich, Gjorgje). "О Поменику Св. Богородице Левишке" ("About Holy Virgin of Ljeviše Commemorative Cook") (Рукопис бр. 227 Народне Библиотеке у Београду), Старинар (*Starinar*), [Трећа серија, Књига петнаеста 1940], Belgrade: Орган археолошког друштва у Београду (Publisher: Archeological society, Belgrade): 43, 67; Радојичић Ђорђе (Radojichich, Gjorgje). "Исписи из поменика" ("Lettering from Commemorative Book"). Гласник Етнографског института у Београду (*Buletin du Musée Ethnographique de Beograd*), 9 (1960): 32; Ненадовић, Слободан (Nenadovich, Slobodan). "Богородица Љевишка" ("Holy Virgin of Ljeviše")...: 181.

51. The names of the bishops on these portraits, with the exception of Jovan and Damjan, are not clarified because the inscriptions are too damaged, see: Јанковић, Милица (Jankovich, Milica). "Епископије..." ("Episcopates..."): 143; Ненадовић, Слободан (Nenadovich, Slobodan). "Богородица Љевишка" ("Holy Virgin of Ljeviše")...: 184. Бабић, Г. (Babich, G.). "Низови портрета српских епископа, архиепископа и патријарха у зидном сликарству (XIII-XIV век)" ("Portraits rows of Serbian bishops, archbishops and patriarchs (XIII-XIV century)"). Сава Немањин-Свети Сава. Историја и предање, децембар 1976. (*Sava Nemanjić-St. Sava. History and Legends*), Belgrade: December 1976. САНУ Научни скупови (publ. S.A.N.U.), Књига VII, претседништво књига: I, 324-327, has been working lately on their clarification. Also see: Панић, Д.-Бабић, Г. (Panich, D.-Babich, G.). "Богородица Љевишка" ("Bogorodica Ljeviška"). Српска књижевна задруга (Publisher: Srpska knjizhevna zadruga), Belgrade: 1988 (repr.): 66; Тодић, Бранислав (Todich, Branislav). "Српско сликарство у доба краља Милутина" ("Serbian Medieval Painting. The Age of King Milutin"). Belgrade: Култура (Publisher: Kultura), 1998: 63; Стародупцев, Татјана (Starodubcev, Tatyana). "Сакос црквених достојанственика у средњовековној Србији" ("The Sakkos of Ecclesiastical dignitaries in medieval Serbia"). Belgrade: Византијски свет на Балкану, књ. I (*Byzantine World in the Balkans, Vol. I*), Византолошки институт САНУ, књ. 42/1 (Publisher: Institute for Byzantine studies S.A.N.U., No. 42/1), 2012: 548 note 115.

52. Грујић М, Радослав (Gruyich M., Radoslav). "Полошко-тетовска епархија..." ("Polog's-Tetovo diocese..."): 42, 45 without any serious arguments fixates the Serbian church presence in Polog soon after the Serbian conquering of the Area in 1282/83. According to him in one occasion in the late autumn (4 November), for which by the way R. M. Gruyich does not provide a specific year, the Bishop of Prizren George Markush came to Polog as the spiritual master of the Area. Славева, Лидија (Slaveva, Lidiya). "Полог (Polog)..." : 143, accepts this hypothesis of his even though she understands it incorrectly pointing out that the presence of George Markush in Polog happened in the late autumn (4 November) of 1282/1283. Believing it was necessary to reinforce the hypothesis she unfoundedly adds as an additional argument the entry of an amount of 500 perpers stated as part of the sanction against those who would fail to comply with the decision, which in her view is typical for the sanctions in the charters from Miloutin's time. However, the historic facts show that the sanction limited to 500 perpers was not exclusive to the charters issued by King Miloutin, but such sums can also be found in the sanctions of the charters issued by his successors Stephen Dechanski and Stephen Doushan. Thus L. Slaveva's argument must be discarded.

53. According to Gj.Bubalo (Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "Влахо епископ..." ("Bishop Vlaho...": 209; Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "О називу..." ("Sur l'appellation..."): 188-189), bishops Teodosij and Damjan II were Prizren's bishops after 1333 to be followed by Bishop George. This happened before 4 November 1342 when Gj. Bubalo (Бубало, Ђорђе (Bubalo, Gjorgje). "Српски номици" ("Serbian Nomics"): 111, 248-249) dates the Nomic's charter of priest Nicholas inserted as a copy in Article 46 of the Brevno, where Bishop of Prizren George is certified.

54. Based on the insufficiently substantiated opinion by Јанковић, Милица (Jankovich, Milica). "Епископије..." ("Episcopates..."): 145-146, who setting off from the dating of the Brevno in about 1346 and Bishop Vlaho that is mentioned there, for whom the author incorrectly believes that he was the



4. Conclusion

In the copy of Nomic's Charter preserved in the Land Inventory of church properties of the largest landowner in Polog —north-western part of Macedonia, the Monastery of Bogorodica Htetovska (Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Htetovo), a land dispute is recorded between the Church and the local feudal landlord Progon, which lasted for a number of years. There had been several attempts for the dispute to be resolved by using different means both legal and violent. The disputed property was an area called Plesh, near Htetovo in Polog, that was bought and for more than twenty years owned by Progon. During that time the Church in different ways challenged unsuccessfully his purchase and ownership. Only after George Markush became the Bishop of Prizren, with his personal effort, the Church managed to take over the disputed property. So the church authorities managed to impose their will. The church found a way how to resolve it in its advantage no matter the method and time it used. This dispute is a proof of the legal system in Polog during the reign of Serbia. This system was a symbiosis of the Macedonian no coded legal regulations, Byzantine legal tradition and Serbian legal system.

The Progon's defeat is not the only defeat of a local feudal landlord from Polog in a land dispute with the Church. There are sources that register a similar dispute with the same outcome in the case of the feudal landlord Zhegr and church land in Polog's village Trebosh. The success of the church in the disputes against Progon and Zhegr had a negative end for the Polog landlord. So, in the case of Zhegr his houses were burnt. But there are not written source evidences about the consequences that Progon suffered. Anyway, this shows that ultimately the Church had a supreme position in its intentions and actions protecting the property that have ever been in church possession.

During the dispute about Progon the church authorities relied on oral statements given by people close to the church, some of which relatives to the ones involved in the dispute. The church totally neglected the fact given by the witnesses, that Progon bought the land which later one was the subject matter of the dispute. Land-legal dispute is a subject of the civil law which is endured to the lawsuit with the secular judge. But this case was not sent to the secular court. The bishop George Markush, after managed to prove that the land had belonged to the church from ancient times, totally neglected the purchase fact in favor of Progon. The Prizren bishop relied on the church law according to which for any dispute regarding church land the only competent was the ecclesiastical court. The head of that court was the church superior of the juridical region, in the case of Polog it was Prizren bishop. In this case the trial was led and the sentence was withdrawn by the ones who initiated the dispute settlement. Thus the result of the dispute had already been pre juridical.

Bishop of Prizren, George Markush was the Bishop of Prizren in the period after 1333 and before 1346. Milica Jankovich believes that George Markush was the successor of Vlacho that is one of the two who were Prizren's bishops after bishops Arsenij (the last original information on him is from 1333), Teodosij and Damjan II, recorded in the Prizren's commemorative book.



A POSSIBLE PERIODISATION OF THE TREATIES OF PEACE AND TRUCE BETWEEN AL-ANDALUS AND THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS (NASRID SULTANATE OF GRANADA WITH CASTILE AND ARAGON) 13TH-15TH CENTURIES

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Date of receipt: 17th of January, 2013

Final date of acceptance: 4th of February, 2014

ABSTRACT

The truces between the reigns of Grenade and Castile served to balance and weigh the complex relations on the border from the 13th to the 15th centuries. They were an effective method to cease hostilities, and varied greatly in length. Eventually they imposed a certain rhythm on the way of life in the frontier, and worked as a common solution to avoid and offset the violence that characterized this area. By studying and analyzing their progression and features, it is possible to establish a brief characterisation and a possible periodisation for these truces over a long period of time. This helps us to understand the complexities that typified the border area¹.

KEY WORDS

Kingdom of Grenade, Kingdom of Castile, War, Truces, Border.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Granatae regnum, Castellae regnum, Bellum, Indutiae, Limen.

1. Truces: between war and peace

One of the essential aspects of the frontier area is the duality of war and peace displayed there². This complex reality in turn becomes more specific given that, as Juan de Mata Carriazo states, *en la frontera de Granada, la paz y la guerra no eran esas cosas rotundas de siempre y de todas partes, ni la paz era paz, ni la guerra era guerra, en el pleno sentido de cada concepto [...] ni aún las treguas eran tales treguas; todo lo más, un estado de guerra atenuado*³. In this sense, the most accurate is to imagine the existence of three states: war, peace and between these, truces. This way, historians who have worked on the frontier of Granada have always debated about two views of this. On one hand, there is the view of frank relations and everyday good understanding, with the marked exception of the specific moments of open warfare and, on the other, those who interpret these relations as forced neighbourliness that sought survival, independently of the means used to achieve this.

It is important to emphasise this ambivalent view of the frontier and especially to detail some considerations about cross-border relations included in an institution as peculiar as the truces as these led to a series of contacts and situations that allow us to extend the systematic analysis of these and to look into the everyday relations that took place in this historical area.

Thus, as sketched out above, life on the frontier in the kingdom of Granada, marked by two well-defined geographic and socio-historical entities, was lived through two openly contradictory times: the time of war and the time of peace. This same frontier ambivalence leads us into a space that has commonly been filled with light and shadow⁴. While the official discourse on the letters of peace

1. I wish to express my thanks for the methodological help from professors Constanza Rojas and Constanza López. This study is included within the project FONDECYT n. 11130061. Used abbreviations: ACA, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón; AGS, Archivo General de Simancas; AHMJF, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera; AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid); AHPJ, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén; AMC, Archivo Municipal de Córdoba; AMJ, Archivo Municipal de Jaén; AMM, Archivo Municipal de Murcia; AMS, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla; BS, British Library; BNE, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

2. Torres, Juan. *Instituciones y sociedad en la frontera murciano-granadina*. Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 9-10.

3. "on the frontier of Granada, peace and war were not these rotund things of always and everywhere, peace was not peace, nor was war, war, in the full sense of each concept [...] nor were the truces even truces; everything else, an attenuated state of war" (Carriazo, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002: 215-216).

4. Argente, Carmen. "Los cautivos en la frontera entre Jaén y Granada", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, coord. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 222-223.



and truce seems clear and precise, the information supplied by other documents, like the chapter records of frontier towns⁵, puts us in contact with fluctuating and variable relations that force us to combine the peaceful relations with the bellicose relations and the state of war and insecurity of the frontier lands⁶.

This makes the men that lived on the frontier displayed episodes of violence⁷, but also aspirations for peace that took the form of agreements or pacts of greater or lesser duration, number and frequency⁸. This double dimension led Manuel Rojas to affirm that the relations between the inhabitants on either side of the border could be caused by an attitude of confrontation or, in contrast, be born out of the need to coexist in this shared area⁹. It is no easy task to resolve this dilemma as the life of the people on the frontier cannot be defined from a single angle, as, although it is true that the confrontation emanated from more or less clearly defined ideological postures —*Jihad* in the case of the Muslims and reconquest in the case of the Christians—, it is also true that other economic factors must be added, as we know that the elites of both societies extracted huge profits from the exercise of violence. However, this was not only the case of these elites, but also sectors of the popular estates who made war into a way of earning a living¹⁰.

In this sense, in the places further from the frontier, the truces meant economic relief, a return to a certain “normality” of life, that brought with it a resumption of trade, the negotiation and freeing of captives and the possibility of economic activity free from the risk of being surprised by the enemy¹¹. Those who did these activities carried *cartas de seguro*¹²

5. González, Manuel; García, Manuel. *Actas Capitulares de Morón de la Frontera (1402-1426)*. Seville: Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1992; Garrido, Juan Carlos. “Relaciones fronterizas con el Reino de Granada en las Capitulares del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén”, *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada...*: 161-172; Carriazo, Juan de Mata. “Los moros en las Actas del concejo de Jaén de 1479”. *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 4 (1995): 81-125.

6. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*. Alcala la Real: Alcalá Grupo Editorial, 2007: 99.

7. García, Manuel. *La Campiña Sevillana y la Frontera de Granada (Siglos XIII-XV)*. *Estudios Sobre Poblaciones de la Banda Morisca*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005: 99.

8. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 103.

9. Rojas, Manuel. *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390-1481): un ensayo sobre la violencia y sus manifestaciones*. Cadiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995: 227.

10. Porras, Pedro. “El derecho de Frontera durante la Baja Edad Media. La regulación de las relaciones transfronterizas en tiempo de treguas y guerras”. *Estudios dedicados a la memoria del Prof. L. M. Díez de Salazar* (1992): 1, 261-287.

11. Porras, Pedro. “El derecho de Frontera...”: 261-287.

12. Here is one of these as an example: *Muy honrrado, esforçado, Fidalgo e presçiado, virtuoso e noble caballero el alcaýde Abulcaçin Venegas, alguasil mayor del Señor Rey de Granada e del su Consejo: el conçejo etc. Nos vos encomendamos con voluntad muy presta de facer las cosas que ordenáres e mandares: Lorenzo de Sella, genoués, morador de esta çibdad, va con nuestro seguro a esa çibdad del Reyno de Granada negociar e librar çiertas cosas de sus mercaderías. Por ende, mucho...vos pedimos, asy porquel va con nuestro seguro como por nuestra contemplación, sea bien tratado e honrrado en esa çibdad e Reyno, en todas las cosas que ouiere menester, e no le sea fecho enojo ni daño alguno. E en esto, allende de... nuestro rruego nos rremanecerremos en obligación para en las cosas que mandáredes las facer como propias nuestras. Nuestro Señor conserve vuestra virtuosa persona como... deseáis. De Jahén, XXXVI de nouiembre de LXXXIX años, Viernes 26-XI-1479* (“Very honourable, brave nobleman and esteemed, virtuous and noble knight, the warden Abulcaçin Venegas, high constable of His Highness the King of Granada and of his Council: the council etc. We commend you very willingly to do the things that you order and



from the border council. In these, they promised formally to comply with, and enforce, the truce¹³.

Most of the truce agreements that have reached us are from the Castilian chancellery, unlike what happened with those from Granada. The typology was varied, but the peace treaties always originated from an initiative by kings and affected all the territory. Together with this, we find documents that correspond to partial treaties that affected some sectors of the frontier and that were managed by frontier nobles¹⁴.

Regarding their contents, Manuel García Fernández states that, *la tregua fue desde siempre una institución fronteriza tremendamente monótona, que repitió desde el siglo XIII idénticas cláusulas, todas derivadas del modelo que se establece a partir del vasallaje granadino del Pacto de Jaén de 1246, protocolos y obligaciones genéricas, a nivel siempre de estado o reino; que, sin embargo, presentó importantes cláusulas particulares, específicas de cada momento histórico que no sólo las diferencian sino que las explican*¹⁵. In general, each truce had its own specific conditioning factors that depended on the historical circumstances. That is why the aspirations were not identical for those from Seville, Cordoba and Jaén, but rather that each of these understood “their peace”, “their truce”, in their own way¹⁶.

Despite the efforts envisaged by the truces, there was always a “tone of life” that was manifested in a certain uncertainty, because the danger and threat were constant, given that it was extremely difficult to impede the incursions of all kinds of adventurers, as the depopulation and lay of the land made it easy for them to penetrate the area¹⁷.

command: Lorenzo de Sella, Genoese, inhabitant of this city, go with your guarantee to that city of the Kingdom of Granada to negotiate and give some items among its merchandises. Therefore, we demand to you many things, because he goes according our safety and your contemplation, in order to be well treated and honoured in that city and Kingdom, in the different things he could need, and that he does not receive any damage and prejudice. And in this, beyond our demand, we will serve all your orders such as it are ours. May Our Lord conserve your virtuous person as... you wish. In Jaén, XXXVI of November of the year LXXXIX), in: AMJ, Actas Municipales de Jaén. Libro de Actas Capitulares, doc. n. 171; Carriazo, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada...*: 303.

13. Carriazo, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada...*: 303.

14. Argente, Carmen. “Las relaciones de convivencia a través de los tratados de paz”, *III Estudios de Frontera, Convivencia, defensa y comunicación en la frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, coords. Jaen: Diputación de Jaén, 2002: 84.

15. “the truce was always a tremendously monotonous frontier institution, in which identical clauses were repeated from the 13th century, all derived from the model that was established from the vassalage of Granada under the Treaty of Jaén in 1246, generic protocols and obligations, always at the level of the state or kingdom; that, nevertheless, had important particular provisions, specific to each historical moment that not only differentiated them but also explained them” (García, Manuel. “Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada en tiempos de Alfonso XI, 1312-1350”. *Ifigea: Revista de la Sección de Geografía e Historia*, 5-6 (1988-1989): 135); see also: García, Manuel. “La alteridad en la frontera de Granada (siglos XIII al XV)”. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 6 (2005): 213-235; García, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2006: 89.

16. García, Manuel. “La alteridad en la frontera...”; García, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada...*: 136.

17. Torres, Juan. “Dualidad Fronteriza: Guerra y paz”, *Actas del Congreso La Frontera Oriental Nazarí como Sujeto Histórico (S. XIII-XVI)*: Lorca-Vera, 22 a 24 de noviembre de 1994, Pedro Segura, dir. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1997: 70.



Considering the above, it is possible to state that despite the complex frontier dynamic, the truces permitted the establishment of certain channels of coexistence between Christians and Muslims apart from possible isolated local aggressions. In this sense, they “rationalised” the life on the frontier¹⁸, making it, if you wish, “more humane” and less exposed to ideological confrontation, as shown by some of the lesser aspects of everyday neighbourliness¹⁹, like trade, grazing, exchange of garments, etc.

2. A proposal for periodization

An important amount of news and texts about truces have survived to our times. In some cases, we know about these from indirect references, either in chronicles or an announcement or notification. However, a considerable number of whole texts have also survived. In contrast, we could state that, although this is not a full list, it does at least include a large enough number to enable us to carry out a relatively exhaustive analysis of their contents. In this sense, any attempt to systemise the information they contain will require work to gather together and collate these contents.

From this perspective, we cannot ignore the unparalleled publications by Juan de Mata Carriazo²⁰ y Arroquia or Juan Torres Fontes²¹, various of whose works present an important analysis of this subject. However, most notably, they open up a broad path on the study of the frontier relations, with joint or individual works that have enriched this field. In this sense, José Rodríguez Molina has made an interesting effort of synthesis, grouping the information according to the kingdom it corresponds to, collecting a great deal of news about the truces²².

To be able to envisage the importance of this institution, it is necessary to draw up a table that combines the principal aspects dealt with in the documents (treaties or charters) that deal with these questions. Given the above, we decided to collect and review the existing materials that allow us to group and sort the information in a documentary corpus combining all the treaties, peaces and truces between al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon from the epoch studied, namely the Nasrid period (1232-1492).

18. Torres, Juan. “Dualidad Fronteriza...”: 72.

19. García, Manuel. “La alteridad en la frontera...”; García, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada...*: 230.

20. Carriazo, Juan de Mata. “La últimas treguas con Granada”. *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 3 (1953): 11-43; Carriazo, Juan de Mata. “Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478”. *Al-Andalus*, 2 (1954): 19, 317-364.

21. Torres, Juan. “Dualidad Fronteriza...”: 63-78; Torres, Juan. “Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1475 a 1478”. *Hispania*, 86 (1962): 186-229; Torres, Juan. “Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1416 a 1432. Las treguas de 1417 a 1426”. *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales*, 6-7 (1978-1979): 297-311; Torres, Juan. “Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1463”. *Hispania*, 90 (1963): 163-199; Torres, Juan. *Instituciones y sociedad...*; Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*. Murcia: Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Sociales, 2010; Torres, Juan. *La frontera Murciano-Granadina*. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004.

22. Especially in: Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 347-416.



This material, as mentioned, was scattered around a range archives, sources and bibliography²³. Once localised, we developed a tool to extract all the data and the main

23. Menéndez, Ramón. *Primera Crónica General de España*. Madrid: Gredos, 1977: chapter 1070; Argote, Gonzalo. *Nobleza de Andalucía que dedicó al Rey Don Felipe II*. Jaen: Est. Tip. de D. Francisco López Vizcaíno, 1866: 269, 320, 366-367, 374, 392 and 527; Alarcón, Maximiliano; García de Linares, Ramón. *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*. Madrid: Imprenta de Estanislao Maestre, 1940: 2-3, 5-6, 10-11, 34-36, 54-55, 69-70 and 150-154; *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso*. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: LXVI (chapter LVIII), 46-47; *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso*. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: LXVI (chapter LIX), 47; Ibn Abi Zar^c. *Rawd al-qirtas*, trans. and notes Ambrosio Huici. Valencia: Anubar, 1964: 614-618; Torres, Juan. *Instituciones...*: 251; Giménez, Andrés. *La Corona de Aragón y Granada, historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos*. Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de Caridad, 1908: 37-40, 71-72, 77-80, 80-81, 90-91, 167-169, 212-214, 229-232, 306-311, 312-313, 314-320, 322 and 325-333; Estal, Juan del. *El reino de Murcia bajo Aragón (1296-1305)*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1999: 50-53, 76-79 and 96-98; Tuñón, Manuel. *Textos y documentos de Historia Antigua, Media y Moderna hasta el Siglo XVII*. Barcelona: Labor, 1984: 458-460; Gaspar, Mariano. "El negocio de Ceuta entre Jaime II de Aragón y Aburrebia Solaimán, sultán de Fez (1309)". *Revista del Centro de Estudios históricos de Granada y su reino*, 12-3/4 (1923): 169-170; Cerdá, Francisco. *Crónica del Rey D. Alfonso Onceno, Parte I*. Madrid: imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1787: 167-168, 250-252 and 618-623; Bofarull, Próspero. *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*. Barcelona: José Eusebio Montfort, 1851: VII, 176-179; Gaspar, Mariano. *Correspondencia diplomática entre Granada y Fez (siglo XIV) Extractos de la "Raihana alcuttab"*. Granada: Imprenta del Defensor, 1916: 230-231; *El perfume de la Amistad. Correspondencia árabe en archivos españoles (siglos XIII-XVII)*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2010; Torres, Juan. *La frontera...*: 97, 110-111, 112, 134-135 and 138-139; Veas, Francisco. *Documentos del Siglo XIV. Colección de Documentos para la Historia del Reino de Murcia*. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990: XII, 13-14 and 163-164; Vilaplana, María Victoria. *Documentos sobre la minoría de Juan II. La regencia de Don Fernando de Antequera*. Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993: 94, 150, 186-187, 438 and 466-467; Toral, Enrique. "Dos cartas al rey Mahomad V de Granada". *Boletín del Instituto Estudios Giennenses*, 140 (1989): 58; García de Santa María, Alvar. *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982: 231-232, 267-269 and 402-407; Torres, Juan. "La regencia de don Fernando de Antequera". *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 14-15 (1965-1966): 145; Arribas, Mariano. *Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón*. Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 35-36, 37-39, 41-46, 47-56, 67-68, 65-66, 69-70, 75-84, 85-94 and 95-102; Alijo, Francisco. "Mercedes y privilegios a una plaza fronteriza del siglo XV: Antequera", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía*. Córdoba: 1978: 409; Salicrú, Roser. *Documents per a la historia de Granada del Regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim (1416-1458)*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999: 21-22, 51, 57-58, 199-208, 261-262 and 421-422; Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 381 and 388; Torres, Juan. "Las relaciones...": 90 and 98; Suarez, Luis. *Juan II y la frontera de Granada*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954: 38-42; García, José Antonio. "Las treguas con Granada de 1439". *Qurtuba: Estudios andalusíes*, 3 (1998): 39-45; García, José Antonio. *Treguas, guerra y capitulaciones de Granada*. Granada: Diputación de Granada, 82-85, 85-86, 87-91, 92-97 and 97-105; Benavides, Antonio. *Memoria sobre la guerra del Reino de Granada*. Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1852: VIII, 41-45; Ríos, José Amador de los. *Memoria histórico-crítica sobre las treguas celebradas en 1439 entre los reyes de Castilla y de Granada leída en varias sesiones de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 1879: 128-132 and 133-137; Abellán, Juan. "Jerez, las treguas de 1450 y la guerra civil granadina", *Estudios sobre Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el V Centenario de la Conquista*, José Enrique López de Coca, ed. Malaga: Diputación provincial de Málaga, 1987: 16; López de Coca, José Enrique. "Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas en la primera mitad del siglo XV". *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 12 (1998): 24-30; Juan, Carmen. *Colección diplomática medieval del Alcalá la Real*, ed. Francisco Toro. Jaen: Imprenta Esclavitud del Señor de la Humildad y María Santísima de los Dolores, 1988: 61; Molina, María del Carmen. *Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Murcia XVIII, Documentos de Enrique IV*. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1988: 158-159, 160, 289-291, 434-435, 448-



information and news of the truces. To this end, we prepared a table on a spreadsheet to bring together all the information extracted from the corpus of documents.

This was how we focussed on gathering the texts and news about truces ranging from 1246 (Treaty of Jaén) until the truce of 1486, the last before the definitive capitulation of 1491. The treaties between Ibn al Ahmar and Ibn Hud are not included as these were between two Andalusian lords and as recognition by the Nasrids of Ibn Hud's authority. Thus, our register begins with the first great pact that is documented between Nasrid al-Andalus and Castile, that was of vital importance for the development of relations between the two worlds. It is also important to indicate that our list ends with the truce of 1486. The reason for this is that the pacts and treaties with Boabdil from around 1491 are not precisely a pact of truce, but rather a treaty of surrender that established capitulations with their conditions and that resulted in the handing over of Nasrid Granada and the end of al-Andalus.

3. Criteria for setting the information. Towards an analytical tool

To draw up a table that enables the spread of the truces over the centuries to be analysed, we eliminated all minor references (notifications, announcements, letters of credentials, etc.), those that do not supply relevant data about their contents. However, in some cases, despite the text not being available, some truces for which the chronicles contain extensive references are included.

On the other hand, only relations between states have been considered, in other words, between Granada-Castile and Granada-Aragon. Thus, we omitted all truces between private individuals. Also, these are few in number and, although they sometimes have a certain circumstantial importance, they are not relevant for the overall perspective²⁴. This in no way implies that they were not important, but these

449 and 509-510; Torres, Juan. *Estudio sobre la Crónica de Enrique IV*. Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946: 473-474; Torres, Juan. *Estudio sobre la Crónica de Enrique IV del Dr. Galíndez de Carvajal*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946: 355, 373-375, 375-377, 377-379 and 379-380; García, María del Mar. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas en el sector Xerciese. El tratado de paz de 1460". *Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales*, 11-12 (2010): 108-110; Torres, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada...": 194-195, 196, 197-198 and 198-199; Cascales, Francisco. *Discursos Históricos de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Murcia y su reino*. Murcia: Francisco Benedito, 1775: 432; Abellán, Juan. "Jerez y Granada en la tregua de 1467...": 15-16; Fernández, Fernando. "Historia y descripción de la antigüedad y descendencia de la casa de Córdoba". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba, de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes*, 78 (1958): 268-271; Carandé, Ramón; Mata, Juan de. *El Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos de la Catedral de Sevilla*. Seville: Editorial Católica Española, 1968: I, 11-13 and 122-123; Rodríguez, José, dir. *Colección Diplomática del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén, siglos XIV y XV*. Jaen: Ayuntamiento de Jaén, 1985: 60-62; Bonilla, José Antonio; Toral, Enrique. *El tratado de paz de 1481 entre Castilla y Granada*. Jaen: Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, 1982: 29-32; Porras, Pedro. "Documentos cristianos sobre mudéjares de Andalucía en los siglos XV y XVI". *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 3 (1992): 227; Garrido, Miguel. *Las capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992: 168-169.

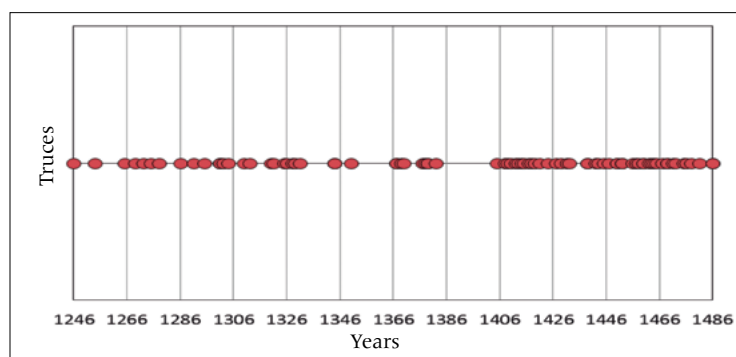
24. In fact, we know that the peaces were not an exclusive initiative of the monarchs. Lords and councils signed private pacts in line with their specific interests, and this undoubtedly helped to make life easier.



truces (for example, those agreed in 1301²⁵, 1418²⁶, 1467²⁷, 1469²⁸, 1471²⁹), were only partial and local agreements that benefited specific interests and not the state as a whole. We also left out letters of credentials that do not contribute more information than what they normally include, likewise with proposals and negotiations that did not lead to anything. Nor have we included diplomatic relations between Fez and Granada, as these lie outwith the scope of this study, although they could well be analysed on another occasion and be used in a comparative study.

4. A proposal for periodization

Graph 1. Spread of the chronological evolution of the truces.



Graph 1 shows the spread of the agreements for truces over time. It is interesting to observe how these are clearly clustered into two periods. The first goes from 1246 (Treaty of Jaén) to 1329, and the second, from 1405 to 1486. On the other hand, from the mid 14th century until the beginning of the 15th century, these are more widely spread, and are mainly clustered between 1366 and 1386. Despite this, the first period appears more scattered than the second, where there is a

The Fajardos, the *adelantados* of Murcia, signed pacts in their own name with the kingdom of Granada. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 112.

25. Giménez, Andrés. *La Corona de Aragón y Granada...*: 80-81.

26. Salicrú, Roser. *El Sultanato Nazarí de Granada, Génoa y la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XV*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007: 199-208.

27. Fernandez de Córdoba, Francisco. "Historia y descripción de la antigüedad y descendencia de la casa de Córdoba". *Boletín de la Academia de Córdoba, de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes*, 78 (1958): 268-269.

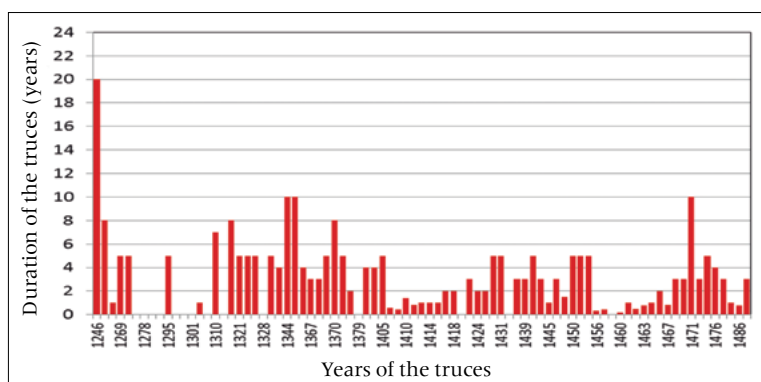
28. García, José Antonio. *Treguas, Guerras...*: 82-86.

29. Carriazo, Juan de Mata. "Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478...": 349-350.



closer sequence of truces. From this, we can establish that the 15th century was the period with a greater sequence. To interpret the above in greater depth and establish certain epochs, it is necessary to cross reference the information with another type of graph.

Graph 2. Duration of the truces (years).



The information presented in Graph 2 complements the details from Graph 1. If we look at the “year of truce”, we can see that there was continuity in the period from 1246 to 1328. Then, from the mid-14th century (1328) the sequence of truces tends to become more scattered before clustering again between 1344 and 1369, with a more regular sequence. As mentioned above, the 15th century was the century of the truces, with over 50% of the information from this vector. On the other hand, it is also interesting to verify another aspect: during the 13th and 14th centuries, as well as being scattered, the truces tended to last longer, with an average of around 7.7 years, in contrast with the 2.8 years that the truces lasted in the 15th century. Moreover, in the period between 1246 and 1328, we can find truces with a duration of 20 years (1246) and several that lasted between 5 and 8 years. In the period from 1344 to 1367, it is possible to verify agreements with a duration of close to 10 years (the peace treaty after the siege of Algeciras). In the case of the peaces from the 15th century, they were much shorter lasting, with only one that stretched to 10 years. This illustrates an important phenomenon that, although the truces show the possibility and intention of peace for a certain period of time, these often ended by violent action with the seizing of booty and captives. This meant the breaking of the truces. However, depending on the domestic situation, efforts were quickly made to re-establish these.

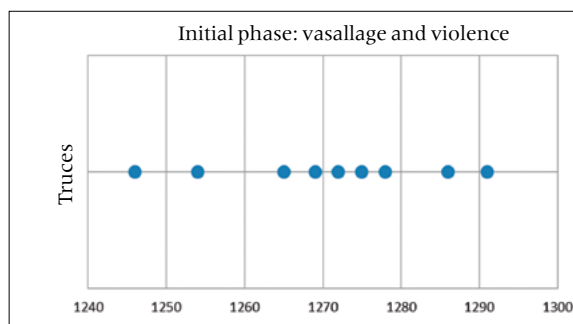
Thus, through these graphs, it is possible to see, at least roughly, three distinct moments related to the phases of the truces: one from the mid 13th century to the



mid 14th, another from then to the beginning of the 15th century and a third, from the start of the 15th to the end of the same century. This does not preclude the existence of fluctuation within these periods, but as an overview, it seems interesting to note the possibility of defining these three main phases.

Thus, the stage from the mid 13th to the mid 14th centuries could be called the “Initial Phase: vassalage and violence”, the second, the “Middle Phase: dispersion and peace”, and the third, the “Final Phase: of conflict and frontier violence”.

Graph 3. Truces signed during the Initial Phase.



This stage began with the signing of the Treaty of Jaén (1246), and concluded around 1291 with the signing of the truce between Muhammad II and Sancho IV. The initial duration of the Treaty of Jaén was 20 years and this was confirmed in 1254 by Alfonso X the Wise after the death of Ferdinand III the Saint. It lasted until 1261, when the truce was breached by the Granadans³⁰. All this coincides with the development of Alfonso's expansionist policy, which took the form of the conquest of the enclaves of Cadiz, Jerez and Niebla. This forced Muhammad I to resort to his fellow African Muslims, the Marinids. The rupture was widened by the Mudejar revolt of 1264, leading Granada to request a truce the following year.

However, this situation was accentuated with the internal revolt of the Asquilula, which spread due to Marinid meddling with the army. On the other hand, Alfonso X interfered in the internal affairs of Granada supporting precisely the Asquilula. Muhammad II could not resolve this complex situation facing the emirate without Marinid help.

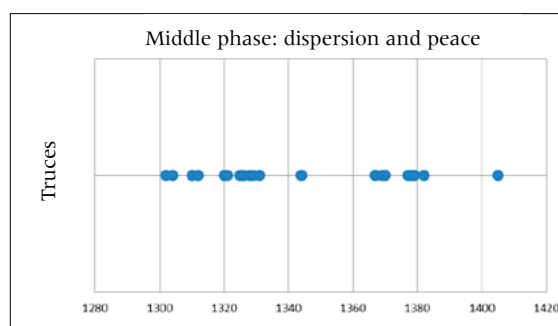
This was also the epoch when the question of the Straight began to loom, a situation that the Marinids and Nasrids disputed. The external and internal pressures were eased with the signing of the truce of 1276, another signed in 1278, new signings in 1285 and then those of 1286 and 1291. The latter was never observed,

30. Argote de Molina, Gonzalo. *Nobleza de Andalucía que dedicó al Rey Don Felipe II*. Jaén: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaíno, 1866: 267.

which encouraged Granada to again negotiate with the Marinids, leading to a period of war until the death of Sancho IV on 25th April 1295³¹.

It is for this that it is often claimed that there were twenty years of total insecurity between 1275 and 1294, because of the endless wars³². In this sense, it is usually stated that this was a complex epoch, but that this appreciation of the existence of periods of peace and truce should also be mentioned, as these were breathing spaces in this tense panorama. However, all this leads us to think that the time on the frontier in the last quarter of the 13th century must surely have passed in an steadily worsening state of war. On the other hand, a definitive pact was signed with Aragon for trade and collaboration in 1301.

Graph 4. The signing of truces during the Middle Phase.



This period, that began around 1295, with the death of Sancho IV, reached its most important moment with the conquest Algeciras in 1344. This was the start of a new stage in the relations between Castile and Granada, one that ended with the Battle of Los Collejares in 1406. Indeed, this stage was characterised by less frontier violence, with rather longer pacts of truces due to factors related to the domestic situation that arose with the death of Sancho IV, and the rise of the Cerda crown princes. This situation would continue throughout the reign of Ferdinand IV (1295-1312), who had to face conflicts with members of the House of Lara. The same situation, but even more serious, affected Peter I. All this contrasted with events in Granada, where, after the rise of Yusuf I, there was a stage of consolidation that reached its peak during the reign of Muhammad V.

It is in this setting that the 14th century began with a period of weakness for the Castilians, meaning that the war against the Muslims and the conflicts on the frontier

31. Argote de Molina, Gonzalo. *Nobleza de Andalucía...*: 333.

32. García, Francisco. "La frontera Castellano-Granadina a fines del siglo XIII", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, coord. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 28.



were less important³³. During this century, we find a period of truces and peaces of around 85 years, while the wars were spread over 15 years³⁴. In most cases, these clashes were not generalised, but mostly localised, such as with the sieges of certain cities. It is true that the first half of the 14th century was an epoch of clashes and frequent sieges, but these did not occur simultaneously everywhere nor last very long. The outbreaks of war in this period were as follows. Between 1297 and 1302, there was a Granadan offensive, which led to the taking of Alcaudete, Bedmar and Quesada and the siege of Alcalá de Benzaide, followed by the Castilian counter-attack of 1309 that led to the recovery of the places that had been lost³⁵. A significant period of confrontations began in 1319; 1328 was also a time of military incursions in the region of Jaén, and there was another outbreak of war between 1341 and 1344³⁶.

However, the existence of ten treaties of truce from the first half of the 14th century must be taken into account. Some of these were long-lasting, like the one between 1303 and 1309, ratified in 1307 and 1309, the year when war was declared, to then find three years of extensions of the truce (1310, 1311 and 1312), which gives us a insight of certain periods of war aimed more at conquering lands and fortresses than the demand to sign peaces and truces, with recognition of vassalage to Castile and the corresponding payment of taxes³⁷.

All this turbulence in the early 14th century ended around 1344, after the siege of Algeciras, when the Peace of Algeciras was signed and lasted ten years. Thus, in the first half of the 14th century, there were around thirty years of truce and peace (shown in graph 2), only counting on the news we have about peace treaties and the signing of truces and their respective duration. To this, we must add the months when there was no fighting because of the suspension of the conflict. In line with this, there are 18 mentions of war in the first half of the 14th century.

The second half of the 14th century saw a series of acts of war with the destruction of Jaén, Úbeda, the siege of Baeza and various attacks on Cordoba. However, all these incursions were very localised and due more to the civil war between Peter I and Henry II than the conflicts between Castile and Granada. Henry, on his part, was just as indisposed to the Granadans, allies of the legitimate monarch, that, when he reached power, he did what he could in a simulated way to sign truces with Granada, as he had enough work dealing with the disorganisation and problems of Castile, just after a cruel war³⁸.

33. Segura, Cristina. "Las reinas castellanas y la frontera en la Baja Edad Media", *IV Estudios de Frontera. Historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la Frontera. Homenaje a Enrique Toral y Peñaranda*. Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2002: 519-534.

34. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 104.

35. Ladero, Miguel Ángel. "Los Estados Peninsulares a la muerte de Alfonso X el Sabio". *VII Centenario del Infante Don Fernando de la Cerda, Jornadas de Estudio*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 1976: 332-333.

36. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 105.

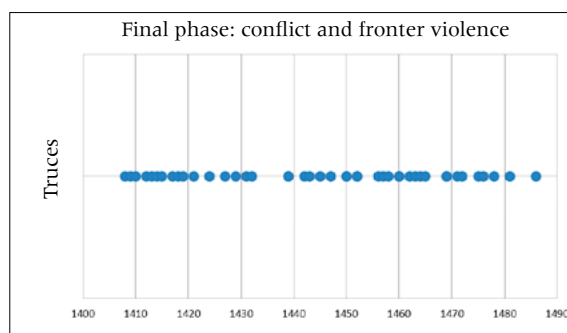
37. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 105.

38. Segura, Cristina. "La reinas castellanas...": 527.



In these reflections, Rodríguez Molina concludes that *en el siglo XIV las proporciones temporales más significativas fueron favorables a las treguas, pues sólo éstas ocuparían en torno a un cómputo estimado del 85% de la centuria y únicamente el 15% de ella y no completo, compondría el tiempo ocupado por las confrontaciones bélicas. Es decir, que durante un tiempo aproximado a los 85 años se pudieron practicar actividades comerciales, arrendamientos de pastos y tierras de cultivo*³⁹.

Graph 5. Signing of truces during the Final Phase.



Except for the Battle of Los Collejares, the conquest of Antequera and the Battle of La Higuera, the wars in the 15th century were brief affairs. However, the peace and truces occurred almost annually, with short gaps between them, marked by the cavalry raids and certain frontier violence. This phase coincided with the rule of John II and Henry IV in Castile, and that ended with the rise of the Catholic Monarchs. From this point of view, there was a phase of consolidation by Castile, although not free of problems of succession and tantrums by the nobility, especially that frontier, differentiated from the internal processes that began to undermine the fragile stability of the Nasrid state, especially in the unstable decade from 1445-1455, and that Francisco Vidal Castro has clearly identified. This stage concluded in 1486 with the truce prior to the capitulations and handing over of the capital of Granada.

In this sense, in the words of Juan Torres Fontes,

desde la conquista de Antequera hasta el comienzo de la definitiva campaña de de 1482, que acabaría con la conquista total del reino de Granada, se caracterizó por una sucesión casi continuada de las treguas, cuya ruptura formal, tanto en el reinado de Juan II como en el Enrique IV, no cambiaría sustancialmente la situación, aunque ocasionalmente

39. "in the 14th century the longest periods of time were favourable to the truces, as these alone occupied an estimated 85% of the century and only 15% of it, and not all this, was taken up by armed confrontations. In other words, during around 85 years, one could trade, lease pastures and fields" (Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 107).



*se modificarán las condiciones económicas y geográficas entre ambos reinos, todo queda dependiente de las respectivas situaciones a la hora de renovar las treguas, la cuantía de las parias a pagar y de los cautivos a entregar. Hubo también incorporaciones territoriales de importancia, como Archidona y Gibraltar, aunque la conquista de esas plazas fronterizas no modificarán ni supondrán un reajuste extraordinario de la frontera para los dirigentes granadinos, porque todo siguió sensiblemente igual*⁴⁰.

Thus, at least, González Jiménez also saw this for the area of Morón, where, between 1402 and 1427, relations between Castile and Granada were good, except for the 1405-1410 period⁴¹. However, with the exception of the Battle of Los Collejares, the conquest of Antequera and the Battle of La Higuera, as stated above specific events, the longest period of war was the one between 1430 and 1439⁴² and, even here, we find peaces signed within this same period, like that of 1431⁴³.

So, apart from the relevant events of war mentioned, short in duration, the most prolonged period of war was between 1430 and 1439 (during the reign of John II), which, in turn, fell inside a longer phase that stretched from 1432 to 1454⁴⁴. However, within this phase, we can distinguish a first period of war, as mentioned, from 1430 to 1439. A second phase, of peace, lasted from 1439 to 1445, with no significant modifications to the frontier. The events of 1445 to 1452 were very different. There was a Granadan predominance on the frontier and a manifest weakness of the Castilians. During this period, the rulers of Castile worked to counterbalance their military weakness on the frontier with political intrigues and financial assistance to the crown princes of Granada who aspired to take the throne. This was the turbulent decade that began in 1445 and led to a civil war in the Emirate of Granada.

A fourth phase stretched from 1452 to 1454, and was characterised by the onslaught by the nobles that brought down Álvaro de Luna's government and led to his execution, and which prevented Castile from carrying out any foreign adventure. This was the start of a stage marked by frontier skirmishes mainly aimed at seizing bounty and captives for sale and exchange.

40. "from the conquest of Antequera to the start of the definitive campaign of 1482 that would end with the total conquest of the Kingdom of Granada, was characterised by an almost continuous succession of truces, whose formal rupture, under the reigns of both John II and Henry IV, did not substantially change the situation, although occasionally the economic and geographic conditions between the two kingdoms were modified, everything remained dependent on the respective situations when it came to renewing the truces, the amount to pay in tributes and the captives to be handed over. There were also important territorial incorporations, like Archidona and Gibraltar, although the conquest of these frontier places did not modify nor mean any extraordinary readjustment of the frontier for the Granadan leaders, because everything remained basically the same" (Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*. Murcia: HUM-165: Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Sociales, 2010: 84); Torres, Juan. *La frontera Murciano-Granadina...*: 158.

41. González, Manuel. "Morón, una villa de frontera (1402-1427)", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada...*: 57.

42. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 108.

43. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 105.

44. See the recently-published work by: Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*...: 14-15.



Thus, the internal struggle and weakness of the monarchy then impeded any Castilian activity beyond the borders. All attention was focussed on maintaining a predominant position and securing possession of lands, awaiting Henry IV's accession and immediate decisions. This waiting attitude affected the frontier and lasted until the death of John II⁴⁵.

Then, during the reign of Henry IV and until 1488, when the Catholic Monarchs began the final war against Granada, the frontier remained stable in many sectors, although it was not free from individual offensive actions. At this time, cattle rustling raids by Castilian councils became more dangerous when these were between a Christian council and a Muslim one. There was no lack of motives for retaliation, skirmishes, logging and burning, unexpected seizures, theft and even more-serious actions. All this is reflected in the local annals⁴⁶.

Thus, this century was characterised, in general terms, by a practically uninterrupted continuity of truces, only broken by frequent raids, always localised, of no great importance except for a few larger ones. Many of the truces were signed effectively to stem brief and sporadic breaks by some of the parties to the existing peace and truce.

5. Final words

From the systematisation of the information about the truces, we have defined a progression of these in a dynamic that appeared with the passing of time, establishing three phases in the evolution of the truces: the first, from the mid 13th century to the mid 14th century, the second, from the mid 14th century to the early 15th century, and the third, from the beginning to the end of the 15th century. In view of their characteristics, these are defined as the "Initial Phase: vassalage and violence"; "Middle Phase: dispersion and peace" and "Final Phase: of conflict and frontier violence".

Although it is true that some sub-periods can be recognised inside each of these, addressing minor alterations could lead to complex subdivisions that would impede an overview. Moreover, a possible contribution of this periodisation lies in it being structured from the nature and contents of the truces, not from the historical evolution of the states involved, although, logically, this is one of the determining factors of the truces.

45. Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*...: 16.

46. García, Manuel. "Un episodio de la Frontera de Granada: el Madroño 1462". *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 79 (1974): 10.



Appendix. Pacts, truces and peaces

Year	Title	Archive	Editor	In	Date, Place, Pages	Date of the signing of the Document	Place	Date of entry into force	Date of expiry	Duration	Granting / authorizing
1246	Pact of Jaén		Menéndez Pidal, Ramón	<i>Primera Crónica General de España</i>	Madrid: Gre-dos, 1977, chap. 1070	1246	Jaén	1246		20 years	Ferdinand III of Castile
1254	Confirmation of truces with Mahmad Abbadille Aben Azar Alhamar		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866: Chap. I, Vol. II, 269	1254		1254	1262	8 years	Alfonso X the Wise of Castile
1265	Request for truce by Granada		Rosell, Cayetano	<i>Colección de Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla</i>	Madrid: Atlas (Biblioteca Autores Españoles), 1953, t. I, vol. LXVI, p. 11	1265	Alcalá de Benzyayde	1265	1266	1 year	Alfonso X the Wise of Castile
1269	Peace treaty between Muhammad II and James II	ACA, Cancillería, R. 340, f 68	Alarcón y San-tón, Maximili-an and García de Linares, Ramon	<i>Los Documentos Árabes Diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón</i>	Madrid: Publicaciones de las Escuela de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, Serie C., núm. I, 1940, 2-3	1269, 15th May 695, Rayab	Orhuela			Lifelong	Muhammad II
1272	Truce between Granada and Ricos Hombres		Rosell, Cayetano	<i>Colección de Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla</i>	Madrid: Atlas (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles), 1953, t. I, vol. LXVI, 32-33	1272		1272		Lifelong	Alamir Abboadille, Amir amus Lemin, Don Felipe
1275	Ratification of peace between the Castilians and Granadans		Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso	<i>Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla</i>	Biblioteca Autores Españoles, Madrid: Atlas (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles), 1953: LXVI, chap. LVIII, 46-47; chap. LIX, 47	1475	Seville				Alfonso X the Wise of Castile



1278	Peace between Granada, Castile and Benimires		Ibn Abi Zar	Rawd al Qirtas	Ambrosio Huici, trans. and annot. Valencia: Anular, 1964: 614-618	1277, November			1278, 24th February		Ibn-al-Ahmar, Abu Yusuf
1286	Truce between Granada and Castile		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>Instituciones y Sociedad en la frontera murciano-granadina</i>	Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 251	1286			1286		
1291	Peaces between Castile and Granada		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866: chap. XXIV, 320	Early May 1291					
1295	Letter between Don Jaime and Mahomat Abadille Abenacar	ACA. Cancillería, R. 252, f.121	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 37-40	1295, 18th November	Barcelona			Lifelong	James II of Aragon
1301	Letter of truce between James and Alamir Mahomad	ACA. Cancillería, R. 334, f.36	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 77-80	1301, 16th September	Saragossa		1302, 1st January		James II of Aragon
1301	Treaty of peace and alliance between Muhammad II and James II of Aragon against Castile	Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, ed. Maximiliano Aarón Alarcón. Ramón García de Linares. Madrid: Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios árabes de Madrid y Granada, 1940: 8-10	Tuñón de Lara, M.	<i>Textos y documentos de Historia Antigua, Media y Moderna hasta el Siglo XVII</i>	Barcelona: Labor, 1984: 458-460	1301, 31st December / 701, rabi second last day					Muhammad II



1302	Treaty between the king of Aragon and the king of Granada		Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 90-91	1302, 24th February	Granada	1302, 1st March		1 year	King of Aragon
1304	Agreements between Ferdinand IV and Muhammad III		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866: chap. XLI, vol. II, 366-367	1304					Ferdinand IV of Castile
1310	Peace treaty between Ferdinand IV of Castile and Nasr		Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 167-169	1310, 26th May	Seville	1310, 26th May	1317, 26th May	7 years	Ferdinand IV of Castile
1312	Truce between Peter I and Mahomad Aben Azar		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866: chap. XLVII, vol. II, 374	1312, 7th September		1312			Peter I of Castile
1320	Peace between the kings of Castile and Granada		Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 212-214	1320, 18th June	Baena	1320, 18th June		8 years	King of Castile
1321	Treaty of peace and friendship between Ismail I of Granada and James II	ACA. Cancillería, R., 151	Alarcón y Santón, Maximiliano y García Linares, Ramon	<i>Los Documentos Árabes Diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón</i>	Madrid: Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada, 1940: Serie C, num. 1, 34-36	1321, 16th May/ 721, Rabi second 17	Granada?	1321, 16th May		5 years	Ismael I
1325	Peace between James II and Mahomed	ACA. Cancillería, R., 555, f.8 v.	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 229-232	1325, 23rd February	Barcelona	1325, 23rd February		5 years	Mohamad



1326	Treaty of peace between Muhammad IV and James II	ACA. Cartularia, R. 55	Alarcón y Santón, Maximiliano and García Linares, Ramon	<i>Los Documentos Árabes Diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón</i>	Madrid: Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, 1940: Serie C, num. 1, 54-55	1326, 15th May second 11	Granada	1326, 17th May	5 years	Muhammad IV
1328	Truces between King D. Alonso and Mahomad of Granada		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866: chap. LXI, vol. II, 392	1328				King Alfonso
1329	Truce between Granada and Castile		Cerdá y Rico, Francisco	<i>Crónica del Rey D. Alfonso Onceno, Parte I</i>	Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1787: 167-168	1329	Seville		for a certain time	King Alfonso XI
1331	Truces between Granada and Castile		Cerdá y Rico, Francisco	<i>Crónica del Rey D. Alfonso Onceno, Parte I</i>	Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1787: 250-252	1331, 19th February	Seville		4 years	King Alfonso XI
1344	Truce between Granada and Castile, Treaty of Algeciras		Cerdá y Rico, Francisco	<i>Crónica del Rey D. Alfonso Onceno, Parte I</i>	Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1787: 618-623	1344, 26th March			10 years	King Alfonso XI
1344	Incomplete copy of the peace treaty sent to the Castilian chancellor by Peter IV, King of Aragon, and the Duke of Genoa	ACA. Cartas Reales num. 84	Bofarull, Próspero de	"Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón", 7	<i>Procesos de las antiguas Cortes y Parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia</i> . Barcelona: José Eusebio Montfort, 1851: VII, 176-179	1344, 25th March			10 years	
1367	Peace treaty for three years signed by Muhammad V of Granada and King Peter IV of Aragon	ACA. Cartas árabes 75. Pergamino 63+7 x 37	A.A.VV	<i>El perfume de la Amistad. Correspondencia diplomática árabe en archivos españoles (siglos XIII-XVII)</i>	Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2009	1367, 10th March	Granada	1367, 10th March	3 years	Muhammad V of Granada



1367	Peace treaty for three years between Peter IV and Mōhamet V of Granada in his second reign	ACA. R. 1389, f.3	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 306-311	1367, 10th March	Lleida			3 years	Peter IV of Aragon
1369	Treaty between Peter IV and Mohamed V of Granada on his own behalf and of that of the sultan of Morocco		Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 312-313	1369, 17th November				5 years	Peter IV of Aragon
1370	Truce between Granada and Castile for eight years, it includes Benimarin		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>La frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 97	1370		1370, 1st June		8 years	
1377	Peace treaty for five year between Aragon and Granada	ACA. Cancillería, R. 1389-133	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 314-320	1377, 27th May	Barchna	Fest of Saint John, June		5 years	Peter IV of Aragon
1378	Extension of the truce of 1370, for two years	AGS. Estado, Francia, K-1710, fol 6. Original on paper	Toral y Fernández de Penaranda, Enrique	"Dos cartas del rey Mahtomad V de Granada"	<i>Boletín de Instituto de Estudios Gienenses</i> , 140, Jaén, 1989, 58	1378, 10th February		1378, 1st June	1380, 1st June	2 years	
1379	Confirmation of truces between Granada and Castile		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866: chap. CXXXIV, vol. II, 527	1379, 9th May					John I of Castile?
1379	Confirmation of truces between Granada, Castile, Fez and Tremecén		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>La frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 110-111	1379, 21st August		1379, 21st August	1383, 21st August	4 years	Henry II of Castile
1382	Extension of the truce of 1379, between Granada and Castile. It includes Fez.		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>La frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 112-113	1382		1382, 1st October		4 years	



1405	Peace treaty for five years between Martin, King of Aragon and his son, Martin of Sicily with the sultan of Granada, Mohamed VII	ACA. Cancillería, R. 2248, f.131	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 325-333	1405, 4th May	Barcelona	1405, 5th May	1410, 5th May	5 years	King Martin of Aragon, King Martin of Sicily
1408	Concession of a truce for seven months		Torres Fontes, Juan	"La regencia de don Fernando de Antequera"	Miscelánea de estudios arabes y hebraicos. Sección Árabe-Islam, 14 (1965): 145			1408, 15th April	1408, 15th November	7 months	Ferdinand I of Aragon
1409	Ambassadors of Granada in Valladolid. New Truces	Crónica de Juan II, chap. 121	Carriazo, Juan de Mata	<i>Crónica de Juan II</i>	Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1982: 267-269	1409	Valladolid		1409, 31st August	5 months	King, Queen and Prince
1410	Treaty of truces with Granada	Cónica de Juan II, chap. 191	Carriazo, Juan de Mata	<i>Cónica de Juan II</i>	Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1982: 402-407	1410, 10th November		1410, 10th November	1412, 10th April	17 months	Don Ferdinand, Queen Catalina
1412	Extension of the truce of 1410		Alijo Hidalgo, Francisco	"Mercedes y privilegios a una plaza fronteriza del siglo XV: Antequera"	<i>Andalucía Medieval. Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía (Córdoba, noviembre 1979)</i> , Córdoba: Monte de Piedad, 1982: 409	1412, 10th April		1412, 10th April	1413, 5th February	10 months	
1413	Letter of truces between Ferdinand I and Yusuf III	ACA. Cancillería, R. 2.404, fol. 31 r., l. 1.	Arribas Palau, Mariano	<i>Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón</i>	Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 67-68	1414, 28th February	Saragossa			1 year	
1414	Truce between Castile and Granada	ACA. Cancillería, R. 3.397, fol. 179 r., l. 1	Arribas Palau, Mariano	<i>Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón</i>	Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 75-84	1414, 22nd May		1414, 14th April	1415, 15th April	1 year	
1415	Truce between Castile and Granada	ACA. Cancillería, R. 2.397, fol. 175 r., l. 1.	Arribas Palau, Mariano	<i>Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón</i>	Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 85-94	1415, 1st February		1415, 16th April	1416, 17th April	1 year	Ferdinand I of Aragon



1417	Prolongation of the Truce of 1415		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>La frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X, 2004: 134-135				1417, 16th April	1419, 16th April	2 years	John II of Castile
1418	Truce agreed between Alfonso the Magnanimous and the Alcaide Hayren, Messenger of Muhammad VIII of Granada	ACA. Cancillería, R., reg. 2641, ff.153v-156r.	Salicrú i Lluch, Roser	<i>El Sultanato Nazarí de Granada, Génova y la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XV</i>	Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001: 199-208	1418, 4th and 5th July	Saragossa				2 years	Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon
1419	Extension of the truce of 1417		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>La frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X, 2004: 138-139				1419, 18th April	1421, 18th April		
1421	Truce between Granada and Castile		Rodríguez Molina, José	<i>La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera</i>	Jaen: Alcalá Grupo Editorial, 2007: 381	1421, 15th July	Tordesillas		1421, 16th July	1424, 15th July	3 years	John II of Castile
1424	Letter of truces between John II of Castile and Abu Abd Allah Muhammad VII, <i>el Izquierdo</i>	BNE, ms. núm., 13.259, fol. 380 r., l. 5.	Aribas Palau, Mariano	<i>Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernán I de Aragón</i>	Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 95-102	1424, 11th June	Villa de Ocaña		1424, 15th July	1426, 16th July	2 years	John II of Castile
1427	Truce between Granada and Castile		Torres Fontes, Juan	"Las relaciones Castellano-Granadinas, 1427-1430"	<i>Relaciones exteriores del renio de Granada. IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza</i> , Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 90	1427, 16th February			1427, 16th February	1429, 16th February	2 years	
1429	Extension of the previous truce		Torres Fontes, Juan	"Las relaciones Castellano-Granadinas, 1427-1430"	<i>Relaciones exteriores del renio de Granada. IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza</i> , Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 98	1429, 5th February					undefined	John II of Castile



1431	Pact of vassalage between John II and Yucef Aben Al-Maul		Benavides, Antonio	<i>Memoria sobre la guerra del Reino de Granada</i>	Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1852: vol. 8, 41-45	1431, 16th December	Ardales	1431, 16th December		lifelong	John II of Castile
1432	Recognition of vassalage by Yusuf IV to John II	AGS. Patronato Real. Leg. I, fol. 124	Suarez, Luis	"Juan II y la frontera de Granada"	<i>Cuadernos de Historia Medieval</i> , 2 (1954): 38-42	1432, 27th January	Granada				John II of Castile
1439	Truce for three years agreed by Íñigo López de Mendoza with Abd Allah al-Amin	Archivo Domenecq-Zurita, Señorío de Fernández de Zurita (Olim) n°7; n° 13 (folio 2v)	García Luján, José Antonio	"Las treguas con Granada de 1439"	<i>Qurtuba, Estudios Andalusíes</i> , 3 (1998): 39-45	1439, 11th April	Jaén	1439, 15th April	1442, 16th April	3 years	John II of Castile
1439	Muhammad IX signs the truces with John II of Castile	AMC. Libro Azul, ff° 56-57	Aldón, Manuel and Martín, José	"La embajada de Diego Fernández de Zurita al Sultán Muhammad IX de Granada"	<i>Al-Andalus-Magreb</i> , 5 (1997): 69-70	1439, s.m.	Granada	1439, 15th April	1442, 16th April	3 years	Muhammad IX
1442	Copy of the Charter and Liti-gation that a city (Alcalá la Real) sent by order of his majesty, in the year 1442, to the Moorish king of Granada and the prince don Mahomat, his nephew and the heir to his kingdom, assuring them that for a period of five years no damage or harm would be done to the cities and places of his kingdom	Legajo particular de Alfonso Calonje	Martín Rosales, Francisco	"Documentos sobre la Frontera de Alcalá la Real"	<i>III Estudios de Frontera. Convivencia, Defensa y comunicación en la frontera. En memoria de don Juan de Mata, Carriazo y Arroquila. Jaen: Diputación Provincial de Jaén</i> , 2000: 861					5 years	John II



1443	John II of Castile concedes a truce for three years to the Emir of Granada. An annex contains the Nazarine commitment to pay the parias and hand over captives	BL. Additio- nal Ms. N° 9.924, fols. 227-235	López de Coca, José Enrique	"Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas"	<i>Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su reino</i> , (2 nd epoch), 12 (1998): 24-30	1443, 20th March	Escalona	1443, 15th April	1446, 16th April	3 years	John II
1445	Memorial whereby Bartomeu Reus, royal secretary and ambassador of John of Navarre to Alfonso the Magnanimous, answers John on behalf of Alfonso, who agrees to sign a truce for a year with Yusuf V	ACA. Cancillería, reg. 2698, ff. 135r-138r.	Salicrú i Lluch, Roser	<i>Documents per a la Història de Granada del Regnat d' Alfons el Magnànim (1416-1458)</i>	Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003: 421-422	1445, 21st October	Adria			1 year	Alfonso the Magnanimous
1447	Prorogue of Truce between Granada and Castile		Rodríguez Molina, José	"La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera"	Jae: Alcalá Grupo Editorial, 2007: 388	1447, 17th October		1446, April	1449, March	3 years	John II
1450	Proclamation of dismissal	AHMJF. Archivo del Concejo, 1450, fol.143 v	Abellán Perez, Juan	"Jerez, Las Treguas de 1450 y la Guerra civil Granadina"	<i>Estudios sobre el Reino de Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el IV Centenario de la Conquista</i> . Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1987: 16	1450, 27th March		1450, 27th March		18 months	
1450	John II communicates the granting of truces	AHMJF. Archivo del Concejo, 1450, fols. 168 r-v	Abellán Perez, Juan	"Jerez, Las Treguas de 1450 y la Guerra civil Granadina"	<i>Estudios sobre el Reino de Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el IV Centenario de la Conquista</i> . Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1987: 16	1450, 7th April	Arévalo			5 years	John II of Castile



1452	Missive from John II to the city of Alcalá la Real, stating that he has given powers to D. Pedro de Aguilar to make a truce for five years with the king of Granada	Colección Diplomática de Alcalá la Real	Juan Lovera, Carmen	<i>Colección Diplomática Medieval de Alcalá la Real</i>	Alcalá la Real: Esclavitud del Señor de la Humildad y María Santísima de las Dolores, 1988: 140-142	1452, 16th August	Burgos	1452, 1st September	5 years	John II of Castile
1452	John II informs the council of Murcia that truces have been signed with Granada for five years	AMM, Caja I, núm. 104	Abellán Pérez, Juan	<i>Documentos de Juan II</i>	Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1984: 665-667	1452, 16th August	Burgos	1452, 1st September	5 years	John II of Castile
1456	Zaad, King of Granada, negotiates truces with Juan Bravo, representative of Pedro Girón, Master of Calatrava	AHPJ, Archivo de los Condes de Humanes, legajo 15.789. Copia coetánea de la Chancillería Granadina	Porras Arboleda, Pedro	"Documentos sobre musulmanes y judíos en archivos señoriales y de protocolos (siglos XV y XVI)"	<i>Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales y Ciencias y Técnicas Históricas</i> , 16 (1991): 152	1456, 10th October	Granada	1456, 16th October	4 months	Zaad, King of Granada
1457	Royal Charter to Diego Puerocarrero about the truce signed for five months	AMM, carta original, caja I, n° 130	Molina Grande, María de la Concepción	<i>Documentos de Enrique IV</i>	<i>Colección de Documentos para la Historia del Reino de Murcia</i> . Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio (Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Granada, 18), 1988: 160	1457, 16th October	Jaén	1457, 31st October	5 months	King of Castile
1458	Truce between Granada and Castile		Torres Fontes, Juan	"Enrique IV y la frontera de Granada"	<i>Homenaje al Profesor Carriazo</i> . Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1971: 3, 355	1458, August-September				Henry IV et Castile



1460	Royal order, notifying the truce signed with Granada	AMM. Cartulario Real, fs. 99v-100r	Molina Grande, María de la Concepción	"Documentos de Enrique IV"	<i>Colección de Documentos para la Historia del Reino de Murcia</i> . Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio (Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Granada, 18), 1988: 160, 289-291	1460. 3rd April	Madrid	1460, 15th April	1461, 15th April	1 year	Henry IV et Castile
1460	Articles of the truces signed by Henry IV and don Sad of Granada	AMI. A.C., 1460, fs. 61v-62r	García Guzmán, María del Mar	"Las relaciones castellano-granadinas en el sector Xercense. El tratado de paz de 1460"	<i>Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales</i> , 11-12, (2010): 108-110	1460. 3rd April	Madrid	1460, 15th April	1461, 15th April	1 year	Henry IV et Castile
1462	Don Pedro Girón, Master of Calatrava announces a six-month truce with King Ismael of Granada	AMM. Cartulario Real 1453-1478, fol. 148.	Torres Fontes, Juan	"Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1464"	<i>Hispania, Revista Española de Historia</i> , 23/90 (1963): 196	1462. 30th November	Porcuna		1463, 1st May	6 months	Henry IV et Castile
1463	Order from Enrique IV to Don Pedro Girón, Master of Calatrava, to agree a truce with the Kingdom of Granada	AMM. Cartulario Real 1453-1478, fol. 153 r.	Torres Fontes, Juan	"Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1465"	<i>Hispania, Revista Española de Historia</i> , 90 (1963): 197-198	1463. 27th January	Almazán			8 months	Henry IV et Castile
1464	Royal order to those on the frontier with the kingdom of Granada, notifying them of the truce signed by their king	AMM. Carta Original, caja I, n° 150; Cart., cit., fol. 165v.	Molina Grande, María de la Concepción	"Documentos de Enrique IV"	Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio (Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Granada, 18), 1988: 509-510	1464. 14th March	Jaén			1 year	Henry IV of Castile
1465	Prorogue of the truce of 1464		Cascales, Francisco	<i>Discursos Históricos de Murcia y su reino</i>	Murcia: Francisco Benedito, 1775: 432	1465. 28th May	Salamanca			2 years	Henry IV of Castile



1469	The sheikhs Abd Allah b. Inan, Ammar b. Musa and Kahhu and commanders Alonzo de Lisón and Diego Soto, agree to a truce for three years	AHN. Archivo de los Duques de Frías, Catálogo 15, n. 2. Papel, 300/425mm. (Olim) Caxón 11, n. 128	García Luján, José Antonio	<i>Treguas, Guerras y Capitulaciones de Granada</i>	Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1998: 82-85	874 E.H. 19th Muharran/ 1469, 29th July	Llano de Guadalupe	874 E.H. 19th of Muharran/ 1469, 29th July	3 years	
1469	Three-year truce agreed by Aïnen, Amir Abénamar, Raho and Abulhaya and Diego López Pacheco	AHN. Archivo de los Duques de Frías, Catálogo 15, n. 2. Papel, 300/425mm. (Olim) Caxón 11, n. 128	García Luján, José Antonio	<i>Treguas, Guerras y Capitulaciones de Granada</i>	Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1998: 85-86	1469, 29th July		1469, 29th July	3 years	
1471	Truce between Granada and the faction of the Duke of Cabra	Colección Diplomática de Enrique IV, n.º CXI, p. 659	Carriazo, Juan de Mata	"Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478"	<i>Al-Andalus</i> , 19/2 (1954): 349-350	1471, December	Granada		10 years	Aly son of Abu-l-Nasar
1472	Peace treaty between Mawlay Hasin, King of Granada, and Henry IV of Castile	AHN. Archivo de los Duques de Frías, Catálogo 15, n.3. Vitela, 565/600 mm. (Olim) Caxón 19, n. 26, n. 58. Villería, vol. 99	García Luján, José Antonio	<i>Treguas, Guerras y Capitulaciones de Granada</i>	Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1998: 92-97	1472, 18th January	Granada	1472, 18th January	3 years	Henry IV of Castile
1475	Letter of truce with the Kingdom of Granada	AMC. Tombo de los Reyes Católicos, I, 63.	Carriazo, Juan de Mata; Candé, Ramón	<i>El Tombo de los Reyes Católicos del Consejo de Sevilla</i>	Sevilla: Editorial Católica Española, 1968: I, 122-123	1475, 17th November	Valladolid		<i>Tiempos a vosotros bien visto</i>	Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella



1476	Exchange of letters about the signing of peace between the Catholic Monarchs and Muley Abulhacen, King of Granada	AMJ. Actas de 1476, fols. 29r-30v.	Rodríguez Molina, José (Dir)	<i>Colección Diplomática del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén. Siglos XIV y XV</i>	Jaen: Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Jaén, 1985: 60-62	1476, 11th January	Jaén	1477, 11th March	1481, 11th March	4 years	Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella
1478	Truce between Granada and Castile		Torres Fontes, Juan	Las treguas castellano-granadinas desde 1475 a 1478	<i>Hispania. Revista Española de Historia</i> , 36 (1962): 219-220	1478			1481	3 years	Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella
1481	1481 Peace treaty between Castile and Granada	AHN. Sección del Clero, legajo nº 2.456/2	Bonilla y Mir, José; Toral, Enrique	<i>El Tratado de Paz de 1481 entre Granada y Castilla</i>	Jaen: Instituto de Estudios Giennenses-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 1982: 29-32	1481, 1st March	Granada	1481, 12th March	1482, 11th March	1 year	Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella
1486	King Ferdinand informs the council of Úbeda about the capitulation he had agreed with King Boabdil	Archivo Municipal de Úbeda	Porras, Pedro	"Documentos cristianos sobre mudéjares de Andalucía en los siglos XV y XVI"	<i>Anaquel de Estudios Árabes</i> , 3 (1992): 227	1486, 30th May	Loja	1486, 29th May	1487, 30th January	8 months	Ferdinand the Catholic
1486	Truce and peace for three years in the cities and towns that rose for Boabdil	Archivo de la Casa de Zafra. Carpeta C. núm. 7, fol 7j.	Garrido Atienza, Miguel	<i>Las Capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada</i>	Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1992: 168-169	1486, 5th June	Valdepeñas	1486, 5th June		3 years	Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella



WATER. OBJECT OF DESIRE AND SOURCE OF CONFLICT IN CASTILE IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

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Date of receipt: 2nd of April, 2013

Final date of acceptance: 4th of March, 2014

ABSTRACT

To the medieval mind, water was a prized asset and one highly sought after both for the personal use to which it could be put and for the benefits it afforded vis-à-vis enhancing the reputation of those able to enjoy it. As a result, late Middle Age Castilian society strove not only to secure itself a supply of water for its survival but also to enhance its prestige. This led to the emergence of conflicting interests surrounding water, sparking clashes involving those in authority, cities, and private citizens. The present article explores these issues in the context of lower medieval Castilian urban society, focusing on the reasons underlying the social rivalry concerning water and the measures taken to stave off such conflict¹.

KEY WORDS

Water, Social Conflicts, Castile, Towns, Medieval Mentality.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Aqua, Conflictus Sociales, Castella, Urbes, Mens Mediaevalis.

1. Introduction

15th century Castile was a time of sweeping changes affecting all aspects of life, from knowledge —through the emergence of humanism— to the economy. Yet, two areas which are of particular interest due to their relation with the issue at hand, are political power and the nature of society.

In the political arena, the newly arrived Trastámara dynasty came to the throne. The changes which this entailed led to bitter power struggles that were to mark much of the century. Yet, despite this, the monarchy was able to gain sufficient manoeuvring space in which to consolidate its position, bringing together nobles and towns, even though it meant having to overcome fierce resistance. The reign of Isabel I is a clear example of the triumph of the Castilian monarchy, which was able to lay the foundations for the development of a modern society. To achieve this, King Ferdinand and those charged with the task of governing adopted a fresh approach which would not only safeguard the loyalty of the nobles who, in general, were content with their role, but also ensure the support of the towns².

Within this new image of Castilian society, one particularly important aspect was how such facets as rank, prestige as well as personal and family honour were outwardly manifested. Nobles were now keen to show off their titles and coats of arms which reflected their links with other nobles and groups, as well as their position in the social hierarchy and in the kingdom as a whole. They also cultivated knowledge which, amongst other considerations, became a means of drawing attention to their social position, felt to be symbolically superior to the rest. Libraries now began to emerge, coupled with a desire to read, and translations of certain works were keenly sought out. All of this was only within the reach of the most prominent members of society and was a sign of the privileged position they held³.

Together with the nobility, another social sector which clearly began to emerge was those who had achieved wealth through trade and business. These were none other than the urban oligarchy whose members likewise felt the need to draw attention to their superior status, honour and prestige. They strove to be awarded tax exemptions, since not being obliged to pay taxes was a sign of rank, even if at times this brought them into conflict with others who were forced to bear a heavier financial burden as a result. This emerging group also sought to gain knighthoods or to join the ranks of the nobility, albeit lower ranking nobility, a position which would be conferred were they able to achieve the status of *hidalguía* or nobleness. When possible, they sought a position in the administration of the kingdom, which afforded opportunities for social advancement. In addition to attempting to monopolise local

1. This work has been carried out within the framework of research project HAR2012-32264, funded by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness. Used abbreviations: AGS, Archivo General de Simancas; ARChV, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid.

2. Valdeón, Julio. *Isabel la Católica y la política*. Valladolid: Ámbito-Instituto Universitario de Historia Simancas, 2001.

3. Quintanilla, María Concepción. *Títulos, grandes del reino y grandeza en la sociedad política. Fundamentos en la Castilla medieval*. Madrid: Silex, 2006.



government positions, in towns that were represented at parliament they aspired to be chosen to attend meetings which would provide them with fresh opportunities to improve their socio-political position⁴.

This dominant urban class was also actively involved in the world of knowledge, although they were often driven by a variety of reasons. Not only was knowledge required if their business was to prosper, but was also seen as a way to exhibit their eminent position. It was common to see them owning a number of books and there was also the occasional prominent writer such as Alonso Rodríguez de Montalvo, governor of Medina del Campo and author of *Sergas de esplandian*, a famous late 15th century book of chivalry⁵. They also sought to acquire specific knowledge from teachers who offered their services as private tutors or who worked in the schools found in many towns. Intellectual knowledge was at times necessary in order to pursue a career in administration or business, but was also a way of showing off their superior rank to fellow citizens.

In this desire to display their rank and position of honour to the rest of society, the key role played by the towns needs to be borne in mind. Towns enjoyed their own legal status and, like any other gentleman, strove to stand out above the rest. Towns also endeavoured to achieve fame and honour, to appear as attractive and well governed, as well as flourishing, clean and healthy⁶. This required ever-increasing resources, which were not always easily available. The growing economy of the time helped to achieving this, and in general terms the economic situation may be described as good. Once the crisis had been overcome, and despite the occasional moments of hardship, contemporary Castile was a prosperous kingdom in which the monarchy, nobles and urban oligarchy knew how to procure the resources necessary to maintain their rank and to expand. Although certain difficulties did exist, society as a whole, and in particular the towns, the area which particularly concerns us, enjoyed a period of prosperity bolstered by trade. One clear example of this is the emergence of towns such as Seville, Burgos, or Bilbao or the growth of the fairs held at Medina del Campo.

This is the general context in which the issue at hand, social conflict surrounding the use of water, is framed. Yet, before moving on to deal directly with the topic, one further brief consideration concerning urban social conflict needs to be made.

All social relations are determined by the tension which exists amongst opposing interests, such that society may provide the breeding ground which leads to clashes between various factions. In late medieval urban society in Castile the focal point of

4. Asenjo, María. "Las ciudades", *Orígenes de la monarquía hispánica: propaganda y legitimación* (ca. 1400-1520), José Manuel Nieto, dir. Madrid: Dykinson, 1999: 105-124.

5. Sales, Emilio. "Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo, regidor de la noble villa de Medina del Campo". *Revista de filología española*, 79/1-2 (1999): 123-158.

6. Bonachía, Juan Antonio. "'Más honrada que ciudad de mis reinos...': la nobleza y el honor en el imaginario urbano (Burgos en la Baja Edad Media)", *La ciudad medieval: aspectos de la vida urbana en la Castilla Bajomedieval*, Juan Antonio Bonachía, coord. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1996: 169-212; Fernández, Manuel. "La competencia por la honra en la Sevilla Bajomedieval. Rey, ciudad, nobles y conventos", *Construir la ciudad en la Edad Media*, Beatriz Arízaga, Jesús Ángel Solórzano, coords. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos-Universidad de La Rioja, 2010: 621-640.



this tension, which came to a head in 1520 with the Revolt of the *Comuneros*⁷, is the struggle for power, a struggle which involved at least three sectors; the monarchy which was increasingly keen to intervene in the internal affairs of towns; an urban oligarchy which had managed to secure a position for itself at the head of the local government and which did everything it could to maintain and indeed enhance its position; and the majority of citizens who, enjoying a relatively comfortable financial position, sought to be heard and make their aspirations known amongst the higher echelons, whilst playing a role in local politics, at least in those areas most directly affecting them.

Yet not all the conflicts to emerge at the time were the result of this tension. Indeed, if viewed at a local level, the most common source of conflict was tension arising from everyday problems, rivalry amongst neighbours for reasons which were apparently trivial, yet which often reflected highly symbolic motives; insecurity regarding the supply of basic necessities; the threat to hygiene or the general health resulting from unsociable behaviour. In short, questions related to daily life and coexistence which may involve strong personal feelings but which also jeopardise the economic or political interests of certain sectors.

On both the political as well as the everyday level, water played a key role in social relations in 15th century Castilian towns. Those in power used it as a means to gain the support of the people they governed as well as to secure certain advantages for themselves, such as having water available at or near their house. The rest of the townspeople fought to maintain their right to be provided with water in sufficient quantity and with the desired quality, whilst others used it for financial benefit and in an attempt to improve their economic and social position⁸.

All of this caused ill-feeling which at times led to major hostility, but which for the most part was confined to petty quarrels or brawls. However, it did often prove to be at the heart of social conflict which on many occasions interfered with the relations amongst townsfolk. Such conflicts were usually dealt with judicially, the related documents providing an insight into what occurred, although appeals to the monarchs and the latter's intervention were not uncommon. Differences amongst residents were often a result of some violent, physical or verbal act, whilst disputes confronting local government and residents tended to be caused by differences of opinion which led to complaints and reluctance to obey orders issued by the local council. All of this will be dealt with in the coming pages.

7. Perez, Joseph. *La revolución de las Comunidades de Castilla (1520-1521)*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1978.

8. One example is the behaviour of Cardenal Mendoza at Sigüenza, where he orders a water supply system to be built and to be kept in good condition, as noted by: Martínez, Pilar. "La ciudad de Sigüenza a finales de la Edad Media: fuentes para el estudio de sus murallas, plazas, infraestructuras y edificios singulares", *Construir la ciudad...*: 153.



2. Water in 15th century Castilian towns

I have dealt with this issue on other occasions⁹, and so I feel that only a brief overview needs to be given to explain why and how the conflicts which concern us here may have emerged and developed. Our starting point is the actual geography of Castile itself, a kingdom in which, despite its size, and geographical diversity, water generally remains in short supply. Even in the wettest regions such as the Cantabrian coast, water is scarce due to the problems involved in capturing and storing it. Except in a few cases (Duero, Tajo, Guadalquivir), the flow of the rivers is poor and inconsistent, causing problems with provision, particularly in summer¹⁰.

It should also be remembered that the availability of water is one of the main reasons accounting for the settlement of populations. People sought to ensure they had ample water supplies, which on occasions led them to establish towns near a river, the water from which would be used. One clear example of this, and one which reflects the importance attached to the river flowing close to the town centre, is Benavente, and the dispute it was involved in with a number of neighbouring areas over the use of water from the river Órbigo. In this particular instance, Benavente was opposed to the building of a channel which would divert the course of the river or at least reduce its flow near to the city, arguing that its natural path should be maintained¹¹.

Indeed the very layout of a town is often a result of the course of the river. Valladolid, located near the Pisuerga between two branches of one of its tributaries, the Esgueva, is a clear example of this. The city was built close to the main river, although at some distance in order to avoid being affected by flooding. However, in addition to providing the main supply of water, the river also plays a central role in the mind of its inhabitants. To the south, the city wall is restricted by one of the branches of the Esgueva, which prevented the town spreading in that direction. The northern branch of the river runs through the centre of the town, wherein the bridges play a key role, proving essential for circulation and communication between the various districts. As can be imagined, all of this requires the constant intervention of the local council, which must ensure the health, supplies and flow of people and goods around the town¹².

9. One reference here is: Val, María Isabel del. "Water in Spain in the 15th Century". *Rassegna*, 16/57 (1994): 49-53; Val, María Isabel del. "L'approvisionnement en eau dans les villes castillanes au bas Moyen Âge". *Le Moyen Âge. Revue d'histoire et de philologie*, 104/1 (1998): 73-90. Chapters I have written in collective books that I have published and which are cited in other notes as well as other works that will be cited at the appropriate point may also be consulted.

10. A general overview of studies into water in Castile in Sowina, Ursszula; Val, María Isabel del. "L'eau dans les villes de Castille et de Pologne au Moyen Âge". *Histoire Urbaine*, 22 (2008): 115-140.

11. Val, María Isabel del. "Naturaleza y sociedad. La actitud urbana ante los recursos hídricos en la Castilla del siglo XV". *Natura i desenvolupament. El medi ambient a l'edat mitjana*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2007: 179-180.

12. For medieval Valladolid: Rucquoi, Adeline. *Valladolid en la Edad Media*, 2 vols. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1987.



At other times, this impact on the spread and growth of the city is shaped by the features of the area in which the city is built. One clear example is Zamora, since the layout of the city and its expansion is determined by the presence of the river Duero. Firstly, the bridge over the river was soon to become a symbol for the town's inhabitants, so much so that it was chosen to decorate the seal of the town. The river also marks the town perimeter, affording a defence against any unwanted attacks over the whole area. The actual geography of the riverbanks on which Zamora is situated also shape the layout of the streets, the river enabling the town's inhabitants to enjoy ample supplies of water to set up a number of mills as well as other industries such as tanneries that are dependent on water¹³.

One further noteworthy aspect regarding the role played by water in the late Middle Ages is how it was used to honour towns and as a symbol of their prestige, as referred to in the previous section. Beyond this, however, water was a major source of wealth for local councils. Considered a public good, it was often controlled by local governments whose power extended to cover the water which came under their jurisdiction. This enabled them to obtain income and revenue, either by directly exploiting water or, more commonly, by leasing it out to use. Local government was often faced with certain expenses or with the need to undertake certain works, which in the long run would benefit the local coffers. Such is the case of local government owned mills and bridges, the latter proving to be particularly costly in terms of construction and maintenance, yet highly beneficial to the interests of the town. The main benefits to emerge from the existence of a bridge include helping to carry out effective government by favouring communications and eliminating the danger involved in crossing the river by other means, endowing the town with honour by becoming an emblematic symbol of the city, as is the case in Zamora, whose seal bears a representation of the town's bridge over the Duero. In addition, bridges were also a source of income as tolls were charged. For all these reasons local governments had no difficulty in meeting the high costs which building a bridge entailed¹⁴.

3. Social rivalry surrounding water

Taking into account the prominent role which water played in towns in Castile at the end of the 15th century combined with the overall situation in the kingdom at the time, we now explore the rivalries that emerged concerning water. More

13. Hidalgo, Francisco. "El agua como condicionante de la estructura urbana: Lyon y Zamora. Dos ejemplos del Bajo Medievo", *Agua y sistemas hidráulicos en la Edad Media hispana*. Cristina Segura, ed. Madrid: Al-Mudayna, 2003: 124-132.

14. Villanueva, Olatz. "Agua y patrimonio en Castilla: el puente de Itero del Castillo en Burgos y las tenerías de la ciudad de Zamora", *Musulmanes y cristianos frente al agua en las ciudades medievales*, María Isabel del Val, Olatz Villanueva, eds. Santander: Universidad de Castilla-la Mancha-Universidad de Santander, 2008: 15-45.



often than not, these simply involved minor disagreements, although there were occasions when tension grew and led to disputes which may have varied in intensity but which always proved an obstacle to the peaceful existence of the inhabitants. In the following sections I describe some of the aspects of urban life which, related to water and the use thereof, could lead to conflict in towns in Castilian towns towards the end of the Middle Ages.

3.1. The desire to control water resources

Despite being deemed a public good, on numerous occasions a particular institution or individual seized use of water for themselves, either legitimately or surreptitiously. Such an attitude is the result of the desire to expand one's own power to other areas and goods in order to obtain income and gain control over the trades or crafts of the inhabitants in the area in question. On many occasions this led to a clash of interests between the two opposing parts, fishing being one of the most common aspects in which such situations most clearly arose. Without for the moment going into situations in which there was a struggle to take possession of the benefits deriving from the exploitation of water resources, we will now explore how those in power sought to gain control of water as a means to extend and consolidate their power in the area in question.

Those owning land near to places where water flowed tended to use the water for irrigation, as a source of energy, or to fish. Allowances and donations in which water was included as part of the goods ceded or donated were fairly commonplace. Both matters affected those in power as well as towns alike, who were able to acquire water rights by exchange or purchase, as the town of Aranda de Duero did in 1495 when it bought the farm of Milagros. In this case, ritual taking of possession includes fishing in the river Rianza, reflecting how the rights over the river were seized by the town. Aranda de Duero was in fact involved in a conflict with the Count of Miranda immediately afterwards concerning ownership of the area and its water. The Count was a local nobleman who felt that the farm belonged to him, leading him to clash with the town's authorities and indeed occupy the farm of Milagros and set up guards in the woodlands and nears the river, and to prohibit fishing, thus reflecting his conviction that the water was his and that he could do with it as he pleased. As can easily be imagined, the opposing positions of the town and the Count led to an open conflict which raged for a long time¹⁵.

Similar forceful seizures of water are documented in other towns such as Burgos, which controlled the surrounding fishing areas against the interests of the local population. In 1484 the town council took control of a fishing well belonging to the

15. Peribáñez, Jesús G.; Abad, Isabel. "La pesca fluvial en el reino de Castilla durante la Edad Media", *Vivir del agua en las ciudades medievales*, María Isabel del Val, coord. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2006: 170-171.



town by casting a net over it and fishing¹⁶. On other occasions, however, in an effort to defend public ownership of the river, the town council sought to use it as if it were part of the town itself, as was the case in Palencia, a city in which, as we shall see later, water was the cause of a number of conflicts between the town council and the lord¹⁷. In all of these cases, the aim was to show publicly and unmistakably the power which was exercised over water, in other words displaying the ability to decide freely over its use. Yet this desire, which entailed major economic as well as political and social implications, was not always recognised by the other real or possible powers connected with the particular water in question, and it was precisely this that led to confrontation, although in most cases conflict was due to specific interests concerning rights over the use of water resources.

In other instances, this desire for control was expressed differently, by claiming the right to take charge of maintaining the water supply network, as this was a task which reflected who had rights over the water in question. Such was the case in Almería where, at the end of the 15th century, a clash broke out between the town council, who assumed responsibility for maintaining the public water tanks, and the church authorities who claimed the task for themselves. After a number of disputes between the two parts, in the early 16th century the balance finally swung in favour of the local government¹⁸.

3.2. *The power of towns over villages*

One factor which needs to be taken into account in order to understand the tension brought about by the use of water is that it was sometimes used by those in power as a means of exercising control over those they governed. This is evident in the attitude of local councils towards the villages located in the area, and which came under their jurisdiction. In such instances, urban society imposed its interests on the villagers whilst also bringing its weight to bear on them by controlling the use of all shared resources, including water.

The 15th century was rife with clashes between crop farmers and livestock farmers over the use of land, with a growing tendency towards the use of croplands. This at times meant a reduction in grazing lands and woodlands, although this was not the only problem as water was again at the heart of many conflicts. Such was the case in Cuéllar where, whilst the villages wanted to use water to irrigate their vegetable growing areas, to the detriment of the drinking troughs and pastures, the town council sought to defend the interests of livestock farmers, in other words the urban

16. Casado, Hilario. *Señores, mercaderes y campesinos. La comarca de Burgos a fines de la Edad Media*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1987: 208.

17. Oliva, Hipólito Rafael. "Concejo, cabildo y políticas del agua en Palencia a finales de la Edad Media", *Vivir del agua en la Edad Media*, Maria Isabel del Val, coord. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2006: 66.

18. Segura, Cristina. "El abastecimiento de agua en Almería a fines de la Edad Media". *En la España Medieval*, 4 (1984): 1009-1022.



oligarchy, as opposed to the village peasants. This led them to curb the use of water for agricultural purposes and to protect drinking troughs and pastures¹⁹.

Yet, not everything involved favouring livestock and restricting other uses. Cáceres provides an example of a situation in which the town, whilst exercising its power over the villages under its jurisdiction, evidenced its desire to protect water resources, seeking to conserve them so as to ensure availability for irrigating the land where water was needed²⁰.

Another type of conflict that was fairly common was caused by the town's desire to make villages bear the cost of work carried out to benefit the town. This was for example the intention of Segura who wanted to channel water to the town centre and to force certain nearby villages to pay extra taxes in order to raise the money to pay for the work. In 1448, the villagers protested and took their grievance to the judge, who found in their favour, declaring that they were exempt from paying the extra taxes which Segura had intended to levy on them²¹.

However, it was not only town councils but also other institutions that sought to impose their political will on villages. Such was the case in Burgos, where the church authorities, lord of *Modúbar de la Emparedada*, were in conflict with the villagers, who in 1491 protested because a member of the church authorities, the succentor, wanted to build a mill on common ground, which the millers felt was contrary to their interests. The church authorities initially seemed to support the peasants who had protested, although the following year they themselves ordered the mill to be built. By doing so, not only were the church authorities in Burgos able to impose their will, further their own interests and exercise their feudal power, but were also able to obtain a fresh source of income, however small the revenue from the mill may have been²².

3.3. The use of water power

Claiming power over water was at times the result of a desire to benefit from and exploit the available fishing resources or to use the water for irrigation purposes, although the most likely reason for wishing to gain control of water was to generate the hydraulic energy required for ensuring economic progress and supplying people in rural as well as urban areas. It should be remembered that it was usually the municipal authorities who had the power to authorise or refuse use of running water, and therefore the installation of mechanical devices of any kind. Yet, there

19. Olmos, Emilio. "El agua entre agricultura y ganadería a orillas del Duero", *Vivir del agua...*: 206-212.

20. This is reflected in: "Ordenanzas del agua de la ribera" of Cáceres, published by García, M^a Dolores. *Documentación histórica del archivo municipal de Cáceres (1475-1504)*. Cáceres: Institución cultural "El Brocense", 1988: 376 and 258-262 (doc. n. 196).

21. Arízaga, Beatriz. "El agua en la documentación urbana del Nordeste peninsular", *El agua en las ciudades castellanas durante la Edad Media. Fuentes para su estudio*, María Isabel del Val, coord. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1998: 87.

22. Casado, Hilario. *Señores, mercaderes y campesinos...*: 190-192.



were also other powerful bodies such as the lord in the case of towns deemed as noble, for example Palencia, or the privileges awarded by the monarch to other powers or persons, a situation that affected the city of Burgos, reflected amongst other instances by the long-running confrontation between the town council and the powerful monastery at Las Huelgas²³.

Setting up a water driven mill of any kind was a sign of the use of water and an indication of the power of those who were allowed to do so or those able to grant permission for the construction thereof. This brings us to the area of the exploitation of water power, one of the main uses to which water was put in the Middle Ages, since it related both to the work of certain craftsmen as well as the issue of food, and therefore basic human survival. As I pointed out some time ago in another work, this is precisely why employing water to produce energy was behind most of the conflicts to arise surrounding the use of water, conflicts which might reach the highest court in the land, the Chancellery²⁴.

Those in power sought to control, and often monopolise, the use of water energy. The town council in Palencia, a town under church authority, is one clear example when in 1460 it ordered a new mill complex to be built on the river Carrión, putting this work before the construction of a new cathedral which remained unfinished²⁵. It was precisely this matter of the mills which, in the early 16th century, was to cause a confrontation with the town council when a former governor ordered new ones to be built²⁶.

Yet it was not only amongst the ruling authorities, whether ecclesiastical or lay, where conflicts of this nature were to be found. There were also numerous instances in which town councils clashed with individuals or where disputes flared up amongst residents. These differences tended to revolve around the availability of running water, although dissension may also have arisen because of water driven mills, or iron foundries, with corn-mills being the most common, although there were others used for products such as powders or other dyes or colour fixatives employed in textiles or tanning. One such conflict sprang up in the early 16th century (in 1512 to be exact), and confronted some inhabitants of Olmedo with a resident of the nearby town of Medina del Campo, who had carried out work on his mill. This may well have entailed raising the level of the weir from which he drew his water, an action which may have proved damaging to owners of the other mills as a result of a drop in the flow of water²⁷.

Another common problem was ownership of such facilities, which was disputed by various parties. One example may be found in the so-called "Madalena water mills" in Valladolid, located on the river Pisuerga, ownership of which was claimed for her children by Isabel Muñoz, widow of the governor of Valladolid, Juan de

23. Casado, Hilario. *Señores, mercaderes y campesinos...*: 183-184.

24. Val, María Isabel del. "El agua en la documentación de la Real...": 97-124.

25. Cabeza, Antonio. *Clérigos y señores. Política y religión en Palencia en el Siglo de Oro*. Palencia: Diputación Provincial de Palencia, 1996: 48.

26. Oliva, Hipólito Rafael. "Concejo, cabildo y políticas...": 67.

27. ARChV. Casos civiles, discontinued, box 238-01.



Herrera. In 1488, she reported Rodrigo de Villandrando and some of his servants to the authorities for having attacked the mills armed with swords, daggers and spears, stealing and causing a great deal of damage²⁸.

Differences also arose concerning the usufruct of water, as was the case in a village in Valladolid, Tudela de Duero, where two local residents, Diego de Velasco and Rodrigo de Villamañán, built a mill on the Jaramillo stream, which flows into the Duero, without the permission of the village which benefited from the stream's waters. The conflict led to a lawsuit in the 1490s which, after having initially been examined by the town judges in Valladolid, eventually reached the supreme court in the land, the Chancellery²⁹ after an appeal was lodged.

3.4. Conflicting interests surrounding the use of water

One further aspect which should be mentioned concerning this matter is that in 15th century Castilian towns there were numerous instances which evidenced other conflicting interests surrounding the use of water, and in particular rivalry over the right to enjoy such a prized asset in the best possible conditions. In this regard one aspect which may be mentioned concerns the availability of water near homes (and the rivalry it led to amongst individuals), or in certain districts of the town, when some residents enjoyed privileges to the detriment of others. One clear example of this behaviour and of the defiance it caused may be found in Medina del Campo, a town which hosted the most important fairs in the kingdom. In order to safeguard the availability of water in the area where the fair was held, the town council undertook a series of works, which included diverting a spring from one of the outlying areas of the town, the district of San Nicolás, to the square where the fair was held. Although there were two springs in the area of San Nicolás, and although it was decided to divert the water from only one of them, residents of the district protested vehemently against the town council decision, delaying the work. The situation required the intervention of the crown who supported the town council's decision feeling that channelling water to the more central area where the fair was located would benefit the town as a whole³⁰.

This need to ensure the availability of water in a specific area in the town centre, to the detriment of others, was commonplace. Such was the case in San Vicente de la Barquera, a small town on the Cantabrian coast, which was supplied by a conduit from a relatively nearby source, Fuentelapeña, one league away. This conduit had been made with wooden tubes running underground, which made it difficult to repair in the event of leaks. Concerned about the devastating effects of the fire that broke out in 1483, the town council decided to cut off the water to the Franciscan

28. ARChV. Reales Ejecutorias, 27-26. The executing letter dates from 1490.

29. ARChV. Reales Ejecutorias, 84-9. The executing letter is dated 23 May 1495.

30. Val, María Isabel del. "Preocupación urbanística e intereses económico-sociales en el ocaso de la Edad Media", *Terres et hommes du Sud. Hommage à Pierre Tucoo-Chala*, Christian Desplat, dir. Biarritz: J and D Éditions, 1992: 380-381.



convent of San Luis, located outside the walls, in order to ensure supplies to the town. As may be imagined, the monks protested, demanding that their water supply be maintained. However, the town authorities held their ground and refused to give way, arguing that it was necessary to safeguard a supply to the town and to combat any other fires which might break out. In order to find a solution to the problem, they recommended the Franciscans to take water from a different source, since the one they were using which was to be used for the town was not enough to supply the convent as well. The case dragged on from 1491 to 1524³¹.

Rivalry amongst individuals tended to emerge when inhabitants were able to provide themselves with a supply close to their house. This led other residents to protest, either because they felt aggrieved at not having been able to secure the same for themselves or because their own supply suffered as a result. One example may be seen in Segovia, where in 1495 a section of the town complained that certain monasteries, knights and craftsmen had commandeered public water supplies to the detriment of the rest, whose own supplies had been cut back as a result. In order to make sure that this ill-will did not lead to open hostility, the town council intervened by commencing public works and placing a restriction on concessions³².

3.5. Hygiene and comfort: washing and dirtying

One issue which appears to have been of great concern in the everyday lives of citizens in the late Middle Ages was maintaining health and comfort. These were two matters in which water played a key role, leading on occasions to strain and conflict due to opposing interests or rivalry amongst residents.

Preserving public health involves ensuring that supplies of drinking water are available, which not only in turn entails undertaking work that can at times prove costly and complicated³³, but also exercising control over the use of water so as to prevent it being polluted. This caused problems that led to confrontations amongst some inhabitants of the town. One very clear example was leather workers and dyers, two crafts which relied on water and which caused a great deal of pollution. In order to prevent harming the other inhabitants, town councils often ordered these craftsmen to carry out their work downriver, often sparking resistance amongst the craftsmen involved who preferred to stay where they were. When the town council in Palencia decided to move the dyers, resistance from the latter resulted

31. Solórzano, Jesús Á. "Infraestructuras e instalaciones portuarias, fluviales e hídricas en las villas del Norte peninsular a finales de la Edad Media: Las obras públicas como instrumentos de poder", *Musulmanes y Cristianos frente al agua...*: 295.

32. Asenjo, María. *Segovia. La ciudad y su tierra a fines del medievo*. Segovia: Diputación provincial de Segovia, 1986: 74-76; Val, María Isabel del. "El abastecimiento de agua a Segovia en el contexto bajomedieval castellano". *Estudios segovianos*, 37/194 (1996): 733-752.

33. An example is the water supply construction work studied by: Carrasco, Ángel. "El acueducto de madera de Robledo de Chavela. Abastecimiento y contaminación del agua a finales de la Edad Media", *Agua y sistemas hidráulicos...*: 177-194.



in negotiations that were to last six years (from 1485 to 1491), those who were affected managing to force the town council to provide them with the land they needed to go about their work in the area designated, away from the town centre³⁴.

Such a conflict of interests may also lead to disputes with other authorities in the surrounding area, as was the case in Burgos with the monastery at Las Huelgas, or in Valladolid with the monastery of Nuestra Señora de Prado. In the latter case, Hieronymite monks felt aggrieved by the fact that butcher's stalls and tanneries had been set up in Valladolid in the water mill area of Villotilla, near to their monastery. This led them to undertake a lawsuit in 1492, the monarchs requesting information regarding the matter³⁵.

However, it was not only the work of certain craftsmen but indeed the consequences of everyday activities that could lead to water being polluted. Such activities included washing clothes, household goods, food (vegetables or the insides of animals) or people's own bodies. Any local resident might be guilty of going against the general interest in terms of health by engaging in certain activities in an unsuitable area. This was particularly true in the case of fountains, although rivers and streams could also be the cause of conflict when people sought to take control of them for themselves. There are numerous examples, such as Ávila³⁶, of local ordinances forbidding residents from washing in public fountains or rivers in an effort to avert arguments and quarrels.

3.6. Relations amongst residents: supply points and coexistence with the mudéjares (Muslims permitted to live under Christian rule)

This brings us to a further point of interest related to the issue at hand, which is none other than the important role played by water as a focal point for social gatherings, since it brought together both many men and women. Areas such as wells, rivers, or fountains were often places where conversations were struck up, but could also spark rows and upset peaceful coexistence.

Transporting water to dwellings was a task that could be performed by the young women in the house, maidservants or otherwise, or by water-carriers. rivers, wells and fountains providing the supply points. As these were often located on the outlying parts of the town and generally outside the town walls, the vicinity of a river could prove to be a potentially dangerous area, as could wells and fountains, despite being inside the walls.

In the late 15th century the vast majority of towns had fountains which played a variety of roles in daily life, serving to embellish and honour it, and soon becoming

34. Oliva, Hipólito Rafael. "L'eau et le pouvoir dans les villes castillanes à la fin du Moyen Âge. Palencia, un exemple de concurrence de pouvoirs". *Histoire urbaine*, 22 (2008): 69.

35. Wattenberg, Eloisa; García, Agustín. *El monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Prado*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1997: 366 (the document may be found in AGS. Registro General del Sello, 149209-196).

36. Monsalvo, José María. *Ordenanzas medievales de Ávila y su Tierra*. Avila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1990: 105.



meeting points, which was also true for wells. This accounts for why their use was controlled, not only as far as the use of water was concerned but also with regard to whom, when and why people could meet there. This was because meetings could not only prove to be friendly but could also give rise to scuffles, abuse and physical aggression, leading to conflict amongst residents. In Córdoba, in January 1498, news of a street fight was reported near the well close to the Church of San Pedro. A carder stabbed in the head and injured a fellow townsman who had previously insulted him. One extreme case is that of a murder in Lebrija, in 1476. The victim was a woman who was murdered by her husband from whom she had separated. According to the report by the murdered woman's mother, the man had waited for her near the well where she had gone to collect water with a pitcher and had then stabbed her to death³⁷. Without reaching such violent extremes, meetings at points where water was available could on occasions give rise to unwanted encounters, and friction amongst neighbours which could lead to scuffles.

Yet, there was another side to the conflicts amongst residents over the issue of water, one which was related with the coexistence between two contrasting socio-political groups, the Christian majority and the Muslim minority. In all of the work connected to the supply of water, whether construction or maintenance, there was a strong presence of skilled *mudéjar* workers, as can be seen in Guadalajara, Madrid, Valladolid or Medina del Campo. In this particular field at least, relations between skilled Christian and Muslim workers seem to have been good on the whole, even when problems arose concerning breach of contract, as occurred in Valladolid with the first engineer who was hired by the town council to channel water to the centre of the town from a watering point located outside the walls³⁸. Yet, although fairly uncommon, there do seem to have been instances of negative attitudes towards the minority groups by the majority. This was true of Seville where anti-*mudéjar* feeling was at times in evidence, for instance in 1405 and 1412, when it was made difficult for *mudéjares* to ply their trade freely as pipe-layers, a job they had traditionally undertaken, since at least the early 15th century³⁹. Pipe-layers were in charge of maintaining the water supply network and were often Muslims, as we have seen in Seville, and as was also the case in other towns such as Madrid⁴⁰.

37. Córdoba, Ricardo. "El homicidio en Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media". *Clío y Crimen*, 2 (2005): 667 and 557-561 (docs. n. 59 and 14).

38. Pino, Fernando. *El primer libro de actas del ayuntamiento de Valladolid. Año 1497*. Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 1990: 124 and 133-135 (n. 315) and 348-350; Pino, Fernando. *Libro de actas del ayuntamiento de Valladolid. Año 1498*. Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 1992: 65 (n. 170).

39. Montes, Isabel. "El abastecimiento de agua a la Sevilla bajomedieval: los moros cañeros y el acueducto de los Caños de Carmona", *Construir la ciudad en la Edad Media*, Beatriz Arízaga, Jesús Á. Solórzano, eds. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2010: 73-74.

40. Segura, Cristina. "Los oficios del agua", *Historia del abastecimiento y usos del agua en la villa de Madrid*. Madrid: Confederación Hidrográfica del Tajo y Canal de Isabel II, 2000: 129-138.



3.7. Town council intervention in urban matters

Wells and particularly fountains were central points in medieval towns. I have already referred to the close link between water and the layout of many towns, and a point which I now feel needs to be highlighted is how within the town walls water could lead to problems that would force local authorities to intervene. In this, as in other matters, the town council sought to avoid problems for the townsfolk as much as possible, although they were not always able to do so, which occasionally led to certain discontent when the ruling authorities proved unable to solve problems. At times, the measures taken to avoid inconvenience to some caused ill-feeling amongst others, who vented their anger as a result.

Complaints arising out of the accumulation of dirt were commonplace as were other grievances caused by the free flow of rainwater or even the dumping of rubbish. One such case involved the monastery of Santa Cruz de Segovia, and led them to complain in 1510 that the rainwater from the town ran towards the Gate of San Martín, causing the convent to flood, as a wall had been built blocking the vegetable garden, preventing the rainwater from flowing freely and diverting it towards the monastery⁴¹.

Another clear case is that of Aranda de Duero, where the Jews complained because the natural course of the water flowed into the Jewish quarter when there was rain, filling it with all kinds of rubbish which was prevented from going any further by the wall which blocked any possible exit. This is precisely why in 1486 the inhabitants requested that a gap be opened in the wall. Their request was accepted, no doubt in order to avoid disagreements. However, the problem was not fully resolved, as in 1492, those who took possession of the houses after the Jews were expelled, were forced to demand that the gap be left where it was since residents of a nearby street wanted to have it shored up for their own benefit, as they felt that if it were closed they might suffer again as a result. In other words, although the problem was solved, it remained a source of potential conflict and indeed a permanent threat for those living in the area⁴².

Palencia provides us with a further example of conflict arising out of a matter related to town planning. In this town, as in others, the town council sought to relocate certain activities, which were felt to cause pollution, in areas where they would not go against the general interest in any way. They wanted to control how the channel supplying water to the dyers was to be built so that it would not cause harm and lead to protest and ill-feeling⁴³.

41. Asenjo, María. *Segovia. La ciudad y su tierra...*: 70.

42. Peribáñez, Jesús G.; Abad, Isabel. "El control social del agua en la villa de Aranda de Duero. El aprovechamiento del río Aranzuelo a principios del siglo XVI", *Usos sociales del agua en las ciudades hispánicas de la Edad Media*, María Isabel del Val, coord. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2002: 128 and 147.

43. Oliva, Hipólito Rafael. "Concejo, cabildo y políticas del agua en Palencia...": 58.



3.8. *Confrontations with authorities outside the town*

Whilst problems arising within the confines of certain towns could prove to be serious, other conflicts could be even more so as they occasionally involved prominent figures. Such instances refer to disagreements which confronted one town council with another, or which involved a noble or ecclesiastical institution. I have not found any instances of a conflict with the reigning monarch, although there are cases of disputes with chief magistrates or concerning certain decisions.

One particular instance is towns in which there was a higher lord, and where the town council ruled on matters which may have clashed with the interest of said ruling authority concerning the use of water. Palencia again provides us with a clear example when the town council clashed with the lord, in this case the bishop. One particular conflict arose over the location of the tanneries and control over fishing. The first issue was used by the bishop in an effort to assert his authority over the town council since, when the latter decided to move the location of the workshops in 1451 and those affected refused, seeking the support of the bishop, the latter offered them his assistance, thereby prolonging the problem. In 1481, the town council and tradesmen's guild reached an agreement whereby the craftsmen would move to a new tannery, to be built at the expense of the town council who would in turn receive rent from the tanners working there. However, in 1494 the tanners once again appealed to the bishop, who provided them with new land on which to have a tannery built in return for rent. The other matter which confronted the Palencia town council and the bishop concerned the use of the river, when at the end of the 15th century, claiming the water to be a public good, the town council sought to exercise its control over fishing rights and to have mills installed. The ecclesiastical authorities opposed this, intending to impose their monopoly over fishing rights in their mills on the canals, denouncing the wrong they suffered as a result of having their water energy supplies cut back. Both conflicts dragged on well into the 16th century⁴⁴.

Conflicts also emerged when the lord was a noble. One such instance is the case of Riaza, which in 1430 was handed over by King Juan II to Constable Álvaro de Luna, including the water from three small nearby rivers, essential for running the nearby iron mines. A few years later, in 1438, the town council complained of the abusive use the governing authority was making of the water, damaging the interests of the local inhabitants, who lacked sufficient water for irrigation or to turn the millstones and fulling mills. In this case, the grievance put to the king failed to have the desired effect, since Juan II, far from heeding their pleas, reaffirmed his decision concerning his donation to the noble in question, who was the main cornerstone of his government⁴⁵.

44. Oliva, Hipólito Rafael. "L'eau et le pouvoir...": 69-74.

45. Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección diplomática de Riaza (1258-1457)*. Segovia: Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1959: 72-76, 87-90 and 93-96.



Another source of conflict between two neighbouring towns often arose over a dispute concerning the use of water for mainly livestock purposes. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, livestock was at the heart of economic development in Castile, for which, in addition to grazing land and salt, water was essential. The search for and defence of watering places became a key priority for much of the urban oligarchy involved in the livestock industry as well as for local government who, beyond any private interests that may have been at stake, also received a great deal of income from such activities.

The disagreement to spring up between Peñafiel and Cuéllar, two towns located very near the river Duero, provides an illustration. Both town councils had a vested interest in the matter, sharing a large tract of common land used by livestock, which had numerous streams that ensured grazing land and water for the cattle. As can well be imagined, this situation gave rise to a number of clashes between the two towns over the use and distribution of the available water resources. The main bones of contention were the use of watering places as well as access to the river Duero which, during periods of drought, provided the only guaranteed source of water for the herds⁴⁶.

Another point which should be mentioned is that towns at times suffered the consequences of wars between feuding lords, which might affect water supplies. Such was the case in Seville during the bitter clashes involving the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the Marquis of Cádiz. The latter did everything in his power to prevent water flowing from Alcalá de Guadaira, from where it was taken by the Carmona pipelines which, as we mentioned earlier, supplied water to Seville, a town allied to the duke. This situation, which lasted from 1471 to 1474, also led to water being stolen on numerous occasions by residents of Alcalá, affecting supply through the Carmona pipeline. As may easily be imagined, this caused the town problems and drew protests from those working the mills located along the route of the pipeline, who sought a reduction in the rent they had to pay since their ability to mill had been seriously affected by the cut in available water power⁴⁷.

Another case in which this kind of confrontation is clear concerned use of water from the river Órbigo for land irrigation in the area of León. In this particular instance the opposing forces were Santa Marina del Rey, a small town ruled over by the church authorities of the cathedral of Astorga, and Count Luna, who had interests in the area through which the canal known as the *presa cerrajera* ran. Using his power, the Count broke up the dykes when there was a shortage of water, thereby ensuring supplies would reach his land. Such behaviour was clearly prejudicial to the interests of the inhabitants of Santa Marina, who protested as a result and complained about the attacks they were occasionally subject to from the Count's men, such violence proving constant if only sporadic. In 1431 Count Diego Fernández de Quiñones was found guilty of attacks against the town of Santa

46. This issue has been studied by: Olmos, Emilio. "El agua entre agricultura y ganadería...": 204-206.

47. Montes, Isabel. "El abastecimiento de agua a Sevilla...": 81.



Marina, although this did not prevent the abuse and confrontation that were rife throughout 15th century⁴⁸.

Conflicts between town councils and ruling lords over fishing rights were also commonplace. Disputes often arose resulting from the exercising of rights over rivers since, as we have seen, although water was considered a public good, those enjoying legal power thereover, whether town councils, church authorities or nobles, frequently conferred such rights on themselves. In the mountains to the west of León, disputes emerged in the town councils of Luna and Canales over fishing rights in the river Luna. The town councils sought to defend their rights over the river against the claims of the monastery of Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas and the Count of Luna, who had conferred on themselves the right to decide over the river and use thereof. In the first instance (the monastery versus Canales), where violence between the parts was commonplace, the affair reached the highest court in the land, the Chancellery of Valladolid, who found in favour of the monastery in 1495. In the case of the town council of Luna, the confrontation was with the Count of Luna, with whom disputes concerning fishing rights had been ongoing since at least 1435. The town complained that the Count had sealed off a section of the river for his own use to the detriment of the townspeople, on whom he also imposed severe punishment when they failed to obey. In this instance, the sentence, dated 1438, found in favour of the town council, although this did not put an end to the conflict, since differences continued throughout almost the whole of the 15th century, sometimes merging with problems related to obeying closed fishing season restrictions⁴⁹.

3.9. *Water concessions for domestic use and fishing*

Ensuring the public use of the waters under their control and for their benefit was one of the main concerns of town councils, since all urban authorities were aware that abuse in this matter could lead to a shortage in supply and cause tension which might spark social conflict. They therefore strove to block the claims of those who might seek to take advantage of water which in principle was supposed to satisfy the needs of the whole town. Such behaviour tended to involve those in power, whether clergy or lay.

Concessions over a part of public water were some times awarded by royal grace. At other times it was the town councils who conferred such a concession on those they wished to benefit or on those whose support and favour they sought to gain. Yet, as we shall see, there were also occasions when individuals simply appropriated the water, without having any right to do so. In all such instances, those who benefited were monasteries, nobles or prominent figures or families in the town.

48. Figueira, Lola. "Conflictos en torno a una canalización leonesa: la presa cerrajera en la Baja Edad Media", *Musulmanes y Cristianos frente al agua...*: 331-358.

49. García, Pablo. *Concejos y señores. Historia de una lucha en la Montaña Occidental de León a fines de la Edad Media*. León: Universidad de León, 2006: 224-230.



The supremacy and will of royal power or grace was able to overcome such resistance although on numerous occasions this led to discontent as some of the more egregious members of society were favoured. Examples may be found in many cities such as Seville or Segovia, to cite just two cases. In Seville, the monarchy had for centuries been bestowing concessions over water supplied along the so-called “Carmona pipeline”, a situation that was to continue throughout the 15th century. Juan II awarded such a privilege to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Enrique IV to the Countess of Morales, María de Mendoza, and the Catholic monarchs to those who in 1478 helped in the repair of the waterway, which included ecclesiastical institutions, nobles and prominent citizens⁵⁰.

Tension was more clearly in evidence when the town council was involved and particularly when said local authority refused to grant requests. One illustrative example is the monks at the convent of San Francisco in Bilbao, who wanted the town council to allow them to use the water from the public fountain of “Bilbao la Vieja” in 1509. They sought to build a channel from the fountain to their convent so as to, in their words, have water to clean the church. The town council flatly refused, and broke up the channel that the monks had already laid, arguing that the water was needed to maintain supplies to the town, and that therefore nobody had the right to commandeer it for themselves⁵¹.

Ill-feeling also emerged when allocations or leaks caused by the poor condition or lack of maintenance of the piping led to a reduction in the supply available to users. Such was the case, for example in 1475, when the owners of the mills located along the Carmona pipeline complained to the town authorities, threatening to refuse to pay their rent, as they had been unable to mill due to the lack of water caused by the reasons mentioned above. Faced with what seemed to be such a strong protest, the authorities in Seville examined the case and finally reduced the rent by the amount in which, according to their calculations, the millers had been unable to mill due to the lack of available water power⁵².

Finally, we should refer once again to the tension between crop farmers and livestock farmers arising over the use of water, and add that conflicts emerged concerning matters of irrigation. Wherever crops or vegetable gardens were irrigated, a system involving tight control designed to ensure equal share of available resources was in place. A good example is Plasencia, where the vegetable gardeners joined together to form a corporation to control, amongst other things, all matters related to irrigation. One of the duties of the head of this corporation of vegetable gardeners was to convene all the members whenever disputes arose over the use of water for irrigation, indicating that differences of this nature were commonplace⁵³.

50. Montes, Isabel. “El abastecimiento de agua a la Sevilla...”: 84-85.

51. Enríquez, Javier; Hidalgo, Concepción; Lorente, Araceli; Martínez, Adela. *Libro de acuerdos y decretos municipales de la villa de Bilbao (1509-1515)*. Donostia: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 1995: 63-69.

52. Montes, Isabel. “El abastecimiento de agua a Sevilla...”: 82 (n. 112).

53. Santos, Elisa Carolina de. “La vida económica de Plasencia en el siglo XV”. *En la España Medieval*, 3 (1983): 553-594.



3.10. Criminal behaviour: stealing water and smuggling in border areas

When securing the required water proves impossible, either because a request is rejected or because it is not available nor is likely to become available by any other means, certain people at times decide to seize water illegally. In other words, water is stolen, leading to conflict, arguments and tension. This criminal behaviour affects both the pipelines within the town aimed at providing supplies as well as the irrigation channels for nearby land. Water is usually stolen for agricultural or livestock purposes. One example is the case of a resident in Morón de la Frontera who, in the early 15th century, seized part of the water from a public spring, causing a watering-hole to disappear⁵⁴. In Segovia, misappropriation or theft of the water which flowed along the aqueduct jeopardised supplies to the *alcázar* (fortress), forcing the king and queen to approach the chief magistrate in an effort to solve the situation⁵⁵.

Further illegal behaviour which caused problems different to those we have seen thus far concerns border areas separated by watercourses, in other words areas where it was possible to pass from one kingdom to another crossing a river. These waters were usually controlled by the two kingdoms, both in terms of how contacts were maintained, and particularly with regard to the passage of goods since, it should be remembered, this proved the greatest concern to those on both sides of the border.

The passage of certain goods may have been conducted outside the law, thus leading to problems. The situation on the border between Portugal and Castile is quite clear in all areas separated by a river, particularly in the region of Galicia, where the river Miño marked the division, and where the towns of Tuy and Valença are the main trading centres and ports. Although relations were mainly friendly, conflicts between the two parts did at times emerge. One such instance is recorded in the Portuguese parliament at a session in 1475, and was brought on by some Portuguese merchants who had been robbed by their Galician counterparts, an action that sparked reprisals. There was a whole series of attacks, thefts, murders and skirmishes. Only after the intervention of the king did peace and good relations return. Yet, aside from these differences, what interests us particularly is illicit trafficking. A number of clashes were caused as a result of smugglers taking advantage of the river flowing between Portugal and Castile, although in these cases it seems that tension was brought on more by the measures taken to prevent or punish it than by the actual smuggling itself. Everyday relations among those living on either side of the border generated trade outside the usual channels, and many of those who lived in border areas felt aggrieved when such activities were curbed,

54. González, Manuel; García, Manuel. *Actas capitulares de Morón de la Frontera (1402-1426)*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1992: 45-46.

55. Val, María Isabel del. *Agua y poder en la Castilla bajomedieval. El papel del agua en el ejercicio del poder concejil a fines de la Edad Media*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2003: 72-73.



leading them to protest to the king whenever possible in the belief that they were merely engaging in amicable relations with neighbouring towns and villages⁵⁶.

4. Measures to avert conflict: regulating the use of water

As we have seen thus far, there are many and differing reasons why conflicts arose over water in towns in Castile in the Middle Ages. Exploring these reasons provides us with an insight into the main interests of urban society with regard to such a prized and essential good as water. Yet, we can also see how, had it not been for the solutions provided, the rivalry which sprang up over water would have been the cause of constant rupturing of the peace in towns. However, this does not seem to have been the case. As we have seen, there were no doubt conflicts and yet the general climate of the period does seem to have been one of peaceful coexistence, interspersed with the occasional outbreak of tension, conflict and violence.

In my view, this was so because town councils understood the role that water played and were able to use it to consolidate their position and above all to exercise good government⁵⁷. One means of doing so and of averting possible conflicts concerning water was to lay down rules and ordinances governing the use thereof. For this reason, I feel it necessary to conclude this work with a brief reference to the matter.

Generally speaking it may be said that all towns tended to set out rules governing any issue that might prove to be a source of conflict amongst the townspeople in an effort to avert such problems. Records kept of official town council meetings evidence that these issues were of constant concern to the authorities, who dealt with a wide range of matters related to water and the problems which might arise over its distribution and use⁵⁸. Municipal ordinances, gathered together to form the foundation of legislation based on the decisions taken at various council meetings over a number of years or fresh legislation drawn up, provide an excellent source of information reflecting the work undertaken in all late Middle Age towns to prevent or at least to alleviate as much as possible any social tension which might arise concerning the issue of water⁵⁹.

56. Medrano, Violeta. *Un mercado entre fronteras. Las relaciones comerciales entre Castilla y Portugal al final de la Edad Media*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2010: 242-262.

57. This topic was dealt with in the book cited in footnote 55 (Val, María Isabel del. *Agua y poder en la Castilla bajomedieval...*).

58. The cases of Guadalajara, Madrid, Burgos, Valladolid, Cuenca and Morón de la Frontera have been studied by: Bonachía, Juan Antonio. "El agua en la documentación municipal de los libros de actas", *El agua en las ciudades castellanas durante la Edad Media. Fuentes para su estudio*, María Isabel del Val, coord. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1998: 41-70.

59. Olmos, Emilio. "El agua en la norma escrita. Una comparación de ordenanzas bajomedievales castellanas", *Agua y sistemas hidráulicos en la Edad Media hispana*, Cristina Segura, ed. Madrid: Al-Mudayna, 2003: 27-56.



For almost all the causes of conflict referred to previously, rules were in existence governing or forbidding such behaviour precisely in an effort to avoid quarrels and differences. However, local ordinances set out rules governing other affairs that were also related to water and which pursued similar goals, namely to prevent such behaviour disturbing the peace in towns. We will now deal with some of these.

In my view, the kind of conduct governed or regulated by local councils was precisely that which proved to be the most common source of conflict. In this regard, it should be highlighted that local authorities frequently legislated over the use of and access to water, at least in order to safeguard that it could be used for drinking, and in an effort to ensure that the water used was fit for human consumption⁶⁰. However, local authorities also legislated over other matters such as discharging of foul water, from which we may conclude that such conduct, a source of pollution for all local residents and particularly harmful for some, was commonplace and a cause of conflict. This did not just relate to the usual tipping of waste water out of windows but also to discharge from sewers and drains (where they existed) as well as rainwater dripping from rooftops. In such cases the water might splash passers-by, or prove to be a nuisance to those in nearby houses. One example of this kind of ordinance (in addition to those setting out how water should be thrown from a window to the street) is to be found in Bilbao, where orders were issued to control the water dripping from rooftops so as to avoid causing an inconvenience to adjoining houses, fishmongers also being forbidden from throwing the water used to wash the fish into the street so as not to dirty it⁶¹.

On other occasions such ordinances sought to ensure that water did not form puddles in the streets, leading the town council in Bilbao to demand that those responsible for paving the streets completed their work in such a way that no inconvenience would be caused by pools of water accumulating when it rained. In such cases, what was an inconvenience for pedestrians was an actual danger for the houses, since puddles could lead to damp⁶². Small surface drains were also built, the work sometimes being undertaken by individuals. Such was the case in Portugalete, where mention is made of drains running from the house of one resident, Juan Sáez de Lalo, when in the early 16th century the town council considered building a sewer running from his house down to the sea⁶³. Yet, such drains could also be public, as was the case of those planned in Portugalete, or at Paredes de Nava,

60. González, Vicente. *Alaveses ilustres*. Vitoria: El Alavés, 1900: II, 447 (ordinance 126).

61. Enríquez, Javier; Hidalgo, Concepción; Lorente, Araceli; Martínez, Adela. *Libro de autos judiciales de la alcadía de Bilbao (1419-1499) y Libro de acuerdos y decretos municipales (1463)*. Donostia: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 1995: 231; Labayru, Estanislao. *Historia general del señorío de Vizcaya*. Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca, 1968: IV, 468-485.

62. Enríquez, Javier; Hidalgo, Concepción; Lorente, Araceli; Martínez, Adela. *Libro de acuerdos y decretos municipales de la villa de Bilbao (1509-1515)...*: 227 (agreement reached in May 1512).

63. Enríquez, Javier; Hidalgo, Concepción; Lorente, Araceli; Martínez, Adela. *Libro de decretos y actas de Portugalete (1480-1516)*. Donostia: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 1988: 52-53 and 34-35 (docs. n. 82 and 56).



whose town council maintained a drainage network around the main gates to the town, to aid rainwater and wastewater runoff⁶⁴.

If such action was mainly aimed at avoiding any inconvenience together with any subsequent conflict it may entail as a result for instance of damp, other decisions sought to avert flooding, one of the most serious and damaging catastrophes that could occur and one which was difficult to combat. In such cases, it is clear that the main goal is prevent water being diverted from its natural course, thus causing destruction. Yet, such decisions also sought to avert the social tension caused by flooding. In the former case, action was taken by the town council at Vitoria, who made sure that canals, irrigation ditches and in general any small water-beds, however small, were kept clean, allowing water to flow freely, thereby averting flooding⁶⁵. In the latter case, Medina del Campo offers a good example when in 1502 the town council decided to knock down the houses on the main San Miguel bridge, as it was felt that the pillars of the houses, which were set into the riverbed, held back the water when the river rose, thereby adding to the danger of flooding⁶⁶. Similar measures were also taken in Valladolid, at least in 1499, when the town council ordered the demolition of the buildings that blocked the span of one of the bridges over the river Esgueva on its way through the town. The agreement was reached after the complaint made by residents of Costanilla street who feared that, as a result of the situation, their houses might be flooded or at least damaged by the rising water⁶⁷.

To conclude this review of the measures taken by town councils to avoid problems concerning the use of water, mention should be made of a further kind of illicit behaviour, quite different from theft or the privileged usufruct of water, but which, nevertheless, does constitute illegal use thereof. This is none other than the adulteration of wine and milk by adding water to the original product. In addition to cheating consumers, such behaviour may also spark quarrels and fights, forcing municipal authorities to intervene in an effort to avert problems. Such behaviour must have been fairly commonplace as there are various ordinances forbidding it, for example in San Sebastián, Vitoria and Guernica⁶⁸.

We could cite many more instances and reasons for local council intervention, although I feel that such an exhaustive list would prove unnecessary. In my view, the examples we have brought to light provide sufficient insight into the issues and problems involved. As we have seen, if 15th century towns suffered numerous

64. Martín, Juan Carlos. "La política municipal sobre el agua en los concejos de la cuenca del Duero a fines de la Edad Media", *Usos sociales del agua...*: 84.

65. González, Vicente. *Alaveses ilustres...*: II, 452-453 (ordinance 139).

66. Val, María Isabel del. "Preocupación urbanística e intereses económico-sociales...": 377-379.

67. Pino, Fernando. *Libro de actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid. Año 1499*. Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 1993: 150 (n. 338).

68. Anabitarte, Baldomero. *Colección de documentos históricos del archivo municipal de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de San Sebastián*. San Sebastián: 1895, 84 (ordinance 135); González, Vicente. *Alaveses ilustres...*: II, 413 (ordinance 29); Arízaga, Beatriz; Ríos, M^a Luz; Val, María Isabel del. "La villa de Guernica en la Edad Media a través de sus ordenanzas". *Cuadernos de Sección (Eusko Ikaskuntza)*, 8 (1986): 215 (ordinance 83b).



problems in which water played a key role, town councils throughout the century did everything in their power to prevent such conflicts from arising, and when they did occur, sought to ensure they had as little impact as possible. As a result, both the records containing municipal agreements as well as the ordinances issued reflect many decisions taken on the matter which provide key sources of information to explore the role of water in late Middle Age urban society in Castile.



THE MYTH OF *EL DORADO*. MAKING AND APPLYING GOLD IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA (15TH-16TH CENTURIES)

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Date of receipt: 16th of May, 2013

Final date of acceptance: 10th of October, 2013

ABSTRACT

This work aims at analysing the techniques involved in the manufacture of gold leaf and gold inks and also in their application to different surfaces. First, we examine the techniques put into practice for refining the gold, so it can be reduced to thin leafs or dust; afterwards, we focus on the description of the process of goldbeating for the manufacture of gold leaf and also on the recipes used for concocting gold inks; finally, we describe the process of application of these leafs and inks to the most commonly used surfaces (parchment, leather, metal, wood, bone and textile fabrics). This analysis is based on information contained in Spanish archive documents, recipe books and technical manuals from the 15th and 16th centuries¹.

KEYWORDS

Technology, Gold, Gilding, Metallurgy, Illumination.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Technologia, Aurum, Dauratura, Metallurgia, Illuminatio.

The application of golden decoration to art works and everyday objects was a common activity in medieval metallurgy. At a time when the cost of pure gold dinner services, jewellery, coffers and many other items was beyond the means of most people, the manufacture of objects with cheaper materials (parchment, leather, base metals, wood, bone and textile fabrics) and the subsequent application of a thin layer of gold to their surface became an efficient alternative; the external appearance of the resulting item was as shiny as though it was made of solid gold.

The making gold leaf and other substitutive materials was carried out by specialist metal workers. In addition, their application involved a wide variety of techniques depending on whether the supporting object was made of metal (in which case the gold decoration was applied by a process akin to soldering, with gold acting as the solder and the other metal—iron, copper, brass—as the base) or of other types of material such as leather and parchment (for example, with the illumination of manuscripts), wood and textile fabrics, because in these cases the addition of binders to ensure the adherence of the gold became necessary.

1. Gold Refining

As a rule, the gold intended for use on manuscripts was beaten into thin layers called *panes*. In order to be amenable to reduction to thin layers without tearing, the gold used must be over 20 carats in purity. The goldsmiths involved in the production of gold leaf thus had to control the necessary processes to ensure that the resulting gold was 23 carats or over in purity. Since most jewellery, coins and other gold items at the time were of lesser purity, illuminators and goldbeaters had to know the procedures involved in gold refining; that is, the techniques used to separate gold from the other metals present in its alloys (generally silver and copper), thereby increasing its purity².

The most commonly used gold refining method during the Middle Ages was known as cementation. Used throughout the medieval period, it is described in Theophilus' manual (12th century), in Francesco Pegolotti's, *Pratica della mercatura*

1. The present work has been conducted within the framework of project HAR2012-37357, *El conocimiento científico y técnico en la Península Ibérica (siglos XIII-XVI): producción, difusión y aplicaciones*, funded by the Subdirección General de Proyectos de Investigación, Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (Spain). The recipes found in unpublished manuscripts in Florence were examined within the framework of project PR2004-0187, *Literatura técnica en la Italia bajomedieval (siglos XIII-XVI)*, funded by the Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (Spain). Used abbreviations: AHPCO, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba; AHPS, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla; BNCF, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze; BNE, Biblioteca Nacional de España; BPR: Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid; Pal., Fondo Palatino; PNCo, Protocolos Notariales de Córdoba; PNSe, Protocolos Notariales de Sevilla.

2. This first section is based on the chapter *El ensayo del oro*, part of: Córdoba, Ricardo. *Ciencia y técnica monetarias en la España bajomedieval*. Madrid: Fundación Juanelo Turriano, 2009: 285-299, with the addition of new references. I would like to thank Marisol Cardenas, Professor of Analytical Chemistry at the University of Cordoba, and Marisa Gómez, chemical analyst at the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, for reviewing the manuscript for this paper and improving it with their advice.



(14th century) and in several Spanish and Italian 15th century manuscripts. The technique is also assiduously mentioned in 16th century metallurgical treatises, including the well-known writings by Agricola (Georg Bauer) and Lazarus Ercker, and in Juan de Arfe's and Juan Fernández del Castillo's Spanish treatises, to cite but a few examples³.

This procedure involved heating gold layers or granules between beds of a clayey substance. Under oxidising conditions, heating volatilised the oxides of base metals, but not gold, the melting point of which was higher; noble metals, such as silver, separated by precipitation in the form of silver chloride. Silver chloride can only be dissolved through the action of ammoniac which was prevented by adding a sulphate such as copperas and alum. The clayey substance, known as *cimiento real*, was made of brick or tile dust and salt; according to some Medieval texts, such as those of Theophilus and Pegolotti, no other ingredient was necessary. Although common salt, such as sea salt, could be used, the use of well crushed and sieved mineral salt was recommended. Equally, the brick or tile had to be thoroughly crushed into a fine dust and sieved to prevent the presence of particles of earth and sand⁴. Reduction in particle size favours the reactions involved in the process, by increasing the physical contact between reactives, and thus the speed of the process.

In other cases, these basic ingredients were complemented with other materials such as copper sulphate, alum, salammoniac, saltpetre, quicksilver and Armenian bole, aimed at increasing the stringent qualities of the compound and the efficiency of the process by raising the purity of gold with fewer losses. Vitriol is sulphuric; alum is a double sulphate, combining a monovalent and a trivalent metal, generally aluminium; salammoniac can cause the dissolution of precipitate; this solution can turn back into a precipitate with the addition of common salt (sodium chloride) or vitriol; saltpetre is sodium nitrate (NaNO₃) and potassium nitrate (KNO₃); live argentum is mercury amalgamated with gold which, by raising the temperature, becomes a gas. These additives contribute to the separation of base metals, mostly

3. Theophilus' *On Divers Arts*. The foremost medieval treatise on painting, glassmaking and metalwork, eds. John G. Hawthorne, Cyril S. Smith. New York: Dover Publications, 1979; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans. Cambridge (Mass.): The Academy of America, 1936 (1st edition: Florence, 1340); BNCF. Pal., ms. 814 (*Trattato anonimo del raffinare, fondere e partire l'oro*, f. 1r-39v; Arfe, Juan. *Quilador de oro, plata y piedras*. Madrid: 1572 (ed. of 1678); Fernández del Castillo, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores*. Madrid: 1623; Agricola, Gregorius. *De Re Metallica*, ed. Carmen Andreu. Madrid: Ediciones de Arte y Bibliofilia, 1992; Ercker, Lazarus. *Lazarus Ercker's Treatise on Ores and Assaying*, Anneliese G. Sisco, Cyril S. Smith, eds. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951 (1st edition: Prague, 1574). A general overview of the process can be found in: López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado a través de las fuentes literarias antiguas: aplicación en las decoraciones de las pinturas castellanas sobre tablas*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid (PhD Dissertation), 2007: 126-127 <available at <http://biblioteca.ucm.es/tesis/bba/ucm-t29743.pdf> >.

4. Theophilus' *On Divers Arts*...: 109; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura*...: 333. Because of the wide dissemination of this technique, the inventories of instruments in use by goldsmiths in Medieval mints often include mortars to crush the tiles and salt used for gold refining. See for instance Spufford for the London and Canterbury mints in 1327 (Spufford, Peter. "Mint Organisation in late medieval Europe". *Later Medieval Mints: Organisation, Administration and Techniques*. Oxford: British Archaeological Research, 1988: 11; Campbell, Marian. "Gold, Silver and Precious Stones". *English Medieval Industries*. London: Hambledon Press, 1991: 110).



in the form of a sulphide, improving the net efficiency of the process. This is the case of Castilian and Italian recipes from the late 15th and early 16th centuries; for instance, the ms. H490 in the Faculty of Medicine, Montpellier, a Spanish document with recipes dated to the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, recommends the use of red tile, common salt and copper acetate; one of the recipes in the ms. 858, Fondo Palatino, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, suggests adding copper acetate, salammoniac, alum, saltpetre and verdigris, while another suggests the addition of alum, salammoniac, rock salt and quicksilver; finally, manuscript 945 in the same collection includes mention of a mixture of Roman copper acetate, verdigris, *ferrete*, salammoniac, alum and Armenian bole. *Ferrete* is copper sulphate, verdigris is copper acetate and vitriol is sulphuric acid⁵.

Regarding proportions the treatises show significant differences. For example, Juan de Arfe, Ensayador Mayor de Castilla during the reign of Philip II recommended in his work *Quilatador* the use of a cement with two thirds of brick dust and one third of ground common salt, along with a pinch of *almohatre* (salammoniac), a similar formula to the one set forth by Theophilus (two thirds of brick and one third of salt). On the other hand, Fernández del Castillo recommends the use of one half of brick dust and another one of salt, along with some *almohatre* or, if this cannot be found, tartar (tartrate of potassium); manuscript 814 in the Fondo Palatino, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Firenze suggests the use of three quarters of brick and one of salt; Lazarus Ercker recommends a mixture with two parts of brick dust, one of salt and half of *acije* (vitriol); Agricola indicates that several recipes can be followed for the production of the cement (half a pound of brick dust and a quarter of salt, one ounce of saltpetre and half of salammoniac and another of mineral salt; and half a pound of brick dust and a third of mineral salt, one ounce of saltpetre and half of common salt); finally, Álvaro Alonso Barba suggests the addition of three parts of brick dust and one of mineral salt along with half an ounce of salammoniac⁶.

The differences reflected in the technical treatises are to a degree connected with fashions, with local traditions and with the availability of raw materials at any given time and place, but mostly with the purity of the gold being refined. According to Francesco Pegolotti, the refining of 12 to 16 carat gold demanded a cement with four parts of brick to one of salt; for 16 to 20 carat gold, however, the

5. *Cementum sic fit. Accipe sal comune, praeparatum azeche, tegulam rubeam bene tritam et criuatam ante, totum mixtum* (Faculty of Medicine Montpellier. Ms. H490, f. 234r; also in: Córdoba, Ricardo. "Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV: el manuscrito H-490 de la Facultad de Medicina de Montpellier". *En la España Medieval*, 28 (2005): 33-34 and 47); *A cimentare oro di carete 18 qual cresca per fino a carate 22 e 1/2,...* piglia vitriolo romano rubificato, sal armoniaco on. 2, allume jameni on. 1, salnitro et verderame on. 1 (BNCF. Pal. 858, Segreti diversi, XVI sec, f. 89r); *A cimentare oro di mità, toglì sal armoniaco, sal gema, lume di rocca, argento sublimato on. 1, et on. 1 d'oro et argento, fatto in laminare et cimenta, poi fondi et avera oro de carati 24* (BNCF, Pal. 858, f. 90v); *Cimento ottimo d'oro di metà. Togli vitriolo romano parte una, verderame parte una, ferretto di Spagna parte meza, sal armoniaco parte una, alume iameni parte meza, alume di rocca parte una e 1/2, bol armenio parte una* (BNCF. Pal. 945, Segreti diversi, XVI sec, ff. 11r-v).

6. Arfe, Juan. *Quilatador de oro, plata y piedras...*: 35-37; *Theophilus' On Divers Arts...*: 109; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores...*: 58-59; BNCF. Pal. 814, f. 39v; Lazarus Ercker's treatise on ores and assaying...: 184; Agricola, Gregorius. *De Re Metallica...*: 463 and 466-467; Alonso, Álvaro. *Arte de los Metales*. Madrid: Imprenta Imperial, 1640 also reedited: Valencia: Librerías París-Valencia, 1993: 196-197.



ideal proportion was three parts of brick to one of salt; finally, 20 to 24 carat gold required two parts of brick and one of salt, because “the more salt it has, the harder the cement will be, and the purer the gold is, the harder cement it demands” due to the higher degree of separation of silver in the form of silver chloride. The *Treatise on the origin, nature, law, and alterations of money*, published in England around 1350, makes a similar statement; although the only ingredients mentioned are brick dust and salt (in agreement with Theophilus and Pegolotti), the work points out that “the purer the metal is the more salt must be put in”⁷. After mixing the ingredients, liquid was added to the resulting paste to increase its malleability. In most cases vinegar was used, as recommended by some 16th century treatises and manuscript 858 in the Fondo Palatino, although human urine was also used, as suggested by Theophilus’s treatise and manuscript 945 in the Fondo Palatino. Ercker’s treatise also contemplates both options for adding liquid to the mixture⁸.

After the gold had been reduced to thin sheets it was laid out inside a ceramic vase in alternation with layers of cement. Ms. H490 in the Faculty of Medicine, Montpellier, and Theophilus also mention the possibility of using two concave trays or tiles instead of the vase, but most authors, including Juan de Arfe and Francesco Pegolotti, recommend the cementation of the gold in a new—it had to withstand considerable heat and pressure during the process—clay vase. The bottom of the vase was covered with a layer of cement as thick as a finger (“packed very hard at

the bottom of the vase”, says Arfe) followed by a first layer or thin film of gold dust. The remaining layers continued to alternate between cement and gold (“as though adding cheese to a lasagne”, in Pegolotti’s own words). The cement layers could not be too thick; just enough to cover the gold. If the gold was introduced in the form of thin films it was convenient to wet them slightly with vinegar according to Fernández del Castillo, or water according to Pegolotti, before they were put inside the vase, because according to Pegolotti “if they are wet, they take the cement better”⁹.

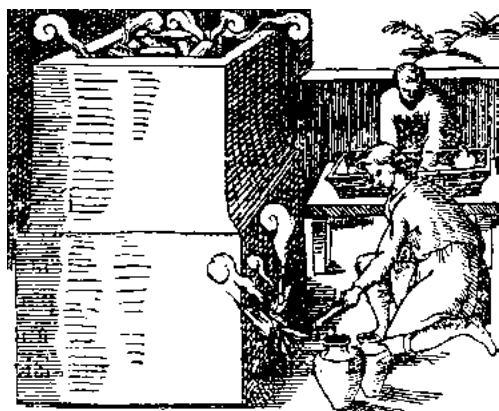


ILLUSTRATION 1. ENGRAVING OF A CEMENTATION FURNACE, REPRODUCED IN JUAN DE ARFE’S *QUILATADOR DE ORO, PLATA Y PIEDRAS* (1572).

7. Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura*...: 333; Johnson, Charles; Oresme, Nicole. *The De Moneta of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents*. London: Nelson, 1956: 84.

8. *Trito sottilmente ogni cosa, cosimul misce e poi bagnalo con un poco d’aceto* (BNCF. Pal. 858, f. 89v); *Theophilus’ On Divers Arts*: 109; *Trita un poco ogni cosa e inpastalo con urina de puber vergine in modo di pasta* (BNCF. Pal. 945, f. 11v); Lazarus Ercker’s treatise on ores and assaying: 184.

9. *Et fac vnum lectum dictorum pulvum et pone desupra unam plantulam et coopri de dicto pulvere et pone aliam et coopri et sic usque quo uolueris. Et pone totum inter duas tegulas concavas* (Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario



The vase was then covered with a clay lid and lined with mud on the outside. One of the recipes in Ms. H490 also suggests the use of a substance called *luto sapiente*, used to seal the joints in vases exposed to the fire and frequently mentioned in metallurgy treatises of the period¹⁰. It was a paste made by mixing soil, manure and *tundizna* (wool scraps, soil and manure, often also with the addition of clay or lime). It is frequently mentioned in 15th century Italian manuals because it was not only used in metalworking but also in the manufacture of coral objects and precious stones, among many other applications. For example, the Naples Manuscript records the use of clay, ass manure and *tundizna*; the ms. Ashburnham 349, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, indicates that 'if you want to make *luto sapiente* you must take some soil, which must be thoroughly dried, well ground and mixed with water; afterwards, you must take some horse manure, reduce it to dust, mix it with egg white and stir well; finally put both mixes together, and you have *luto sapiente* with which to seal the vase'; number 1243 in Biblioteca Riccardiana says that "in order to make *luto sapiente* you must take some white clay, ox manure, gum, quicklime, salt, egg white and ash"; number 2645 in the same library says "in order to make a perfect *luto sapiente* you must mix white soil, ox manure, Arabic gum, lime, hair, salt, flour, egg yolk and ash"¹¹.

The fire was kindled with dry grass and wood shavings, the firewood being added progressively to ensure a low but constant heat. The manuals of Juan de Arfe and Fernández del Castillo, following the older texts of Theophilus and Pegolotti, suggest the use of firewood without any other specification, but Agricola expressly recommends using oak or holm oak, which are ideal for providing the slow and consistent heat required by the operation. Also, a recipe in ms. H490 specifies *Et post pone in igne suavi bene coopertum ex utraque parte et dimicte per 2 vel 3 horas vel plus secundum que videris expedire*; along similar lines, ms. 858, Fondo Palatino, recommends "to kindle a little fire which is not too strong, so the vase is always red hot; the fuel must not be coal but firewood". An excessive temperature, resulting from the use of a highly calorific fuel such as coal or by the addition of an excessive amount of firewood, would cause the gold to melt, aborting the process. According to Lazarus Ercker, molten gold would mix with the silver and the copper in the cement, ruining the composition of the cement and the lamination of the gold. If the temperature was too low, on the other hand, the cement would not absorb the

técnico castellano del siglo XV...": 35 and 47); Theophilus' *On Divers Arts*...: 109; Arfe, Juan. *Quilator de oro, plata y piedras*...: 35-37; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura*...: 331-333; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores*...: 58-59.

10. *Et pone totum inter duas tegulas concavas et luta eas cum luto sapientiae et dimicte sic stare donec siccetur* (Córdoba, Ricardo. "Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...": 35-36 and 47).

11. *Bene lutari de bona argilla, bene speciata cum stercore asinino et cum zimatura pannorum* (Brunello, Franco. *De Arte Illuminandi e altri trattati sulla tecnica della miniatura medievale*. Vicenza: Neri Ponzà, 1975: 56); Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana di Firenze. Fondo Ashburnham, ms. 349, f. 20v; Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze. ms. 1243, f. 29v and ms. 2645, f. 32r. For a study on the composition and use of this substance in the Middle Ages see: Thomas, Nicolas. "De la recette à la pratique: l'exemple du *lutum sapientiae* des alchimistes", *Craft Treatises and Handbooks. The Dissemination of Technical Knowledge in the Middle Ages*, Ricardo Córdoba, ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013: 249-270.



alloy of silver and copper; in Juan de Arfe's words, it was necessary "to prevent the gold melting for too much fire and the cement not working for too little"¹².

This low and constant fire had to be kept running for 24 hours —"a day and a night" in Theophilus's and Pegolotti's words. Agricola indicates that if the kiln had been preheated for two hours before introducing the vases cementation would require 24 hours, but if the kiln was cold to begin with the operation had to be maintained for 26. Although Fernández del Castillo affirmed that the gold increased in purity by three to four carats every 24 hours, Pegolotti and Barba agreed on lowering this amount to two carats; the former says that "metalworkers agree that the gold goes up by one carat every twelve hours, but sometimes it does not take as long". The purity of the resulting gold was not only dependent on the temperature but also on the number of times the operation was repeated. All authors recommend stopping the operation after 24 hours, but there was no limit to the number of times it could be replicated. Depending on the degree of refining desired, two or three 12- or 24-hour operations could be performed. The ms. 858, Fondo Palatino, clearly indicates that in order to increase the gold's purity from 18 to 22 carats the vase must be put to the heat for twelve hours "repeating the operation twice, and this should suffice"; the document also says that if the process is repeated three or four times, that is, if the vase is kept in the fire for a total of two days, 24 carat gold will result¹³.

Another common procedure used to refine gold was that of amalgamation with mercury. The technique is based on the strong affinity that exists between gold and mercury, resulting in easy amalgamation and the forming of a gold and mercury alloy, which literally involves the gold melting into the mercury. For this process to occur effectively, the metals must be free from impurities. This method is therefore often recommended for the *cimiento*; that is, for the gold and silver absorbed by the brick and salt mix used in the previous system. Under the title "to depurate all the soil contained in the metal", a recipe in ms. H490 recommends combining the resulting earth mix in a trough with vinegar and mercury (if vinegar is not available, tartar and salt are a good substitute); afterwards, the mix must be rubbed in vinegar with half a brick or a rough stone, driving the gold to adhere to the mercury. The rubbing must continue until the mix becomes soft, adding more mercury, because if it remains as *amalgama dura* it means that there is still metal inside it. This method is already described in the *Mappae Clavicula* and is also similar to the system recommended by Pegolotti (the *cimiento* must be mixed with mercury and rubbed with a stone or a piece of wood, and once the gold has adhered to the mercury the resulting mix must be warmed up inside a vase "so the hot mercury goes up in smoke, leaving the solid

12. Arfe, Juan. *Quilatador de oro, plata y piedras...*: 35-37; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores...*: 58-59; Theophilus' *On Divers Arts...*: 109; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura...*: 331-333; Agricola, Georgius. *De Re Metallica...*: 466-467; Córdoba, Ricardo. "Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...": 36 and 47; BNCF. Pal. 858, f. 89v; Lazarus Ercker's *treatise on ores and assaying...*: 186.

13. Theophilus' *On Divers Arts...*: 109; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura...*: 332; Agricola, Georgius. *De Re Metallica...*: 466-467; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores...*: 58-59; Alonso, Álvaro. *Arte de los Metales...*: 196-197; BNCF. Pal. 858, f. 89v (*Ma come lo volessi fare tre volte o 4 venerà a carate 24*).



gold at the bottom"). Fernández del Castillo's and Álvaro Alonso Barba's treatises also suggest this procedure to recover the silver absorbed by the *cimiento*: the earthy mix is introduced into a vase and combined with mercury; it is then kneaded with a rolling pin or a stone until the silver adheres to the mercury, which is afterwards evaporated and separated from the silver with heat¹⁴.

Another "classic" procedure for gold refining—known since the Greco-Roman period and mentioned in multiple 15th century texts and all major metallurgical treatises published in the 16th century—used sulphur or antimony. The latter was, in fact, stibnite or antimony sulphide, which has similar effects to sulphur, reacting with any gold and silver alloy, causing the formation of silver sulphide (which does not mix with the metal), while the remainder of the sulphur contained within the antimony sulphide drags the gold to the bottom of the vase¹⁵. Antimony is swiftly eliminated by heating because of the formation of a volatile oxide. One of the recipes contained in ms. H490 suggests a mixture with two parts of sulphur to one part of salt. This mixture is laid out in a vase in alternate layers with the gold reduced to thin sheets. The closed and sealed crucible is then put on the fire. Once the metal has melted, the crucible is struck several times to ensure that the molten gold seeps to the bottom, separating from the silver and the other metals. If the method does not work as desired it can be repeated with the addition of more sulphur (three parts sulphur to one part salt) and a sixth part of lead (which reduces the melting temperature) or antimony ("which is better" in the author of the recipe's own words)¹⁶. Alfonso X's *Lapidario* also reflects this technique, indicating that, "should the gold be mixed with a vile body [a base metal] it must be heated with sulphur and rubbed with the stone called *marcasita*. This drives all other metals and filth away, because sulphur burns everything but gold, and *marcasita* is like sulphur"¹⁷.

Other European texts, such as ms. Sloane 1754, British Library, include similar recipes for the use of sulphur in gold refining. Recipe number 100 in ms. Pal. 941, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, entitled *A partire l'oro de l'argento*, describes a related recipe, suggesting the introduction of the gold inside a vase with the sulphur. Afterwards, the vase must be heated and then left to cool down and heated again for the gold to melt "to the bottom". The process is similarly described in Pegolotti's manual under the heading *A partire oro da ariento*, where sulphur is added progressively to the silver as the coal-fuelled fire increases in temperature,

14. Córdoba, Ricardo. "Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...": 38-39 and 47; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura*...: 334; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores*...: 60; Barba, Álvaro. *Arte de los Metales*...: 197. Theophilus' recipes for the separation of gold by amalgam of mercury have been studied by: López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado*...: 123-124.

15. On the use of this technique in Antiquity, see: Forbes, Robert. "Metallurgy", *A History of Technology vol. II: the Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages*, Charles Singer, Eric Holmyard, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956: 42. See also Theophilus's and Archerius's recipes in: López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado*...: 127.

16. Córdoba, Ricardo. "Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...": 38-39 and 47.

17. *Primer Lapidario del rey Alfonso X el Sabio*, facsimile edition of codex h.I.15, Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, 1982: f. 21v.



after which process the gold will be found in solid state at the bottom of the base, whereas the remaining metals, mixed with the sulphuric vapours, stay at the top¹⁸.

The *Proberbüchlein*, published in 1500, also include several recipes for using sulphur or antimony in this process. Number 70, called “On how to separate silver and gold”, recommends mixing the silver-gold alloy with one part of antimony, one of copper and one of lead. The mix must be put into a crucible and the crucible covered, to prevent the escape of vapours, and heated. After cooling, the gold will be found at the bottom. Recipe 85 specifies that the substance employed to separate the gold and the silver is made with one pound of sulphur, half of salt and a pinch of salammoniac. Recipe 102 recommends an even more similar method to the Castilian way; under the heading “Separating gold and silver”, the recipe suggests the mixing of two pounds of sulphur and one of salt at the bottom of a crucible, on top of which mix the silver-gold alloy must be placed, followed by alternating layers as in the cementation system. After firing and cooling, the gold will have melted to the bottom of the crucible¹⁹. This process to separate gold and silver with sulphur and antimony is also described in Biringuccio’s manual, under the heading “Method for the separation of gold and silver with sulphur or antimony”, in Lazarus Ercker’s *Beschreibung* and in Álvaro Alonso Barba’s, “Other methods to separate gold and silver”. The latter explains that the ground sulphur must be put into a vase and that, after firing, “the gold will seep to the bottom while the silver remains at the top, mixed with the lead, the copper and the sulphuric vapours”. The process for performing the separation with antimony instead of sulphur is also explained²⁰.

A final method for gold refining used diluted hydrochloric acid, also used in tanning and other industries. The aim of this process was the solution of gold by the formation of a soluble gold chloride and the separation of silver through precipitation in the form of silver chloride. All manuals stress that the acid used for this technique must be very strong, because “if it is not, the gold is not properly purified”²¹. Once the gold had been introduced into the vase and covered in acid, it was put on a slow fire and let to simmer; if the mixture started smoking and the nitric acid to flash it meant that the acid “has lost its strength and can eat silver no longer” (it could not form more silver chloride) and had to be poured into another vase. This operation was repeated up to three times. When the gold was ready it would give out signals (“leaping a bit”). It was then taken away from

18. Campbell, Marian. “Gold, Silver and Precious stones...”: 110, quoting page 205 of said manuscript; BNCF, Pal. 941, “Ricette dal XVI secolo”, f. 15v; Pegolotti, F., *La pratica della mercatura*...: 336-337.

19. *Bergwerk und Proberbüchlein*, eds. Anneliese G. Sisco, Cyril S. Smith. New York: Yale University Press, 1949: 114, 120 and 125 (1st edition: 1500).

20. Biringuccio, Vannoccio. *The Pirotechnia of Vannoccio Biringuccio. The Classic Sixteenth-Century Treatise on Metals and Metallurgy*, eds. Cyril S. Smith, Martha T. Gnudi. New York, 1959: 201-202, chap. 6, book IV; Lazarus Ercker’s *treatise*...: 195-196; Alonso, Álvaro. *Arte de los Metales*...: 192-193, chapters 11 and 12, book III.

21. Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores*...: 30v.



the fire for good and rinsed in clear water, after which it could be extracted from the vase²².

The acid used in this operation could be prepared with different ingredients, especially mordants and mineral salts, resulting in the separation of the precious metal from the alloy in which it was combined, favouring the reduction of gold salts present. Álvaro Alonso Barba suggests that the ingredients often included copperas, alum, saltpetre, Armenian bole, orpiment and cinnabar, with which different mixes could be concocted. Orpiment is arsenic sulphide and cinnabar contains mercury sulphide; both compounds are important for these processes. Afterwards, the resulting mix was heated in a kiln while the acid passed through a still. Equally, Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo indicates that, according to the regulations of American mints, the mix must be made with copperas, alum and saltpetre, sometimes with the addition of salammoniac (ammonium chloride, a common ingredient in compositions with which silver and copper, among other metals, can effectively be dissolved)²³.

No known Castilian recipe directly refers to the preparation of acids for use in industrial processes, and this issue is also absent from Joanot Valero's dyeing manual, dated to the late 15th century. Some recipes can, however, be found in a later Catalanian dyers' manual, the *Remallet de tinturas*, published in the 17th century. The text indicates that the red colour was prepared with 50 pitchers of clear water heated to boiling point, after which they were poured into a pool with the addition of five *arrobas* of thick bran, letting the mix sit for two days. Finally, the mix must be stirred every two hours for three days. Another recipe explains that the acid used for the production of scarlet colours is made with two ounces of orpiment, two of verdigris, two pounds of refined saltpetre, three of rock alum and six ounces of Roman vitriol, all of which must be placed inside a well-sealed still ("with the clay which potters use to seal the kilns") to ensure a reducing atmosphere, and heated on a slow fire. A third recipe from this manual explains the procedure used for dyeing scarlet wool clothes in Catalonia: twenty pitchers of water and six measures of bran are boiled in a marmite and poured into a pool. After an hour another ten measures of bran are added, followed one hour later by four pounds of alum, four of arsenic and for ounces of ground glassy stoneware or rocksalt. Finally, five hours later, white vinegar is added to the mix, which is left to sit covered for one full day and uncovered for four.²⁴

22. Arfe, Juan. *Quilador de oro, plata y piedras...*: 34-35; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores...*: 30v and 33r.

23. Alonso, Álvaro. *Arte de los Metales...*: 185-192, chapters. 7 to 10, Book III, with illustrations of the kilns and stills mentioned, p. 188; Céspedes, Guillermo. *Las casas de moneda en los reinos de Indias*, vol. 1, *Las cecas indianas en 1536-1825*. Madrid: Fábrica Nacional de Moneda y Timbre-Museo Casa de Moneda, 1996: 127-130.

24. *Remallet de tinturas y breu modo de donar-las á totes robas de llana, teles y fil, ab lo modo de beneficiar alguns ingredients necessaris per los arts de la tintura y perayria, recullit de differents receptes de totes las parts de Europa per Phesio Mayo* [pseud. of the printer], eds. Narcís Feliu de la Penya and Bernat d'Aimeric-Cruilles. Barcelona: Josep Moia, 1691: 15-19.



2. Preparation of gold leaf and its substitutes

2.1. Gold leaf

The reduction of metal to very thin layers is known as “beating”, because it was fundamentally carried out by hammering, and the specialist artisans that carried it out as “goldbeaters”²⁵. As mentioned previously, goldbeating demanded gold with a purity of 23 carats or over, because a lesser quality metal could not be reduced to such fine leafs without tearing. For this reason goldbeaters had to be experts in the refining processes described above in order to extract the necessary gold from the lower purity gold used in coins and other objects²⁶.

First, the gold ingot or bar has to be reduced to a relatively thin sheet. This was achieved by hammering the metal bar resulting from the melting of the refined gold. This is followed by the main stage in the preparation of gold leaf, the beating as such, which was carried out through a technique called *soldada y molde* (cutch). The technique relies on a series of small square-shaped cuts of animal intestine, placed in alternation with metal sheets and cut with the aid of the *caire*, a little square of iron used by goldbeaters as a pattern to cut the animal intestine sheets and the gold squares²⁷. The use of this technique is mentioned in the local regulations from Córdoba (16th century) and Barcelona (18th century)²⁸.

The gold sheet is also cut into (smaller) square shapes and placed between two of the “tripe” squares, forming a sort of sandwich. These sandwiches are piled up and wrapped with parchment to form a packet ready for further hammering. Upon beating, the metal square expands within the mould. The operation is delicate, because the beating must be homogeneous to ensure that the metal extends evenly in all directions and has the same thickness throughout, without tearing or breaking²⁹.

25. A set of local regulations from Cordoba, dating to the 16th century and detailing the main goldbeating techniques, have been preserved; Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba*. Cordoba: Caja Provincial, 1990: 253-257; Córdoba, Ricardo. “Los batihojas y las técnicas de ornamentación en metal (siglos XV-XVI)”. *Estudios sobre Historia de la Ciencia y de la Técnica*, Esteban Piñeiro, ed. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1988: 755-772; see also: de Quinto, María Luisa. *Los batihojas, artesanos del oro*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1984; Genís, Ramon. “El antiguo gremio de batihojas, oropeleros y guadamacileros de Barcelona”. *Boletín de la Asociación Química Española de la industria del cuero*, 8 (1957): 210-214.

26. “Workers must be encouraged to use good gold, 23 carats or over, not below” (*Ordenanzas de batidores de Córdoba*, chapter. 4; quoted in: Córdoba, Ricardo. “Los batihojas y la técnicas de ornamentación en metal...”: 762, note 18); equally, 15th century goldbeaters in Barcelona also had to work with a minimum purity of 23¼ carats (Bonnassie, Pierre. *La organización del trabajo en Barcelona a fines del siglo XV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1975: 143).

27. According to the goldbeaters’ regulations in force in New Spain in the 18th century the *caire* was a square sheet measuring 81 x 81mm and used as template to cut *telillas* and gold leafs (Gañán, Constantino. *Técnicas y evolución de la imaginaria polícroma en Sevilla*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999: 194).

28. For 18th century Barcelona, Ramón Genís mentions a merchant who held exclusive rights for the commercialisation of “certain bull intestines or hides” used by goldbeaters “to beat gold and reduce it” (Genís, Ramón. “El antiguo gremio de batihojas...”: 214).

29. The difficulty of this operation, which was executed with only hammer, has been highlighted by Carrere with regard to the goldbeaters in the city of Barcelona (where they were known as *batifullers* or



Once the sheet has expanded to the limits of the mould, the wrapping is removed and the metal sheets separated from the *telas*. Then, the squares are trimmed into smaller squares and the whole operation is repeated once more, resulting in the much thinner final gold leaf. The regulations from Córdoba establish that the artisan wishing to receive the title of master goldbeater must know how to cut the *telas* for the preparation of gold and silver moulds and also know how to prepare the mould with the parchment: during the examination, he had to prepare two moulds for gold and another two for silver, a thousand silver leafs, a thick layer of gold and a thousand leafs of the same metal³⁰.

This operation, which was already described in Theophilus' manual, was performed without variation in the whole of Europe throughout the Middle Ages; appears well described in chapter 23 of Book I of Theophilus, dedicated to the preparation of gold leaf, and in early medieval recipes books as *Compositiones Lucenses* or *Mappae Clavicula*³¹.

According to Marian Campbell, "Goldbeating was a slow task; the coins were hammered into foil, which was further beaten with a variety of hammers between vellum (or parchment) leafs known as goldbeaters' skin. These served to protect the foil and maintain an even thickness. A square of gold was placed in the middle of a sheet of vellum with another piece of vellum on top. When hammering had caused the metal squares to spread to the edge of the parchment, the goldbeater cut up each piece of metal into further squares, and repeated the process'. Mark Clarke, who has examined the surviving medieval descriptions of the process, stresses that most recipes mention a first beating executed over an anvil and a second one carried out with the aid of parchment or leather sheets; some of these recipes are very detailed, and even describe the sort of hammer to be used, the motions involved and the direction of the strikes³².



ILLUSTRATION 2. GOLDBEATING AND SETTING OF THE GOLD LEAF TO A BOOK, AS REPRODUCED IN JOST AMMAN'S *BOOK OF TRADES* (F. 40).

batidors de fulles d'or e d'argent); Carrere, Claude. *Barcelone, centre économique à l'époque des difficultés 1380-1462*. Paris-La Haye: Mouton et Cie, 1967: 389.

30. Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba...*: 256; Córdoba, Ricardo. "Los batihojas y las técnicas de ornamentación en metal"...: 760.

31. López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 221-223.

32. Theophilus, *On Divers Arts...*: 109; Campbell, Marian. "Gold, Silver and Precious Stones...": 131; Clarke, Mark. *Mediaeval Painters' Materials and Techniques: The Montpellier Liber diversarum arcium*. London:

The colour acquired by the gold during the lamination process could be rectified through the application of different products aimed at intensifying its original hue. One of the recipes included in ms. H490 and entitled “gold re-cooking” explains how to give the gold sheet a more intense golden shine by the application of a mixture of verdigris (copper acetate), salammoniac, saltpetre and urine to the gold sheet (previously washed with salt and vinegar and dried); the gold sheet smeared with mixture was then warmed on a charcoal fire until it acquired a dark colour. In the final stage of the process, it was left to cool and rinsed in urine³³.

Due to its extreme thinness and frailty, gold leaf cannot be manipulated by hand, because the slightest of touches and any contact with human fat can easily break it. The leafs must therefore be removed from between the vellum sheets with tweezers and immediately fixed into booklets for commercialisation. This operation is perfectly illustrated in one of Jost Amman’s famous engravings, dating to the second half of the 16th century. The scene represents a goldbeater in the process of striking at what looks like a mould with a hammer, while another artisan removes the gold leaf from the mould with a pair of tweezers and attaches them to a book; this is also described in later written texts³⁴.

2.2. *Oropel*

This was the name given to fine brass leaf similar in appearance to gold leaf, but much less costly, which explains its popularity. In the Middle Ages, brass was made by mixing zinc oxide (calamine) or carbonate (smithsonite) with copper, to which they were said to add colour³⁵. The zinc compound and the copper are heated together in a crucible set on a slow fire, eliminating the oxygen and separating the zinc. After some hours the zinc vapour condenses on the surface of the copper in a process known as cementation, although condensation would be a more accurate description. Once the condensation occurs, the heat is increased for a while in order to embed the zinc vapour into the surface of the copper, which thus loses its characteristic reddish colour to adopt a yellowish hue. For this reason, brass

Archetype, 1991: 131; González-Alonso, Enriqueta. *Tratado del dorado, plateado y su policromía. Tecnología, conservación y restauración*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 1997: 127.

33. Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 22 and 44.

34. Amman, Jost; Sachs, Hans. *The Book of Trades (Ständebuch)*, ed. Benjamin A. Rifkin. New York: Dover Publications, 1973: plates 28 (the use of the rectangular brush) and 40 (hammering of the mould preparation of the leaf books). The inventory of the possessions of an 18th century goldbeater from Palencia includes several common tools of his trade, such as moulds, soldering irons, four little working tables for the preparation of the books, 19 *caires* of different sizes (18 of pinewood and one of metal), eleven hammers for the beating, four stones for use as base for the beating, 90 frames “where the *telas* for the moulds are cut”, 184 old books “for the gold”, 42 100-leaf books and 22 books for *oro subido* (Barrio, José Luis. “El inventario de los bienes de Dionisio Sánchez Escobar, un batidor de oro palentino en el Madrid de Felipe V (1746)”. *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses*, 76 (2005): 516).

35. Tanelli, Giuseppe; Benvenuti, Marco; Mascaro, Isabella. “Aspetti giacimentologici dei minerali estratti in età preindustriale”, *Archeologia delle Attività Estrattive e Metallurgiche*. Florence: All’Insegna del Giglio, 1993: 275.



was known as *cuivre jaune* in French, *gelbkupfer* in German and *arambre amarillo* in Spanish (for example, in Alfonso X's *Lapidario* and *Libro de Astronomía*). Not all calamines were suitable to make brass, because calamine deposits are often rich in lead which, by also mixing with the copper during cementation, results in a brass that cannot be worked in thin layers (lead does not dissolve in brass, causing the former to separate in the shape of small globules which reduce the mechanical resistance of the alloy, leading to tearing during handling). In this regard, Theophilus mentioned the need to work with lead-free copper, but did not mention the calamine, which was often the agent that carried it into the process³⁶.

Brass could be shaped as bars or ingots, for melting and moulding, and also as thin sheets for cold hammering and beating, as with copper and precious metals. Melting and moulding was carried out in standard tinker forges and with equally common tools: apart from the forge and the bellows, the operation demanded percussion tools such as clamps, anvils, chisels and hammers, fastening tools such as pliers, bolts and scissors, cutting tools such as adzes, axes and sharpeners, and melting tools such as crucibles, ladles, moulds and blocks³⁷.

The working of brass sheets started with a solid beating to expand the ingot until the desired thickness was achieved. Afterwards, the sheet was cut into strips with reference to the size of the final object pursued, and these strips were hammered again against an anvil. Although hammering had to be performed carefully in order to avoid tearing and piercing, the evidence does not document the use of the tripe *telillas* used with gold because brass sheets were never hammered as thin as gold leaf. The sheet was always heated before hammering to improve malleability. Hammerheads were often very broad and rounded to maximize the hammering surface³⁸.

Accurate hammering resulted in extremely thin brass sheets, called *oropel*, later applied as decoration upon other materials, most commonly leather; in fact, the term *oropel* originally refers to this particular use. At any rate, the brass sheets were often manufactured by goldbeaters, even if their application on the leather was left to specialised *oropeleros*, as recorded in the agreement signed in November 1505 by Luis de Rueda, *oropelero* from the parish of Santa María in Córdoba, and Fernando de Córdoba, goldbeater in the same city, to create a company for the production and commercialisation of *oropel* for two years. According to the agreement Luis de Rueda

36. Theophilus' *On Divers Arts*...: 140. In Jaén the brass was produced in crucibles with a mixture of used copper, calamine and charcoal, heated inside an underground conical kiln (Parejo, M^a Josefa; Tarifa, Adela. "La minería en el reino de Jaén a fines de la Edad Media". *Actas de las I Jornadas sobre Minería y Tecnología en la Edad Media Peninsular*. Madrid: Hullera Vasco-Leonesa, 1996: 296).

37. A good description of copper and copper-alloy working techniques can be found in: Pernot, Michel. "Archéoméallurgie de la transformation des alliages à base de cuivre". *L'innovation technique au Moyen Age*, Patrice Beck, ed. Paris: Édition Errance, 1998: 123-126; and a list of the instruments used by tinkers in: Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba*...: 246-247.

38. The hammering of tin sheets is described in numerous medieval texts (*Compositiones Lucenses*, *Mappae Clavicula*, Theophilus). They were instilled with a golden colour by immersing them in alum and vinegar or by covering them with saffron and vinegar. The hammering of *oropel* sheets is described in the Manuscript of Bologna (López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado*...: 229-233).



committed to contribute with 2920 mrs., the necessary leathers “and other things pertaining to the trade, apart from the tools”, while Fernando de Córdoba agreed to give another 2920 mrs. in cash and the aforementioned tools. The former also committed not to purchase gold or silver leaf from any other goldbeater³⁹.

2.3. Golden inks and imitations

Metallic golden inks and their imitations were also very commonly used for decoration, most particularly illumination and lettering of manuscripts (chrysography). According to Stefanos Kroustallis the process used to concoct the inks started with the refining of the gold, for which the same methods explained in previous pages were applied. After refining, the gold was ground to a very fine grain or to dust to facilitate its incorporation into the ink. This was also a common process before refining, because it facilitated the increase in the purity of the metal above 18 or 20 carats, below which beating was not possible. This made it a common procedure in mints, as recorded in the registry books from the mints of Barcelona and Iglesias, in the crown of Aragon. These books record the purchase of coal and vats for the ground metal⁴⁰.

Francesco Pegolotti describes the most commonly used method to ground gold in medieval times. The first step is to heat a vase full of water while the gold is kept molten in a crucible. Once the water starts to boil, the molten gold is poured in bit by bit “because if you put it in all at once it would become one block, and not separate into grains”; upon entering the water the gold solidifies into the shape of small buttons; the last step is to empty the vase through a sieve to collect the ground gold⁴¹. Once ground, the gold has to be mixed with a certain amount of salt, potassium nitrate and mercury or gum Arabic, to avoid the formation of lumps, and washed repeatedly. The last stage, to be carried out just before use, only involves the mixture of the resulting golden dust with a binder⁴². Recipe number 77 in the Manuscript of Lucca indicates that, for the preparation of golden ink, pure gold had to be filed and ground with vinegar in a stone mortar. Salt had to be added when the mixture acquired a blackish colour. Recipe 79 describes a similar process, with the addition of a final step according to which the mix must be diluted in a measure of orpiment and another of tetterwort juice⁴³.

Medieval recipe books often describe the preparation of golden inks with minerals such as sulphur and orpiment. The latter (*auripigmentum*) was a yellow pigment

39. 1505. 11. 15. AHPCO. Protocolos Notariales de Córdoba, Legajo 14143P, hand 10, f. 24r.

40. Córdoba, Ricardo. *Ciencia y técnica monetarias...*: 167 (n. 234).

41. Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura...*: 331.

42. Kroustallis, Stefanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum*: materiales y técnicas de la iluminación medieval”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 41 (2011): 760-761; Kroustallis, Stefanos. “La escritura y sus materiales”, *El Soporte de la Lengua*. Logroño: Gobierno de La Rioja, 2008: 158.

43. Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro. Ricettari medievali d'arte e artigianato (secoli IX-XI)*. *Codici di Lucca e Ivrea*. Naples: Liguori Editore, 2003: 111.



used in the illumination of manuscripts since at least the 8th century⁴⁴. Although highly toxic and incompatible with most other pigments used in illumination it remained very popular⁴⁵. The Castilian mss. II/1393, BPR, and 9226. BNE includes a recipe entitled “To make golden letters without gold”, where the ink is obtained with an ounce of orpiment and an ounce of very finely ground glass, which are diluted in egg white, which acts as binder⁴⁶.

Other golden inks were prepared with vegetal and animal by-products, such as saffron and bile⁴⁷. The use of yellow vegetal colorants such as saffron, reseda and, less frequently, tetterwort, is often referred to in medieval recipe books⁴⁸. The preparation of inks with saffron was fairly simple: the flowers are macerated in water, sometimes with the addition of ash, and later mixed with egg white. According to Cennini’s *The Craftman’s Handbook*, saffron-based inks are highly suitable for use on parchment, although the colour tends to fade after a prolonged exposure⁴⁹. On the other hand, bile —a yellowish liquid segregated by the liver of certain animals— needs to be crushed and mixed with a white substance (white clay, gypsum, white lead); the most commonly used bile was extracted from large fish, goats and turtles, among others⁵⁰.

Castilian recipes, in ms. 9226, Biblioteca Nacional de España, and ms. II/1393, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, also suggest the use of saffron and bile for the preparation of golden inks. The former, entitled “Ink that looks like gold but without gold”, mentions the mixture of one part of saffron juice or dust with one part of orpiment and goat or fish bile; it is left to ferment in a glass warmed in manure for a few days, resulting in a golden ink which the recipe describes as “very pretty”. The second recipe comes under the heading “For writing that looks like gold”, and recommends the mixture of earwax and saffron, in equal measure, with goat bile. As in the previous recipe, the mix is left to ferment and thicken in an eggcup set on warm ashes, resulting in an ink that “is proven to be good for writing”⁵¹.

44. Eastaugh, Nicolas; Walsh, Valentine; Chaplin, Tracy; Siddall, Ruth. *Pigment Compendium: A Dictionary and Optical Microscopy of Historic Pigments*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2008: 291.

45. Kroustallis, Stephanos. “*Quomodo decorator pictura librorum...*”: 789. Its use has been recorded in medieval manuscripts such as the *Book of Kells* (Fuchs, Robert; Oltrodge, Doris. “Colour material and painting technique in the Book of Kells”, *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a conference at Trinity College, Dublin, September 6-9*, Felicity O’Mahony, ed. Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1994: 133-171).

46. BNE. ms. 9226, f. 33; cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial en la España medieval*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba (PhD Dissertation), 2013. (<<http://helvia.uco.es/xmlui/handle/10396/8628?show=full>>).

47. Kroustallis indicates that “gold” and “silver” were used to refer to precious metals and also to colours, and the use of any substance with the shine and colour of gold, but without gold, was therefore permitted (Kroustallis, Stephanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum...*”: 791).

48. Clarke, Mark. *Mediaeval Painters’ Materials and Techniques...*: 186-187; Clarke, Mark. “Colours versus colorants in art history: evaluating lost manuscript yellows”. *Revista de História da Arte*, 1 (2011): 139-151; Kroustallis, Stephanos “*Quomodo decorator pictura librorum...*”: 789.

49. Kroustallis, Stephanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum...*”: 790-791.

50. Kroustallis, Stephanos. “La escritura y sus materiales...”: 158.

51. BNE. ms. 9226, f. 33; BPR. ms. II/1393(6), f. 4r; cited in: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 371.



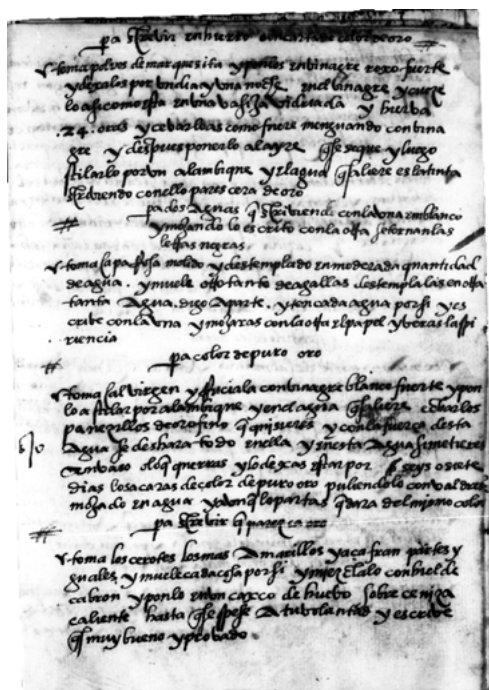


ILLUSTRATION 3. RECIPES PARA SCREBIR EN HIERRO O EN CARTA DE COLOR DE ORO, PARA COLOR DE PURO ORO, PARA SCRIBIR QUE PAREZCA ORO IN BPR, MS. II/1393, f. 4r.

Castilian recipes are very similar to Italian ones, such as numbers 80 and 134 in the Manuscript of Lucca or some in the manuscripts in the Fondo Palatino, Biblioteca Nacional, Florence, describing the preparation of golden inks by using mineral, mostly orpiment, and vegetal raw materials, such as saffron, tetterwort and resin, mixed with a binder such as gum, turtle bile and egg white. Other European manuscripts also include analogous recipes, for example the *Mappae Clavicula* or Heraclius' treatise⁵².

A last recipe, on the ms. II/1393, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, mentions a different way to prepare "Golden ink to paint" by using vegetal raw materials. The recipe suggests taking three pounds of flax oil and two pounds of pine resin and boiling them separately with a goose feather each. They must boil until the feather burns, and are later mixed with two ounces of yellow Socotra aloe per pound as binder, stirring until the mix is even and storing in a jar⁵³.

52. Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 113 and 150; Brunello, Francesco. *De Arti Illuminandi...*: 171; Pomaro, Gabriella. *I Ricettari del Fondo Palatino della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*. Milan: Giunta Regionale Toscana-Editrice Bibliografica, 1991: 117-118, for example Pal. 796, f. 10r; López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 242-244.

53. BPR. ms. II/1393, f. 10v; cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 371.



2.4. Mosaic gold

The most common imitation of gold leaf in recipe books and treatises during the 15th and 16th centuries involves the preparation of a tin sulphide, a sort of dusty glitter, known as *aurum musicum* or mosaic gold. This pigment was produced with tin disulphide and was similar to oropel sheets in serving as a substitute of real (and more expensive) gold for writing, drawing and illuminating⁵⁴.

There are several theories, and many doubts, regarding the origins of the name, but most experts follow Milanese, who suggested that the name came from the use of this pigment in the decoration of mosaic tesserae⁵⁵. Its use in the illumination of manuscripts presented two problems: first, it is made with tin sulphide and not with actual gold, so the resulting colour is sometimes darker than desired; second, the mixture could be unstable once applied, and Cennini's *The Craftman's Handbook* recommends using it sparsely⁵⁶. This did nothing to prevent its popularity; in fact, the analysis of the pigments used in 15th century German manuscripts have shown that the use of mosaic gold was very common in miniatures, attesting to the correspondence between the recipes contained in the manuscripts and workshop practices⁵⁷.

Among the Castilian recipes for the preparation of this compound we must highlight number 37 in ms. H490, entitled "to make mosaic gold". This recipe recommends taking a pound of tin and adding, once the tin is molten, another of mercury; then, a pound of sulphur and another of salammoniac are ground together. All four ingredients are then mixed in a flask "with a long neck", which is sealed with mud and left to dry. Once dry, it is put on the fire for two hours or more "and it becomes like gold". Before use, this compound must be mixed with gum. The yellow color obtained at the end of the process is due to the formation of tin sulphide. Identical recipes can be found elsewhere: Manuscript of Naples, *De Arte Illuminandi*; el *Libro de cómo se fazen as cores* (recipe "Para fazer o oro de musico con

54. Doerner, Max. *Los materiales de pintura y su empleo en el arte*. Barcelona: Reverte, 2005: 268; Matteini, Mauro; Moles, Arcangelo. *La química en la restauración*. Donostia: Nerea, 2008: 90-91.

55. Milanese, Carlo. *Dell'Arte del vetro per mosaico. Tre trattatelli dei secoli XIV e XV*. Bologna: 1864: 133. Medieval recipes in Latin refer to it as *aurum musicum*. The earliest known explicit mention to this material is found in the so-called De Rossi manuscript, a collection of Hebraic recipes written in Portugal in 1262, and currently catalogued as manuscript 945, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma (Blondheim, David. "An Old Portuguese Work on Manuscript Illumination". *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 19 (1968): 97-135; Abrahams, Harold. "A Thirteenth-Century Portuguese Work on Manuscript Illumination". *Ambix*, 26 (1979): 93-99; recipe 48 in *Codex Matritensis*, dated to the 12th century, however, already suggests the preparation of a similar substance based with tin and mercury (Burnam, John M. *Recipes from Codex Matritensis A16 (ahora 19)*. Cincinnati: Cincinnati University Press, 1926: 20); Córdoba, Ricardo. "Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...": 27.

56. Cennini, Cennino. *El Libro del Arte*, ed. Franco Brunello. Madrid: Akal, 1988: 159.

57. From the 14th century onwards the recipes for the preparation of mosaic gold became common throughout Europe and, most particularly, in German-speaking regions (Schiessl, Ulrich. "Musivgold. Eine pigmentgeschichtliche Skizze". *Maltechnik Restauero*, 87/4 (1981): 219-229; Fuchs, Robert; Oltrogge, Doris. "Utilisation d'un livre de modèles pour la reconstitution de la peinture de manuscrits. Aspects historiques et physico-chimiques". *Pigments et colorants de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age. Teinture, peinture, enluminure, études historiques et physico-chimiques*. Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique Éditions, 2002: 314-315).



que escrevas"); the *Liber de coloribus iluminatorum*, Sloane Manuscript 1754 (f. 213, "Ad aurum musicum faciendum"); the third treatise published by Gaetano Milanesi in his work *Dell'Arte del Vetro* (1443 recipe, 'A fare purpurino ovvero oro musico'); chapter 159 of Cennini's *The Craftman's Handbook*, recipes 141 to 145 in the sixth chapter of the Manuscript of Bologna, edited by Mary Merrifield; and some recipes in the manuscripts in the Fondo Palatino, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence (796, 811, 851, 866, 934, 1072). Often these recipes refer to mosaic gold as "glitter"⁵⁸.

Two Castilian recipes in ms. II/1393, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid, mention the preparation of a concoction akin to mosaic gold, but with the substitution of tin for other metal compounds, such as brass or verdigris. The first suggests mixing two ounces of brass with one of sulphur and one of mercury, which are heated inside a vase for four hours. Before use, the ink must be diluted in white wine and a water and gum mixture; the second recipe recommends mixing one ounce of verdigris, an ounce of sulphur and two of white vinegar inside a brass cauldron. This mixture is to be heated until reduced by one third and then left to cool. A pinch of saffron must be added before use⁵⁹.

3. The application of gold

As a general rule the surface on which the gold or its substitute is to be applied has to be treated to ensure the stability of the decoration. This includes a wide variety of substances and application techniques, largely depending on the material with which the artisan has to work; illuminating parchment involves a very different process to, for example, applying gold decoration on metal or wood. In any case, all these procedures had three objectives in common: outlining the area to be decorated, ensuring a good adherence for the decoration (regardless of whether this was gold leaf, ink or dust) and setting the conditions for a better and shinier final result⁶⁰. As a second step, the decoration is treated with heat to provoke the chemical reactions conducive to its final fixation and stability.

58. Córdoba, Ricardo. "Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...": 26-27 and 45-46. All of these recipes suggest the mixture of tin, mercury (quicksilver), sulphur and salammoniac. After heating, it must be diluted in gum Arabic or egg white: Brunello, Francesco. *De Arte Illuminandi...*: 57-59; Thompson, Daniel. "Liber de Coloribus Illuminatorum sive Pictorum from Sloane Manuscript n° 1754". *Speculum*, 1 (1926): 280-307; Thompson, Daniel. *An anonymous fourteenth-century treatise: De Arte Illuminandi*. New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1933: 37; Cennini, Cennino. *El Libro del Arte...*: 180; Manuscript of Bologna, chapters 141-145 and 168 (*Original Treatises dating from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Centuries on the Arts of Painting*, ed. Mary Merrifield. New York: Dover, 1967: 458-477); Pomaro, Gabriella. *I Ricettari...*: 100-102 and 118). Theophilus's Chapter 30, Book I, explains how to use tin to imitate gold; after crushing the tin to a thin grain it is diluted in gum and applied. It is later burnished with a tooth and covered for one day with the kind of saffron used to dye silk (*Theophilus' On Divers Arts...*: 37). Also: González-Alonso, Enriqueta. *Tratado del dorado...*: 138-139; López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 249-251.

59. BPR. ms. II/1393, fol. 5r: cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial...*: 370-371.

60. González-Alonso, Enriqueta. *Tratado del Dorado...*: 155.



3.1. On parchment

The last step before applying the gold to the parchment was the preparation of the base or *sisá*. The base must have good adhesive qualities and had therefore to be reduced to a very fine texture. Fine plaster, white lead, chalk and Armenian bole were for this reason the most common materials in use. On the other hand, the base had to stay smooth over time, to avoid altering the gold set upon it. Small amounts of plastic binders such as fish tail, leather glue, pitch and resin. The glue that is recommended most often in medieval treatises on art technologies is egg white, although gum Arabic and plum tree gum (*gumma cinea*) are also described as excellent for illuminating parchment. The use of protein-based glues (extracted from fish, parchment or leather) was especially recommended for chrysographic works or whenever the gold was applied in dust form. Softening substances, such as sugar, honey, fig-tree sap, vinegar and earwax, rich in latex, were also frequently added to increase the flexibility and resistance of the painting; in addition, vinegar was added to glues and sugars to prevent crystallisation. In order for the white colour of the *sisá* not to show if the golden film thinned or tore, the base could also be coloured with a yellowish or orangish substance, often a mixture of saffron⁶¹.

Several Castilian recipes give instructions for the preparation of the *sisá*, including a wide variety of techniques. Recipe number 38 of manuscript H490 in the Faculty of Medicine, Montpellier, suggests using two parts of gypsum, one of Armenian bole and one of sugar, forming a mixture that will be macerated for twenty four hours in tail or hide glue. Finally, saffron is added and the resulting mix is left to dry; recipe number 39 in the same manuscript mentions using gypsum (an amount equivalent to the size of an egg), bole (as much as a walnut), saffron (three strands) and *cicotrí* aloe (so called because of its origin in the African island of Socotra; the plant gives a very bitter resinous juice with similar binding properties to the tail glue used in the previous recipe, and of which “as much as a small chickpea” is added); in both cases the *sisá* is stored in small nuggets and has to be diluted in egg white or water with gum before use⁶².

The European texts suggesting similar recipes for the preparation of the *sisá* include the Manuscript of Naples, where the section entitled “Of the gypsum to fix gold on parchment” recommends mixing “the boiled and clean gypsum that painters use to fix gold on canvas, that is, as fine as possible, and a fourth part of the best Armenian bole, ground on a porphyry stone with liquid glue and as much honey as seems fit”; Cennino’s *The Craftman’s Handbook*, in recipes 157 and

61. On the use of binders in the illumination of manuscripts: Kroustallis, Stephanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum...*”: 791-794; on raw materials used and processes carried out in the preparation and application of the *sisá*: Gilissen, Léon. “*L’or en enluminure*”. *Pigments et colorants de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Age...*: 203-204; Borradaile, Viola; Borradaile, Rosamund. *The Strasburg Manuscript. A Medieval Painters’ handbook*. London: Alec Tiranti, 1966: 59; Brunello, Francesco. *De Arte illuminandi...*: 100-103; Blondheim, David. *Livro de como se fazen as côres*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930: 80; Clarke, Mark. *Mediaeval Painters’ Materials and Techniques...*: 117; López, Eva, *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 301-305.

62. Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 29-30 and 46.



158, suggests the mixture of gypsum with lead, bole and sugar, and a later dilution in egg white; the Manuscript of Bologna, in its recipe 160, prescribes the use of gypsum, bole, glue, sugar and earwax; finally the manuscripts in the Fondo Palatino, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence (for example, numbers 934 and 1001) suggest the use of gypsum, bole, white lead and honey, diluted in egg white and with the final addition of saffron⁶³.

In order to apply the *sisá*, the parchment must be perfectly cleaned and stretched out. Recipe 39 in ms. H490 indicates, on the preparation of the parchment on which the *sisá* is going to be extended, that if the surface is excessively greasy it must be energetically rubbed with bread crumbs, because the excess of grease could prevent the correct adherence of the *sisá*. The base was simply mixed with vinegar, applied and left to dry before the gold leaf could be set upon it. If the *sisá* had been in storage for a while, one of the recipes in ms. 9226, Biblioteca Nacional de España, recommends boiling in vinegar before application and, again, left to dry afterwards. Should the *sisá* lack the necessary mordant to ensure a good adherence of the gold leaf, this recipe continues, it could be softened with human breath. Once extended, the base must be totally smooth, for which most recipes suggest the use of a knife to “shave” it as thin as practicable; number 38 in ms. H490 in Montpellier also prescribes applying the *sisá* on the surfaces to be decorated with gold, scraping it with a knife and polishing it before applying the decoration. The final step in the preparation of the parchment was polishing the *sisá* to guarantee that there were no cracks or creases that could tear the gold; the recipes in ms. 9226 recommend the use of cotton: “once dry, clear with cotton” and “wipe everything that was not fixed”⁶⁴.

According to Stefanos Kroustallis there were two techniques for applying the gold to the *sisá*: the “wet” system, in which the parchment was first left to dry and then humidified with a binder before applying the gold; and the dry system, which relied on honey or sugar as binders, resulting in a sticky surface, on which the gold was applied by pressure. It was also possible to apply the gold or the golden inks not to the *sisá*, as we have described, but more directly onto the parchment, in which case the binders used were fish tail, garlic (mixed with gum Arabic) and egg white —profusely dyed yellow (with saffron) or red (with vermillion) to avoid sharp contrasts with the colour of the gold⁶⁵. Some of the Castilian recipes included in ms. 9226, Biblioteca Nacional de España, mention the preparation of a base using not mineral, such as gypsum or bole, but vegetal raw materials, for example garlic juice and the sap extracted from lettuces and fig trees. Specifically, one of these

63. Brunello, Franceso. *De Arte Illuminandi...*: 83-85 and 168-169; Cennini, Cennino. *El Libro del Arte...*: 179-180, chapters 157 and 158; Manuscript of Bologna, chap. 160 (Merrifield, Mary, ed. *Original Treatises...*: 466; Pomaro, Gabriella. *I Ricettari...*: 120-122).

64. BNE. ms. 9226, f. 34, 38 and 41; cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 368-369; Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 29-30. Cennini also says that, once dry, the *sisá* must be scraped with a knife in order to clean the gypsum (Cennini, Cennino. *El Libro del Arte...*: 180, chap. 158). Gilissen claims that the tools used to burnish the *sisá* were the same as those used to polish gold, such as dog or wolf teeth, agathes and haematites. This operation gave the gypsum a shine that enhanced that of the gold (Gilissen, León. “L’or en enluminure...”: 204).

65. Kroustallis, Stephanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum...*”: 795; Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 151.



recipes suggests peeling and crushing three garlic heads to release “as much juice as you can get”, adding a pinch of saffron and rubbing the surface of the parchment with the mixture. Once dried, a soft heat was administered before applying the gold leaf; another recipe mentions the use of bitter lettuce sap, fig tree sap or gummed water, mixed with aloe (acting as binder) and stone sugar (as softener). The mixture had to be left so simmer until reduced by half and left to dry on the parchment⁶⁶.

Other Spanish recipes, in ms. 9226, Biblioteca Nacional, and II/1393, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, are even more simple because they skip the preparation of the base and prescribe the application of binders and softeners directly on the parchment. The first recipe in ms. 9226, entitled “To fix gold leaf”, recommends mixing equal measures of gum Arabic and salammoniac and then diluting the mixture in vinegar before “treating with it what needs to be decorated, and applying the gold before it is dry”; the second one, under the heading “To make the *sisá* for golden letters”, suggests mixing a nugget of salammoniac, half of bile, sugar and honey, in a glazed bowl. After diluting this mixture in vinegar and boiling it “until it has the necessary mordant” it is sieved through a piece of cloth. With regard to the recipes contained in ms. II/1393, under the heading “Writing with gold or silver”, the first recommends the application to the parchment of a mixture of gum diluted in water and honey, then “before it is dried apply the gold”; the second simply prescribes the application of sugar⁶⁷.

The recipes included in ms. H490, Faculty of Medicine, Montpellier, and ms. II/1393, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, indicate that the gold, once fixed, was treated with a burnisher made of animal teeth or stone (agate, haematite), using earwax to repair possible cracks⁶⁸. The burnishing was generally carried out by illuminators, who usually started around the edges and left the central sections for the end; the recipes recommend burnishing to be executed vigorously⁶⁹.

3.2. On leather

One of the most common techniques in *guadamacileria* (the decoration of leather objects) was the application of thin oropel sheets. Generally, the first step was *granir*, or giving the leather a dense granulated texture with a rocker (a flat, micro-dented

66. BNE. ms. 9226, f. 34 and 126; cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 368-369. Similar recipes for the use of garlic juice diluted in gum for the preparation of the *sisá* can be found in the *Composiciones Lucenses* and Cennini's *The Craftman's Handbook* (cited in: Brunello, Francesco. *De Arti Illuminandi...*: 167); garlic juice contains an essential oil —mostly composed of organic sulphides (allyl disulphide and trisulphide)— with strong binding properties (Gañán, Constantino. *Técnicas y evolución de la imaginería...*: 131).

67. BNE. ms. 9226, f. 38 and 41; BPR. ms. II/1393, f. 5r; cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 368-369.

68. BPR. ms. II/1393, f. 5; cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 368-369; Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un manuscrito técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 29.

69. Gilissen, León. “L’or en enluminure...”: 206.



specialised tool), followed by a thorough polishing of the surface thus treated⁷⁰. After this, the oropel was simply set on these surfaces—during which process, according again to the guild regulations, the metal sheets often tore— and burnished. In 1501 Diego de Jaén, a goldbeater from the parish of Santa María in Córdoba, agreed to supply the *guadamacilero* Juan de Palencia with three dozen pieces of golden oropel every Saturday, at a price of 224 mrs. “doubly golden and good for *guadameciles*”; the goldbeater also committed to supply his customer with 10 pounds of fat burnish and another 10 of resin—used to polish oropel— within ten days of the agreement⁷¹.

A different version of the technique involved the treatment of the leather with a mixture of binding and adhesive substances. There are no known Spanish recipes for this technique, but there are several from Italy. Heraclius, for example, includes a recipe for a concoction of ochre, glue and egg white, which needs to be burnished after application; the *Mappae Clavicula*, on the other hand, prescribes rubbing the leather and applying a mixture of egg white and tragacanth while the leafs are being treated with flax oil, glue and saffron; Audemar recommends treating the leather with a mordant composed of gum Arabic, plum glue and egg white; the Manuscript of Lucca, in its recipe number 81, suggests preparing the leather with pumice, washing it with warm water and treating it with egg white or gum with a sponge before applying the gold leaf; recipe 111 in the same document, on the other hand, prescribes rubbing the leather with flax oil and saffron. Along the same lines, ms. 1001, Fondo Palatino, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, recommends rubbing the leather with a mixture of flax oil, pine resin, Socotra aloe and yellow incense; afterwards, the metal sheet is applied and rubbed four or five times with a stone, to achieve the desired shine⁷².

3.3. On metal

As stated at the beginning of this section, the materials upon which golden decoration was set had to be prepared in some way to ensure its adhesion, and metal is no exception. The application of a metal decoration to metal objects, generally iron or copper alloys, was a form of metal welding, and for this reason the technical recipes dedicated to the application of gold decoration on metal are akin to those on

70. The regulations published by the guild of decorated leather workers (*guadamecileros*) in Córdoba in 1543 established that, in order to gain a mastership, the artisans must know how to granulate a piece of *guadamecil*; those dating to 1528 determined that the leather used as base for silver decoration could not be too thin, because it would otherwise be pierced during granulation (Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba*...: 215).

71. 1501.s.d., AHPC. PNCo, Legajo 14140P, Hand 7, f. 20r. In another contract, Alfonso de Jaén, *oropelero* and also from the parish of Santa María, agreed to supply the *guadamacilero* Pedro de Soria, with 20 dozen sheets of golden opopel within 20 days, for a price of 1000 mrs. According to the agreement, Pedro de Soria was to supply the leather (1502.07.28, AHPC. PNCo, Legajo 14141P, Cuaderno 22, f. 10v).

72. Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro*...: 113 and 135; Pomaro, Gabriella. *I Ricettari*...: 143-144; López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado*...: 301-303.



welding techniques⁷³. In general, the idea behind the process is to ensure that the gold will be securely fixed, or in welding terms, that the filler metal (gold) coalesces with the base metal (iron, copper, bronze, etc.); for this to occur the surface of both metals must be completely clean, because impurities may affect the process of coalescence. Since exposure to air causes oxidation in nearly all metals, and since the thinnest layer of rust may prevent the coalescence of the metals, it is essential to use a flux compound, to isolate the contact point from air, dissolve oxides and facilitate the process of coalescence⁷⁴.

Historically, the most commonly used, and most efficacious, fluxes and reductants were resins and mineral salts, such as borax and fluorides (alkaline acids). This includes vegetal fats, such as pitch, mastic and oil, but mostly mineral fluxes such as borax, alum, vitriol, salt and sal ammoniac, widely used in ancient and medieval metallurgy for the manipulation of gold, tin, copper and other metals. The use of borax, for example, is amply documented in welding, melting before the filler metal and facilitating and accelerating the coalescence of this and the base metal. Anna-Catherine Robert-Hauglustaine has, in fact, stressed the use of borax in welding as a critical innovation in medieval metallurgy⁷⁵.

According to the evidence provided by local 15th century regulations and notarial contracts from Córdoba, the first step for fixing the metal leafs to a metal object (iron, copper, brass or bronze) was to file the surface of the object to be decorated, because the smallest crack or patch of roughness could tear the metal sheet or cause it to be incorrectly fixed. After preparing the base, the leaf was then applied with heat and pressure and vigorously polished with agate or haematite⁷⁶. It seems likely that the word *añirar* refers in 15th century Castilian texts to this polishing operation aimed at fixing and polishing the metal leaf; strangely, this operation which the 17th century regulations from Seville recommend to be carried out with good quality *añir* (indigo) and which is also documented in many inventories of gold-decorated objects, is not mentioned in technical recipe books⁷⁷.

73. On welding techniques as described in recipe books from the period see: Córdoba, Ricardo. "Técnicas de soldadura de metales según recetarios italianos de los siglos XV y XVI", *Estudios en homenaje al Profesor Emilio Cabrera*. Córdoba: UCOPress, 2015: 139-150.

74. Giachino, Joseph W.; Weeks, William. *Teoría y Práctica de la soldadura*. Barcelona: Reverte, 1995; Jeffus, Larry. *Soldadura. Principios y aplicaciones*. Madrid: Paraninfo, 2008.

75. Lipinsky, Angelo. *Oro, argento, gemme e smalti. Tecnologia delle arti dalle origini alla fine del Medioevo*. Florence: Olschki, 1975: 223; Robert-Hauglustaine, Anna Catherine. "Le soudage de l'or: études à partir des textes antiques et médiévaux", *Outils et ateliers d'orfèvres des temps anciens*, Christiane Eluère. ed. Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Musée des Antiquités Nationales, 1993: 113-114 and notes 45-47, where she points out its presence in medieval technical recipe books, for example in the *Liber Sacerdotum* and in Theophilus' and Benvenuto Cellini's handbooks. See also: Sánchez, Julio. *De minería, metalurgia y comercio de metales*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1989: 163.

76. Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba...*: 259-260. The tools used by Juan Rodríguez de Soria, a knife maker from Córdoba, to apply golden decoration to the knife handles included a polishing stone and a hard brush (1507.03.22, AHPC. PNC, Legajo 11827P, f. 238r).

77. 15th century inventories often mention golden and *añirados* metal objects. A good example of this is the contract signed in September 1494 by Martín Ruiz, leather artisan in San Nicolás de la Axerquía, and Lope de Valpuesta, from Toledo, who were thereby to be sold 100,000 mrs. in merchandise "in horse



One of the recipes included in ms. 2019, Biblioteca Nacional de España, details the procedure used to apply gold leaf to iron objects by heat and pressure, as described above. First, it recommends cleaning and filing the iron surface thoroughly, with a file first and then “with a steel object called a scraper”; following this, the metal was put on the fire, covered with coals and not retrieved until it was red hot. Subsequently, the object was cleaned and burnished with a polishing stone before applying the gold leaf and rubbing again. After taking the object out of the fire, it was left to cool down, the ashes wiped away with a cloth, and polished again until the desired shine was achieved; “this is repeated two or three times for better effect, and if some of the gold is torn away, apply another bit and polish it”. This was the simplest technique and also the most akin to a true weld⁷⁸.

A second technique, as popular as the previous one if not more, was based on the application of a mercury and gold alloy (amalgam) and the administration of heat, upon which the mercury would volatilise leaving the gold sitting on the metal surface⁷⁹. This operation involved two stages: first, the object to be decorated was immersed in a mixture which many writings refer to as “gilding water”, where the metal object was prepared to better assimilate the amalgam; afterwards, the mercury and gold amalgam was applied to the surface. After the administration of heat and the consequent evaporation of the mercury, the remaining gold needed only to be polished. Some Italian recipes specify the compounds used to prepare the metal, which played the same role as the *sisá* on parchment, including orpiment, verdigris, vitriol, alum, tartar, saltpetre, salammoniac and, sometimes, vinegar⁸⁰.

One of the recipes included in ms. 2019, Biblioteca Nacional de España, describes this technique under the heading “Dorar de molido”; the explanation begins by clarifying that this method is employed “to gild small images and figures that cannot be otherwise cleaned with irons or polished with stones” and that it is more costly

harnesses and other leather goods” including some silver and *añiradas* stirrups, valued in 305 mrs., and some golden and *añirados* bits, valued in 95 mrs. According to the agreement, the merchant from Toledo would receive, towards the mid of the following month of October, 80,000 mrs. worth of plated metal pieces and 20,000 mrs. worth of reins, straps and other leather objects (1494.09.02, AHPC. PNC, Legajo 13670P, f. 932v).

78. BNE. ms. 2019, f. 61r: cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 143.

79. This technique is documented in the Iberian Peninsula from the second half of the 1st millennium BC. For a discussion of the origins and dissemination of this technique in prehistory see: Martiñón-Torres, Marcos; Ladra, Lois. “Orígenes del dorado por amalgama. Aportaciones desde la orfebrería protohistórica del noroeste de la Península Ibérica”. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 68 (2011): 187-198, with new ideas on the notions previously set forth by: Lins, Andrew; Oddy, Andrew. “The Origins of mercury Gilding”. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 2 (1975): 365-373; Oddy, Andrew. “A history of Gilding with particular reference to statuary”, *Gilded Metals: history, technology and conservation*, Terry Drayman-Weisser, ed. London: Archetype, 2000: 1-19.

80. Among the many recipes in the Fondo Palatino, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, which refer to these compounds, we may mention ms. Pal. 885, f. 263, “To make water to gild iron and swords”; Pal. 1021, f. 103r, “Making water to gild iron”; Pal. 915, f. 15r, mixes rock alum, vitriol and salt; Pal. 869, f. 95r, where the concoction includes an ounce of vitriol, an ounce of alum and half of salt, all boiled in white wine; or common salt, tartar, rock alum, salammoniac and Roman vitriol; and Pal. 858, f. 58r, which recommends diluting eight ounces of vitriol, two of alum and one of salammoniac in vinegar (Pomaro Gabriella. *I Ricettari...*: 162-163 and 167).



than welding “because it uses twice as much gold”, but also more durable. The recipe recommends warming the piece and putting it into a bowl with some gilding water, “but not for too long if you don’t want it to crumble away”; after taking it out and cleaning it, it must be put into another vase with the mercury, “and you will make sure to stir it until the mercury sits in and the surface is made to look like silver”; following this, it must be put into the fire “where the mercury will be consumed and the golden colour will remain”. Finally, after cooling down, the piece is polished⁸¹. Benvenuto Cellini’s work includes a similar recipe for gilding with mercury amalgam; the starting point is a set of gold leaf fragments hammered into the thickness of writing paper, cut into small pieces, mixed with the mercury inside a previously warmed, new crucible—in the “usual” proportion, one part of gold to eight parts of mercury—and left to simmer until the gold is molten and mixed with the mercury. Once the mixture is perfectly even the crucible must be taken off the fire and the amalgam poured into a container with clean water. Meanwhile, the object to be decorated must be perfectly polished. Afterwards, the alloy is applied with a brush or some other instrument, and the object set upon a heat source to volatilise the mercury⁸².

Numerous European recipes refer to this method, very popular during the Middle Ages, and detail the use of gilding waters and the most efficient mineral fluxes. Recipe number 133 in the Manuscript of Lucca, for example, recommends mixing gold leaf and mercury and administering heat to volatilise the mercury while the gold remains fixed to the surface, specifying that this method is also valid for gilding iron, provided that the base is previously treated with alum, vitriol, a pinch of salt and vinegar. The same treatise includes another recipe which suggests the preliminary treatment of iron objects with a mixture of vitriol, alum and tragacanth. This mixture had to be diluted in water and boiled for an hour before being applied to the surface to be gilded. After rinsing, the gold leaf could be applied and polished. Similar recipes can be found in other manuscripts in the Fondo Palatino, for example Pal. 869, which also indicates the preparation of concoctions (by using vitriol, alum, salt, salammoniac, tartar, etc. all diluted in vinegar or wine) to bath the iron object before the application of the amalgam and heating; once the process is finished, the document recommends polishing the finished object with hare fur. Finally, Isabella Cortese’s *Secreti*, published in the 16th century, includes a similar recipe for gilding iron: the gilding water is prepared with alum, tartar, verdigris and salt; the iron object, previously warmed, must then be submerged in it for a short while, following with the application of the gold and mercury amalgam. Finally, the object is put on the fire until the mercury volatilises leaving the gold on the surface⁸³.

81. BNE. ms. 2019, f. 62r; cited in: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 141.

82. Cellini, Benvenuto. *Tratados de orfebrería escultura, dibujo y arquitectura*, ed. Fernando Checa. Barcelona: Akal, 1989: 140-142.

83. Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 149 and 103; BNCF. ms. Pal. 869, f. 95r, one ounce of vitriol, one of alum, half of salt, all boiled in white wine; also, common salt, tartar, rock alum, salammoniac and Roman vitriol (Pomaro, Gabriella. *I Ricettari...*: 162-163); book II, Chap. 59, *To gild iron* (The Secrets of Lady Isabella Cortese, which will contain things mineral, medicines, *arteficiose*, and alchemy, and many of



3.4. On wood, bone and fabric

The application of gilded decoration on wood, mostly for the ornamentation of free standing sculptures or altar pieces, was not significantly different from a technical point of view, because wood also required preliminary treatment. In fact, the technique is very similar to the application of *sisá* on parchment, the most common raw materials being gypsum and bole, along with binders and softeners.

One of the techniques found in the recipe books of the time is the so called “water based gilding”. This is a simple procedure, involving the preparation of a base with a mixture of gypsum and animal glue, upon which several coats of ground bole—diluted in parchment glue or egg white—were applied, before polishing with a cloth and wetting slightly to provide a brighter shine. The gold leaf was applied while the base was still humid and with the aid of a glue. Once dried, the gold leaf could be polished with agate, haematite or animal tooth⁸⁴. These recipes appear in numerous texts from all over Europe, including Audemar, who mentions the use of layers of gypsum mixed with glue and egg white; or Cennini’s *The Craftman’s Handbook*, which details the sealing of the surface of the wood with parchment glue, followed by the application of three successive coats of coarse gypsum, fine gypsum and bole, in that order⁸⁵. The regulations of Cordoban painters published in 1493 explain this procedure in detail with reference to the gilding of altar pieces, indicating that before the gold is applied the *emprimadura*—a coat of gypsum scraped with iron knives rather than with sandpaper, just as with parchment—needs to be laid out. The final step, after applying the gold leaf, was polishing⁸⁶.

The second technique is known as “oil based gilding” and, although similar to the previous one, since it is also based on the application of a foundation for the gold, it differs in the ingredients used for the preparation of this kind of *sisá*. The main ingredients in this case were a mixture of glue and egg white or flax oil. This was not as popular as the water-based technique because it did not allow the leaf to be polished (without the support of a gypsum or a bole base, the gold would tear). For this reason, extra mordants such as crushed garlic, minium, ochre and verdigris,

the art of perfumery, belonging to every great lady; with other beautiful secrets added, Venice: Giouanni Bariletto, 1565: 53); cited in: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 160-163.

84. This was the most popular technique because the different coats of gypsum and bole favoured the fixing and polishing of the gold and, therefore, ensured a significantly better final result. This explains the popularity of the method among the writers of the time (Theophilus, Cennini). On the key features of the method see, among many others: López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 274-281; González-Alonso, Enriqueta. *Tratado del dorado...*: 156; Matteini, Mauro. *La Química en la restauración: los materiales del arte pictórico...*: 139; López, Eva; Dalmau, Consuelo. “Materiales y técnicas de dorado a través de las antiguas fuentes documentales”. *PH. Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico*, 61 (2007): 110-129; Martínez, Sofía. “El dorado: técnicas, procedimientos y materiales”. *Ars Longa: Cuadernos de Arte*, 11 (2002): 139-140.

85. López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 258-267.

86. Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba...*: 332-333; the use of knives to eliminate the excess gypsum is also mentioned by Cennini, chapter 115, *The Craftman’s Handbook* (González-Alonso, Enriqueta. *Tratado del dorado...*: 146; Gañán, Constantino. *Técnicas y evolución de la imaginería policroma en Sevilla*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999: 150-156).



were added to give the leaf extra stability, while varnishes were also applied as a substitute for the polish (orpiment, alum, saffron, bile, sugar, gum, pine resin)⁸⁷. One of the recipes in ms. 2019, Biblioteca Nacional de España, describes the process of gilding wooden figures by the application of gold paint or varnish in two steps: first, the piece must be treated with several coats of *emprimadura* (the first with a soft glue, the second with flax oil and the third with a mixture of black paint and minio), combining binders with softeners; the second step is the application of the golden paint⁸⁸.

The joint participation of goldbeaters and painters in the application of this technique seems to be the normal practice in this period. We can see an example of this in the contract signed in July 1494 by Manuel Ruiz, a goldbeater from the parish of Santa María la Blanca, in Seville; Juan de Robledo, a painter from the parish of San Vicente; and Antonio Núñez, a painter from the parish of San Román, after the latter had commissioned Pedro de Trujillo, another painter in the parish of Santiago, to carry out several works—including five mouldings in polished gold, twenty golden battens, fourteen beam-ends in polished gold, a number of miniature battlements for an organ and a number of top decorations for the box of said organ—for the church of Santa Clara in the village of Moguer⁸⁹.

With regard to the application of golden decoration on bone, the procedure involved the preparation by distillation of a kind of “gilding water”, into which the bone was introduced for a certain time to achieve the desired colour. There are two known recipes for this process in Castile, both in ms. II/1393, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, and describing an identical process: a mixture of quicklime and strong vinegar is distilled through a still, and the gold leaf put inside (“and the strength of the concoction will dissolve it”). The bone is then submerged in this compound for six or seven days, after which it will come out “as though it was pure gold”⁹⁰.

Finally, the recipe books also give us some indication as to the techniques used for gilding textile fabrics. These techniques are essentially equivalent to the water-based and oil-based techniques used in gilding wood, both concerning raw materials and procedure. Although the known Castilian technical handbooks do not include this technique, the rules published in Córdoba in 1493 to regulate the work of painters mention a water-based gilding technique in two steps. In the first, the canvas is

87. López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 281-291; López, Eva; Dalmau, Consuelo. “Materiales y técnicas de dorado a través de las antiguas fuentes documentales...”: 110-129; Martínez, Sofía. “El dorado: técnicas, procedimientos y materiales...”: 138; Maltese, Carlos. *Las técnicas artísticas*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2006: 65-67.

88. BNE. ms. 2019, *Para dar color de bronce a figuras*, f. 46; cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial...*: 136. The Manuscript of Lucca includes a similar recipe, number 108, recommending the use of almond gum, macerated in water for a day, mixed with gum, and heated on a soft fire (Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 135); the *Mappae Clavicula*, on the other hand, merely suggests the application of one coat of saffron and egg as the base for the gold (López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 259).

89. AHPS. PNSe, Leg. 2154, f. 684r (21st July 1494).

90. BPR. ms. II/1393, *Para hazer un hueso color de oro y Para color de puro oro*, f. 4r and 9v; cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial...*: 167.



treated with an *emprimadura* made with gypsum, binders and softeners, including a first coat of wheatpaste, parchment glue or cow tail glue mixed with honey —the presence of the latter, according to the regulations, “makes the base soft and helps the figures not to crack when the fabric is bent”— and a second coat of gound gypsum diluted in warm water and wheatpaste. Once this base was dry the gilding could be applied in the form of gold leaf or paint⁹¹.

On the other hand, some European texts mention a second technique more akin to oil-based gilding on wood. For example, Theophilus, in Chapter 30, Book I, explains how to apply paint imitating gold on a base of saffron: “take the saffron used to dye silk, mix with undiluted egg white, and leave it overnight”. Heraclius points out that the fabrics are to be submerged in parchment glue diluted in hot water, stretched out and rubbed with a glass before the application of the gold leaf. The *Mappae Clavicula* refers to the use of flax oil as an adhesive on fabrics which have previously been treated with a mordant made with almond gum, gum and saffron. Audemar mixes gum Arabic, gypsum and egg white, and the Manuscript of Lucca proposes a similar procedure in its recipe 108, in which it recommends the mixture of egg white and saffron, with the addition of flax and gum if desired⁹².

4. Conclusion

The application of golden decoration on various objects and surfaces was a highly significant artisanal and artistic activity in Europe and the Iberian Peninsula during the late Middle Ages. These techniques not only served illuminators, painters, sculptors and other artists producing works of art (miniatures, paintings, sculptures, altar pieces and canvases), but also artisans engaged in the manufacture of everyday objects, goldbeaters preparing gold, silver and oropel leaf, gilders applying the leaf to swords, basins and other items, and leather, metal and wood workers in their various productions. The possibility of making a humble object shine as though it was made of gold explains the popularity and assiduity of these techniques in medieval society.

This popularity explains the abundance of references to these techniques, both in archive (contracts recording transactions with gilded items, for example) and technical documents (guild rules and professional regulations, recipe books and technical treatises) preserved today in manuscript form in multiple libraries throughout Europe, but especially in Spain and Italy. Until very recently it was only possible to approach these techniques with European texts (*Compositiones Lucenses*, *Mappae Clavicula*, Heraclius and Audemar, and the more detailed late medieval technical treatises: Theophilus, Cennini, Cellini, the manuscripts of Lucca

91. Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba...*: 334.

92. López, Eva; Dalmau Consuelo. “La técnica del dorado sobre soportes diversos a través de fuentes literarias antiguas”. *Pátina*, 15 (2008): 75-84; López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 308-311; Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 135.



and Bologna, etc.), but the recent find and study of Castilian manuscripts (such as mss. H490, Faculty of Medicine, Montpellier, 2019 and 9226, Biblioteca Nacional de España, and II/1393, Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid) and the growing knowledge of the major 16th and 17th century Spanish handbooks (Arfe, Fernández del Castillo, Barba) has corroborated that these techniques were also known and implemented in the Iberian Peninsula. The evidence yielded by these sources has also provided additional information on gold refining and on the use of *cimiento real*, mercury amalgams, sulphur, antimony and acid; on the reduction of gold to a fine sheet —gold leaf— or dust; on the production of its various imitations; and, finally, on the techniques used for its application on a wide variety of materials, most particularly parchment, leather, metal and wood.

The evidence is equally valuable in confirming the importance of gilding techniques in the 15th and 16th centuries, as shown by a wide variety of art works produced during those centuries and which have been a major subject of study for art historians for decades. Their interest for scholars engaged in the scientific analysis of the materials employed is, however, more recent, but no less relevant. The frequent mention to these objects in the written record —in the shape of inventories, property lists, contracts, etc.— also shows their extensive impact on late medieval everyday life.

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WOMEN, LEGAL DISCOURSE, INTERPRETATIVE MANEUVERS AND NEGOTIATING SAFETY

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Date of receipt: 5th of August, 2012

Final date of acceptance: 21st of May, 2014

ABSTRACT

This essay examines three court documents revealing how late medieval and early modern English women employed rhetorical strategies or exploited the conventions of the legal system so as to negotiate another's safety, insist on a different knowledge of their economic and sexual position, and openly negotiate the terms of their subordination. It is to this different knowledge of both her economic and sexual position, and the negotiation of such terms that Agnes Barons' testimony in July 1636 bears witness. Joan Smith even more aggressively than Barons insists upon a different knowledge of both her and Elizabeth Moorfoote's socio-economic position and challenges the authority of a self-deputized constable in the second deposition under discussion, namely, the Elizabeth Moorfoote vs. William Crowther case of 1596. In the last deposition, Susan More challenges the socially inherited ideological constructs of single women as threats to economic stability and sexual order, family relationships and community, in the 1608 John Scales vs Thomas Creede case. Thomas Creede was Shakespeare's printer¹.

KEYWORDS

Women, Early Modern England, Depositions, Legal System, Alewives.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Mulieres, Nova Aetas Anglica, Depositio, Systema Legale, Alewives.

When historians broke open the study of depositions, and uncovered valuable testimonial evidence of women's active roles in the legal system, every discipline benefited. By repositioning those testimonies in a broader cultural role—here, late medieval and early modern England—we, in literature, language, law, sociology, etc., could now open them up to an analysis of women's interpretative maneuvers and rhetorical courage within legal (masculine) discourse. We could now, also, witness women devising forms of talk/conversation so as to insist on a different knowledge of their economic and sexual position, and to openly negotiate the terms of their subordination.

Because this essay deals so extensively with documents and interpretation which, in turn, involve one in attempts to constitute knowledge about the past, I must address a fundamental issue at this point—namely, the role of language in the creation of knowledge and “reality”. As linguists and semioticians have argued since the mid-twentieth century, we construct knowledge (i.e., our mental and discursive representation of “reality”) solely through language. However, language is itself a human construct. It is made-up set of units of sound: phonemes, morphemes, etc. There is no natural relationship between language and the world that we describe through language². There is nothing inherently “tree-ish” about the word “tree”, as the favorite example puts it. The point is that if we cannot even think about reality without thinking through language, if all thought is linguistic through and through³. Then the consequences for this essay are twofold: first, there is my part as the reader/interpreter. All representations that I make of the documents' implications are ultimately coded with my own meanings or desires, given that knowledge is a repository of accumulative meanings and experience. Second, there is the document itself. It, too, is coded: there is a deep structure to any text/document or deposition that is part of a larger (sign) system within which is encoded the experience, understandings, and power relationships of the witnesses testifying as well as of the notaries recording those testimonies. Encoded, too, are the epistemological assumptions of the language of the text, itself: i.e., the way the language of the period itself classified phenomena or “divide[d] up and interpret[ed] that world”⁴. Moreover, whatever liveliness, mental state or rhetorical maneuvering that I ascribe to the women subjects of this essay, those behaviors must be seen, in Carlo Ginsburg's words, as “both real and illusory”⁵. “Access to the past is always mediated, and, thus, always partial”, Ginsburg cautioned. And “since it is always mediated, always tied to a point of view, historical knowledge is by

1. Used abbreviations: DRO, Devon Records Office; LMA, London Metropolitan Archives.

2. de Saussure, Ferdinand. *Course in General Linguistics* (1916); new translation by Roy Harris: de Saussure, Ferdinand. *Course in General Linguistics*. London: Duckworth, 1983: 67, 69-69 and 117.

3. Or, in David Tracy's words, “all understanding is linguistic through and through” (Tracy, David. *Plurality and Ambiguity: Hermeneutics, Religion, Hope*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987: 43).

4. Grace, George W. *The Linguistic Construction of Reality*. New York: Croom Helm, 1987: 7.

5. Ginsburg, Carlo. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. Preface to the 2013 Edition, non-paginated.



definition perfectible, even when, as can happen, human error does not intrude”⁶. Alun Munslow cites Roger Chartier’s more direct view “[N]o text, even ‘the most apparently documentary, even the most ‘objective’, can ever ‘maintain a transparent relationship with the reality that it apprehends’”⁷.

As a writer looking at these depositions, I am therefore faced with two obligations: the first is to avoid privileging a single voice or a single interpretation; the second is to offer readers access to a complex of attitudes and codes of behavior, to surface alternative “truths”, other voices, and other, multiple, ways of knowing that are embedded in these non-transparent texts. This study attempts to take advantage of the multiple layers in language that inhere in depositions which are themselves a “re-representation” of “narrative” as well as of an historical event. As I will argue, within those re-representations appear to be specific narrative strategies, specific legal maneuverings, devised by women witnesses so as to insist upon a different knowledge of their economic and sexual position, and to openly negotiate the terms of their subordination.

It is to this different knowledge of both her economic and sexual position, and the negotiation of such terms that, I argue, Agnes Barons’ testimony in July 1636 bears witness. Joan Smith even more aggressively than Barons appears to insist upon a different knowledge of both her and Elizabeth Moorfoote’s socio-economic position in the second deposition under discussion, namely, the Elizabeth Moorfoote vs William Crowther case of 1596. In the last deposition, Suzan More openly challenges the socially inherited ideological constructs of single women as threats to economic stability and sexual order, family relationships and community, in the 1608 John Scales vs. Thomas Creede case.

Agnes Barons (of Devon, England), about 24 years old, was one of two maidservants in the kitchen when Audrey Rowell spotted Humphrey Harris at the kitchen window loading gravel. Rowell observed aloud that Annie Geffrey had cost William Harris (Humphrey’s father), forty pounds. The hint at sexual misconduct was unmistakable, particularly since Rowell then added that “there was not such an old whoremaster more in the country and... such a bawdye old knave in the country all which words she the said Audry did speake in raylinge and scoffinge manner of the said William Harris”⁸. The plaintiff, William Harris, sued Rowell, and called upon both Agnes Barons and Elizabeth Mills (the other maidservant) to give testimony. But Barons’ own sexual character and financial honesty now came under attack. As part of Rowell’s counsel’s defense strategy, they charged that Barons had been brought before a justice of peace by Mr. Done, her previous master, who had

6. Ginsburg, Carlo. *The Cheese and the Worms...*

7. Chartier, Roger. *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1988: 43. Cited in: Munslow, Alun. *Deconstructing History*. New York: Routledge, 1997: 27.

8. DRO. Ms. Chanter 866, William Harris contra Audrey Rowell, f. 220v-222v, especially, f. 220v. A briefer discussion of the implications of Agnes Barons testimony appears in Chapter 3: “Women, Crime, Conversation and the Courts”, *Language as the Site of Revolt in Medieval and Early Modern England: Speaking as a Woman*, Mary C. Bodden, ed. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011: 93-96.



accused her of leaving his employ without permission and of stealing food worth 18 pence (considered grand larceny). Rowell's counsel also alleged that Barons had borne an illegitimate child four years before. Simple and direct as Barons' response appears to be, it was, in fact, a careful threading through the troubled terrain of national debates about the economic and religious identity of women. The issues concerned "masterless women" versus women as subject to a master's authority, perceived as parallel to that of husbands, fathers, and the church. Linked to the economic independence of women were fears about women's sexual freedom (a view clearly subscribed to by Rowell's defense counsel). Barons' cultural experience, however, could reasonably suppose the "right to mobility", an economic value that gave servants "their most powerful weapon in negotiations for better wages and working conditions, whether from the current master or a different employer"⁹. Nevertheless, women's labor was "perceived as less 'free' than that of their male counterparts"¹⁰, and, in fact, local officials could "order unmarried women between the ages of twelve and forty years into service, for whatever wages the officials thought fit"¹¹. In Barons' own lifetime, women without employment, "found masterless", were typically "ordered to the House of Correction for a whipping"¹². Seventeenth-century court records contemporaneous with Barons' quitting of Mr. Done's service "are littered with orders to masterless individuals, frequently women, to put themselves into service"¹³. Consequently, despite Barons' having given her master the usual three months' notice of her intention to quit his service, presumably intending then to work for a Mr. Pomery in the same parish, he could expect the law to support his refusal to part with her.

Barons' answer is not simply personal, it is political:

And [Mr Done] did procure a process from Mr Cabell [justice of peace] to call [me] before him. And [I] went to the said justice, and there Mr Done did chardge [me] that [I] had made covenant to serve him, and that he would not release [me] of his service[.] And [I] then did refuse to goe to his service, and denied any such promise, as [I] justly might, and then Mr Cabell told the said Mr Done that he [Mr Done] had nothing to do with [my] service, except he could chardge [me] with any wrong [I] had done in [my] service, or had stolen any thinge. Where to Mr Done answered that he would not chardge [me] with any thinge[.] Yet afterwards

9. Mendelson, Sara H. "'To shift for a cloak': Disorderly Women in the Church Courts", *Women and History: Voices in Early Modern England*, Valerie Frith, ed. Toronto: Coach House Press, 1995: 3-18, especially, 8.

10. Mendelson, Sara H. "'To shift for a cloak'...": 9.

11. Mendelson, Sara H. "'To shift for a cloak'...": 3. The Statute of Artificers of 1563 was intended to "determine wage rates at the local level, to control conditions of employment for many workers including apprentices, and to restrict the mobility of labour" (Woodward, Donald. "The Background to the Statute of Artificers: The Genesis of Labour Policy, 1558-1563". *The Economic History Review*, 33/1 (1980): 32-44, especially, 32).

12. Crawford, Patricia. *Women and Religion in England 1500-1720*. New York: Routledge, 1993: 48. In Chapter 2, note 51, Crawford points out that there were "numerous cases in the Mayor's court book in Norwich".

13. Underdown, David. *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660*. Oxford (UK): Clarendon Press, 1985: 37 and note 104.



in [the] presence of Mr Cabell, the said Mr Done did say to [me] that he could chardge [me] for a piece of beif which [I] gave away at his dore. And then Mr Cabell examininge the matter farther, the said Mr Done said that [I] gave awa[y] a peece of beif at his dore to a poore woeman worth 18 pence. And [I] did then presently prove before the justice by him that bought the beif that the peece of beif did cost but 14 pence, and that it was boyled in [my] master's house, and that ten people had the same at dinner. And [I] gave a litle of that which was left to a poore woeman at the door, and some of it [I] kept in the house till next day. And when Mr Cabell saw how he was abused by hearinge such a brable, he was very angry with Mr Done and did bynd over him and [me] to answer at the [Quarter] Sessions[.] And [I] was at the last Sessions at the Castle of Exeter but was not called nor questioned there, only [I] was willed to pay Mr Cabell's clerk the fees. And [I am] a single woeman and unmarried, and about fourteen years since, [I] was betrothed and had bannes published in the church[.] And the man left [me] and refused to marry [me], after he had abused [me] and brought [me] with child¹⁴.

She was only a servant, yet an emphasis on female agency surfaces everywhere in Agnes (or Anne) Barons' deposition. She actively insisted on a different knowledge of her economic and sexual position—all the while dialoguing with the community by referencing community mores and its culture, even as she intended to liberate herself from the cultural expectation of obedience to the master. Barons' unapologetic "[I] did refuse to go to his service", and her description of having "justly" denied his claim of a covenant between them, emphasized her agency and silently reminded the community that she had availed herself of the socio-legal custom of giving notice on Lady Day, March 25, the first of the quarter days when servants could be hired or terminated, and rents were due. What is more, she aligned herself as pro-active in positive female community activities, dispensing charity. In fact, in her deposition female agency, consistently compared to male agency, emerges as knowledgeable and honorable: unlike Mr. Done, she had not lied about a covenant, she had not falsely accused anyone of theft, and she had not falsely mistated the monetary value of the beef. And unlike the (male) counsel's deliberate intention to cast doubt on her sexual chastity, she re-asserted her right to an honorable sexual reputation while simultaneously revealing the desertion by the man betrothed to her after the banns for their marriage had been published. Published banns were key to the community's view of her position. Many couples regarded the official betrothal "as a warrant to initiate sexual relations, taking pregnancy as an urgent cue for marriage. Such mores were based on mutual trust and the vigilance of informal community sanctions"¹⁵. Martin Ingram's position is more qualified: "Attitudes to antenuptial fornication are best summed up as ambivalent" and the "narrow dividing line between bridal pregnancy and bastardy" "made it impossible for local communities to regard sex before marriage in church as wholly licit"¹⁶. The fact is, however,

14. DRO. Ms. Chanter 866, f. 221r-221v.

15. Mendelson, Sara H. "To shift for a cloak'...": 9.

16. Ingram, Martin. *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1987: 230. Ingram's studies lead him to ask "just how firmly engaged were such couples" who were court defendants accused of sexual relations before marriage. He notes that while "as



that Barons' defense —however mediated by the court clerk— had reconstructed the hegemonic ideology (respect for economic property, charitable obligations, marriage accountability) and had shown the dominators (men) to be the violators of the ideological standards propagated by themselves. The judge's anger over the "brabble" was aimed at Mr. Done, not at Barons (even though both were to appear at another Sessions, where Barons noted that she was left unsummoned, implying her silent acquittal).

Women's legal powers, their domestic status, their financial vulnerability, their community standing, their legal identity itself were understood (by women and men) in terms of the men's authority, male constraints, male hierarchal powers; in other words, the male sphere. The male sphere shaped women's discourse, determined their rhetorical strategies, and their framing methods. In such a world of inequities where solely language (not speech... because speech was itself frequently criminalized) was as available to women as to men, it makes sense, in my view, that language, along with, eventually, speech and discourse became the arena in which women frequently outmaneuvered the interpretative practices of men. The very instability of language disallows any closed process of meanings. Devising narrative strategies that can disrupt and subvert culturally inherited truths dependent upon that instability could save lives, keep women out of the stocks, and out of jail.

Perhaps the greatest need for such narrative strategy would be among women whose public image already severely disadvantaged them, namely, alewives or alehouse keepers. Two alehouse keepers, Joan Smith and Elizabeth Moorfoote, not only challenge the stereotype of drunkenness and moral disrepute but they may also be evidence that alewives had more authority, social power, and community standing than history and literature have granted them.

Sometime in March of 1589, Elizabeth Moorfoote had persuaded Joan Smith to go with her and two other women to Kingsland in Hackney (outside London), where she lived, to give testimony about a past financial transaction¹⁷. They stopped to drink at Moorfoote's alehouse on Kingsland Street in Kingsland and drank a pott or two of beer. Smith then left to visit Simmons, an old acquaintance, nearby. As she was leaving Simmons, Smith spied Sybil Dodd quarreling in the street with one of the women who had accompanied her and Moorfoote. At the same time, a certain Mr. William Crowther, on the way to his own house, hearing the noisy brawl came along and grabbed Elizabeth Moorfoote who was not involved in the fracas and shouted at her, "this is your doing, Elizabeth Moorfoote", and he added, "I will have yow carted owte of the towne". Moorfoote countered, as one witness said, "in faithe Mr. Crowther keepe yow yor self aswell from hanginge as I will

many as 70 per cent of cases in the court of the archdeacon of Salisbury in the year 1627-1629" alleged prior intention to marry, such allegations were rarely made by defendants in Wiltshire (229). Informal promises seem to co-exist with the (declining) practice of "formal spousals" (229).

17. "what money one George Goodman(n) did spende in [Joan Smith's Alehowse] in the companeye of Elizabeth Moorfoote" (LMA. DL/C 213 (c.1590), 658-664, and 662). In the body of this essay all subsequent quotations from this manuscript will be immediately followed by the page numbers on which that quote appears.



keepe me from carting and then yow shall not neede feare the gallowes". Crowther, "in a greate rage and choller", replied, "godes blood[,] you arrant whore and with that he gave her a box upon the eare that she fell withall"¹⁸.

Crowther then hauled Moorfoote off to the stocks and set her in, threatening to do the same with Mrs. Smith. Moorfoote did not go quietly. She scratched Crowther's face, tore his ruff from his neck, and the ruff from his wife's neck as well —his wife having joined her husband, presumably to assist him.

When this matter was first brought before Justice Machell, Machell sentenced Moorfoote to be dunked for a scold. However, one of the witnesses, a Mr. Fabian Crookehorn (who had leased a house owned by Crowther) along with Mr. Harman (the town constable) went to Justice Machell, and offered a fuller account of the altercation. Machell then reversed his judgment, dismissed Moorfoote, and bluntly chastised Crowther with "some hard speeches".

A year later, in 1590, Elizabeth Moorfoote now brought a suite against Crowther for defamation of character arising out of Crowther's conduct, and arising also out of her public humiliation of being set in the stocks and initially sentenced to be dunked as a scold. This case, as I see it, is not so much about the breaking of the law or personal assault, as it is, rather, about social power and public reputation. Bringing Crowther to court was an extraordinary move by Moorfoote, given the exceptional powers that constables had in this period¹⁹. Even Fabian Crookehorn, a gentleman, took care to avoid retaliation by Crowther by telling Crowther that he was testifying against his will, and by ensuring that Elizabeth Moorfoote explicitly served process on him to serve as a witness rather than risk being thought as volunteering testimony against Crowther²⁰. It is Joan Smith's deposition (Smith having been called back to Kingsland to be deposed as a witness) that offers such a powerful example of how women seem to have understood the specialized discourse of the law and the networks of power codified in judgments. Her opening lines already negotiate her reputation and align her interests with the peace-keeping role of the judge: Smith first cast herself as a mediator, saying that while she was:

at Simmons house as aforesaid Dodds wife and wedow wyatt if so she be called revvyed an old quarell that was betweene them and this examinante when she

18. LMA. DL/C 213 (c.1590), 660.

19. Briggs, John; Harrison, Christopher; McInnes, Angus; Vincent, David. *Crime and Punishment in England: An Introductory History*. London: University College London Press, 1996: 53-54, point to the power of the English constable, asserting that by the "close of the sixteenth century hardly any aspect of law enforcement at the local level lay outside his brief" (53).

20. LMA. DL/C 213, 662. Fabian Crookehorn "did tell Wm. Crowther that he came to testifie againste his will and that he was served process which he did of purpose to understand wether Wm. Crowther wold take it well or ill that he came testifie and perceaving Crowther to take it ill he this respondent refused to appeare that corte day and enformed the Moorfootes wife to serve him with process before he wolde come to testifie which process was served upon him before the nexte corte daye then nexte following".



sawe them fighting togethers devyded them as well as she cold and pulled the one from thother²¹.

Smith's tactic wasn't some simple epistemic assumption that her peacemaking activity would privilege her testimony. Her strategy, rather, effectively casts Sybil Dodd and Widow Wyatt as women unable to let an old quarrel die, and (even more socially reprehensible) as women willing to take their quarrel to a public and physical level. There is a particular rhetorical device at work in Smith's construction of the event, namely, the technique of an implied comparison: compared to Sybil Dodd and Widow Wyatt, Moorfoote appears as a model of social and communal stability, and Smith herself appears expressly to be an agent of responsibility and communal concern.

Smith then volunteered apparently non-essential information: she expanded on the escalating violence between Widow Wyatt and Dodd's wife:

and yet Dods wife was so furious that notwithstanding that the said wyatt wedow was takinge her waye to London warde she followed her with a fagott stick in her hand intende to strike her and the wedow perceaving her intent turned her selfe abowte and tooke the sticke owte of Dods wifes hand and strucke her upon the hed with the same and broke her hed and then came Crowther busyle to make an ende of that quarrel and began another²².

It may have been non-essential information, but it was rhetorically effective: the violence of Sybil Dodd and Widow Wyatt alone was referenced; Smith did not associate Moorfoote with the fracas. The greater rhetorical maneuvering, however, was her explicit linking of Dodd's and Wyatt's instigating of disorder to Crowther's instigating disorder, himself: Crowther was described as coming along "busyle". Some lines earlier (p. 663) she had already testified to Crowther's "busyle" nature, and at that point she had already linked his busy-body nature to the instigation of the clash between him and Elizabeth Moorfoote. She added that Crowther, after calling Moorfoote "thow arrant queane Moorfootes wife, this is long of thee", then

called the said Moorfootes wife arrante whore and saied he wold have her carted owte of the towne and therwith he gave her a blowe upon the cheeke that she fell and laye sprawling upon the grounde And when she arose againe she saied unto him well Mr. Crowther hast thou stricken me: And upon some speeche of Mr. Crowther uttered to her againe she the saide Moorfootes wife bad him keep himself aswell from hanginge as she wold keep her selfe from carting and he shold not neede to feare the gallowes with manie other such lyke wordes that passed betweene them but she saie the firste begynninge of the brawles betweene Crowther and Moorfootes wife he the said Crowther did begyn with the said Moorfootes wife she gyving him no occasion of offence nor beinge anie cause

21. LMA. DL/C 213 (c.1590), 664.

22. LMA. DL/C 213 (c.1590), 664.



of the brawle betweene Dods wife and the other woman [insert: as everie bodie reported that was there]²³.

What is clear, according to Smith, was that Moorfoote's bristly defense was solely in response to Crowther's assault of Moorfoote.

Framing Smith's representation of the event, above, were certain critical social and political circumstances bound to affect the social and political consciousness of both jury and judge²⁴. Every woman's (and man's) testimony in aid of an accused woman was (and is) by definition an exposition of the social practices and structures that oppress women because every deposition reflected its narrator's understanding of (at least) three social systems: communal relationships, networks of power, and social rules. In the context, and in this period, the networks of power and social rules favored men. Necessarily, then, women's (and men's) testimony in favor of other women over a male accuser inherently involved subverting (even if unconsciously) the ideological assumptions supporting those networks.

One particular aspect of that power was the fact that the dominant (male) power interests controlled the depiction of legal reality, legal stability, and legal priorities²⁵. Nevertheless, these two women's testimonies, especially Smith's, found ways of destabilizing the legal repertoire and its mechanics of constructing meanings that interpret and sanction hierarchical relations. For example, Smith had introduced non-essential but rhetorically effective information when she detailed the escalating fight between Dodd's wife and Widow Wyatt. This not only emphasized Moorfoote's innocent bystander position before Crowther grabbed her, but it also raised questions about Crowther's judgment: why single out Moorfoote when two other women were conspicuously breaking the peace? Smith also verbally constructed different subject positions that hinted at improvident attitudes toward communal relations and social rules. The one having perhaps the greatest impact on the jury and the judge was not only Crowther's "busyle" coming along, but, more dramatically, Crowther's inability to put a woman into the stocks after wrestling for an hour with her):

23. LMA. DL/C 213 (c.1590), 663.

24. Any representation of an event is a linguistic and discursive practice, and given the poststructuralist view, in Joe Kincheloe's words, "that there is no such thing as neutral format of representation". Susan Amussen adds, linguistic and discursive practices "are certainly one dimension of oppression" (Kincheloe, Joe. "Fiction Formulas: Critical Constructivism and the Representation of Reality", *Representation and the Text: Re-Framing the Narrative Voice*, William G. Tierney, Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. New York: State University of New York Press, 1997: 57-79, especially, 63; Amussen, Susan D. "Elizabeth I and Alice Balstone, Gender, Class, and the Exceptional Woman in Early Modern England", *Attending to Women in Early Modern England*, Betty S. Travitsky, Adele F. Seeff, eds. Newark: Associated University Press, 1994: 219-240, especially, 230). This, of course, raises questions about my own positionality as an "authoritative truth teller" interpreting Smith's narrative voice (Kincheloe, Joe. "Fiction Formulas...": 63).

25. Herrup, Cynthia B. "Law and Morality in Seventeenth-Century England". *Past and Present*, 106 (1985): 102-123, especially, 104.



said Crowther did putt Moorfootes wife into the stocks and was struggling with this respondent the space one of one hower almost of intente to have putt this respondent into the stocks bycause she called him knave for striking of a woman meaning Moorfootes wife but this respondent gyvinge no other cause of offence but onely that wold not permit him to stocke her and especialye for avoyding further revenged upon Crowther if he had done it but bycause she gott the vycторыe in that matter she wold never lett her husbände knowe it for feare least Crowthers cote should have byn well lined for his foolishe attempte²⁶.

Here, Smith constructed a powerless male authority in Crowther: he cannot manage the duties of a constable.

Both Barons and Smith critiqued male power and male weakness: each incorporated insights into the cultural expectations of men and thus delegitimized their social status when, for example, Barons related the judge's disgust with Mr. Done and when Smith described Crowther "struggling" for the "space of one hower almost" to put her, unsuccessfully, into the stocks. Both Barons and Smith also employed irony as a comment on ideological expectations of men's superior moral condition and men's superior strength: Barons represented herself as honorable and truthful: unlike Mr. Done, she had not falsely accused anyone of theft, and she had not falsely misstated the monetary value of the beef mostly consumed by Done's household, and she acquitted her pregnancy as legitimate.

Smith's narrative techniques seemed to anticipate and (to intend to?) confound the likely dominant interests of the court —namely, their inclination to support masculine authority represented in Crowther's actions— even when a clear rightful verdict should have favored Moorfoote or any assaulted innocent woman. As one of my graduate students expressed it in our seminar examining various depositions: "Policing women was the responsibility of men; Crowther was a man punishing a woman for (supposedly) originating and then exacerbating a breach of the peace. Legally punishing Crowther for his exercise of power might have been seen by the jury as a blow against male authority"²⁷.

All the more impressive, then, was Mrs. Smith's framing of legal discourse so as to negotiate Moorfoote's safety, and publicly critique cultural "truths" or inherited legal discourse. In Smith's three or four sentences, above, concerning Crowther's putting Moorfoote in the stocks and struggling with Smith herself, there are embedded at least three or four discursive practices that tap into problems central to the culture of the period. In the first place, William Crowther was not the town's constable; he appears, according to others' testimony, to have deputized himself; there is a hint in one of the testimonies that the town's official constable, Constable Harman, was sick. It is therefore striking that a self-appointed authority not only took extreme measures with an innocent woman, Moorfoote, but also attempted to do the same with her companion, Smith. He seems not even to have served a warning to the brawling Widow Wyatt and Sybil Dodd. And even more striking is the fact that he

26. LMA. DL/C 213 (c.1590), 664.

27. Parkison, Sean. Graduate Seminar: "Gender and Crime", Marquette University, Spring 2010.



was successful in having the Justice of Peace sentence Moorfoote to be dunked as a scold—a brutal form of torture reserved for scolds and witches—and successful, too, in bringing Smith before the judge.

Second, would Crowther have taken such measures against women with not so public a profile as alehouse keepers had? His initiative, it is to be remembered, was at first supported by the judge. Given the national, religious, and legal, view of alehouses as sites of violence and disorder, the judge's support is not surprising. Then, too, it was outside Moorfoote's alehouse, after all, that the public brawling took place. In this period, alehouses' association with vice and crime seem environmentally of a piece, being usually squalid, poorly furnished and small. And they were more suspect than inns or taverns because they were more likely to host vagrants who could present a threat to the community, according to Peter Clark²⁸.

Third, these symbols of "social decadence and disruption"²⁹, as Kevin Sharpe described alehouses, had long been the subject of government and municipal policies. In the late tenth century, King Edgar abolished all alehouses except one in each borough or small town; in 1285, Edward I signed a statute that imposed a curfew on alehouses and taverns, a statute that was copied in the *Liber Albus* in the early fifteenth century³⁰. Edward VI (statute 5 and 6, chap. 25) determined that "none should keep an alehouse without a licence by two justices of the peace"³¹. Ten years after the Moorfoote vs. Crowther case, there was, in 1599, a royal proclamation "suppressing the unnecessary number of ale-houses"³². Edward VI's statute (5 and 6, chap 25) had given "power to the justices to suppress unnecessary tippling-houses, but it was chiefly directed against disorder, not against excessive drinking"³³. With Elizabeth I, the control and restrictions against alehouses lay in their being perceived as sites of theft, disorderly behavior, and the squandering of money. Garthine Walker writes that "between 1576 and 1610 there were thirty-five parliamentary bills concerning drunkenness, inns, and alehouses"³⁴. Crowther could well assume that the community might more readily sanction his actions than question them.

Fourth, contemporary literature seems to reflect the special targeting of female alehouse keepers. For one thing, alehouse proprietors were more frequently women than men, according to Rodney Hilton³⁵. Seen as sexually aggressive, serving

28. Clark, Peter. *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830*. London: Longman, 1983: 12-13.

29. Sharpe, Kevin. *The Personal Rule of Charles I*. Avon: The Bath Press, 1992: 482.

30. Hanawalt, Barbara A. "Of Good and Ill Repute": *Gender and Social Control in Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998: 111, 114.

31. Comyns, Sir John; Kyd, Stewart. *A Digest of the Laws of England: Volume 4*. Dublin: Luke White, 1793: 558.

32. Iles, C. M. "Early Stages of English Public House Regulation". *The Economic Journal: The Quarterly Journal of the Royal Economic Society*, 13 (1903): 251-262, especially, 257.

33. Cunningham, William. *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1892: 160, n. 6.

34. Walker, Garthine. *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2003: 226.

35. Hilton, Rodney. *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History*. London: Hambledon Press, 1985: 215.



diluted (sometimes contaminated) ale, overpricing their ale, and inciting disorderly behavior, they are featured in ballads, tracts, church sculpture, plays and poetic narratives³⁶. Then, too, female gatherings, women's alliances, women grouping together in alehouses threatened patriarchal control and community stability, as the anonymous poem, "Gossip mine", as well as "Jyl of Brentford's Testimony", and "The Kind Beleeving Hostess" dramatize. Crowther's aggressive attitude towards Moorfoote as an alehouse keeper was, it seems, a natural part of a fundamental and cultural distrust of the ale trade and alewives.

But that is, in fact, what makes the Moorfoote case so intriguing. Both Moorfoote and Smith were, as stated, alehouse keepers. Moorfoote, however, was, by her neighbors' accounts, a thoroughly upright citizen. In her deposition, Smith presents herself as a socially and financially respectable citizen (she had accompanied Moorfoote to Kingsland in the first place in order to serve as a witness regarding a financial transaction at Smith's alehouse). Despite their alewife status, both Moorfoote and Smith appear to have considerable social power. Not only Fabian Crookhorn, a witness of gentleman status, but also the town's Constable, Constable Harman, went to Judge Machell to argue on Moorfoote's behalf. Both were local men of considerable standing, suggesting that Moorfoote's own social position was worth their intercession. Judith Bennett remarks upon the "ambivalence and hostility as well as approval" that greeted "the authority that women derived from brewing"³⁷. People "felt anxious about the seemingly excessive power of brewsters," she says³⁸. Commercial brewing appears to have been exceptionally profitable work for a woman, as well as opening up "some exceptional public roles to women, especially in terms of legal capability"³⁹. Women generally could not serve as compurgators⁴⁰, but, as Bennett records, "in some borough courts, this rule was

36. As Judith M. Bennett notes, alewives themselves were often colored as a disreputable lot. Among the best known representations of alewives at the time mentioned by Bennett are Elynour Rummyng, a grotesque, aged, profane, and sexually aggressive alewife from a Skelton poem; at the end of the Chester Mystery Cycle, we find an alewife, a damned soul, who served watered-down hooch before finding her way to hell; and Mother Bunch, purportedly based on a real alewife, is the female narrator of the 1604 book *Pasquil's Jestes* (Bennett, Judith M. *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300-1600*. Oxford (UK): Oxford University Press, 1996: 122-130). Bunch was another jovial and physically gross alewife of folk literature in the manner of Rummyng or the similar Long Meg of Westminster, only more so. For instance, in the book Bunch is described as possessing such prodigious flatulence that "Shee was once wrung with wind in her belly, and with one blast of her taile, she blew down Charing-Crosse, with pauls aspiring steeple [...]" (Bennett, Judith M. *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters*, cites *Pasquil's Jestes with the merriments of Mother Bunch* [London, 1629]: 8). See also: *Jyl of Brentford's Testament*, and *The Canterbury Tales*. See also the early fifteenth-century carving of the devil carrying off the alewoman to hell. 7 January 2012. <http://www.paradoxplace.com/Photo%20Pages/UK/Britain_Centre/Ludlow/Ludlow_misericords.htm>.

37. Bennett, Judith M. *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters*....: 35.

38. Bennett, Judith M. *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters*....: 35.

39. Bennett, Judith M. *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters*....: 35-36.

40. A compurgator is one who bears witness to the truth or the innocence of another.



mitigated for brewsters, who were allowed to bring other women to swear on their behalf⁴¹.

It is telling, therefore, that Moorfoote had two such local men to stand up for her, men of social and legal standing, to convince the judges. If Constable Harman, the official constable⁴², gave witness for Moorfoote, we might assume that Moorfoote's alehouse had not generally posed a problem for the constable in keeping the peace. On the other hand, as Judith Bennett points out, "More than many other women, alewives threatened the proper patriarchal order: in flirting with customers, they undermined the authority of their husbands; in handling money, goods, and debts, they challenged the economic power of men; in bargaining with male customers, they achieved a seemingly unnatural power over men; in avoiding effective regulation of their trade, they insulted the power of male officers and magistrates; and perhaps most importantly, in simply pursuing their trade, they often worked independently of men"⁴³. In her 2009 Dissertation, Katherine Karlin notes "evidence of countervailing attitudes towards working women", including alewives. She admits that these are minority voices, but the point relevant to this essay is that those countervailing attitudes toward alewives' "presence in the popular theater attests to the range and heterogeneity of opinion"⁴⁴. All of this suggests that, while Moorfoote's status as an alewife may have been problematic, the position itself held a certain civic power.

The view of women and the law is still emphatically cautionary, even as late as 1996. As Radha Jhappan notes regarding Carol Smart and her 1996 discussion of "Feminism and the Law", "women should be extremely cautious of resorting to law because it disqualifies women's knowledge and experience"⁴⁵. Yet Moorfoote did precisely that—in the face of three facts that would ordinarily have rendered a jury's or judge's decision in William Crowther's favor: first, controlling women was the civic and moral responsibility of men; second, Crowther, whether deputized or not, was exercising a male privilege to punish a woman for (presumably) initiating—the quarrelling took place outside of her establishment—and then aggravating a breach of the peace; third, deputized or not, the petty or parish constable was the "leading law-enforcement officer at parish level", and "by the close of the sixteenth

41. Bennett, Judith M. *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters...*: 36.

42. Harman was the town constable. Three witnesses, John James, Fabian Crookehorn, and Joan Smith reference Harman as the rightful constable of Kingsland. LMA. DL/C 213, p. 659, l. 41 (John James' testimony), 661, ll. 30-40 (Fabian Crookehorn's testimony), and p. 662, l. 56, and p. 662, ll. 30-31 (Joan Smith's testimony).

43. Bennett, Judith M. "Misogyny, Popular Culture, and Women's Work". *History Workshop*, 31 (1991): 166-188, especially, 177.

44. Karlin, Katherine L. *Alewives and Factory Girls: Representations Of Working Women (A Critical Study) And Freedom Of Information (A Novel)*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California (PhD Dissertation), 2009: 15. 5 March 2012 <<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/assetserver/controller/item/etd-Karlin-2996.pdf>>.

45. Jhappan, Radha. "The Equality Pit or the Rehabilitation of Justice?", *Women's Legal Strategies in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 2002: 175-234, especially, 179. Jhappan is paraphrasing Carol Smart's argument in Smart's 1996 essay "Feminism and Law: Some Problems of Analysis and Strategy".



century hardly any aspect of law enforcement at the local level lay outside his brief" including administering the vagrancy acts, supervising all alehouses within his area of jurisdiction, and placing an offender (even an offender of a breach of peace about to take place) "in the stocks or in some other secure place until justice could be done"⁴⁶; fourth, this same woman not only publicly challenged a man's (Crowther's) authority, but also publicly renewed that challenged by bringing him to court on a defamation suit. Nevertheless, the legal outcomes of the original case are remarkable: a judge reversed his decision, a judge publically chastised the male authority who is attempting to restore order, two local citizens sought out the judge to offer testimony in favor of an alewife against a landowner (Crowther is a landowner; Fabrian Crookhorn has a lease from him), and, finally, Moorfoote herself brought the case to court a year later, reviving the public memory of Crowther's disgrace and retrieving her public reputation. Moorfoote and Smith, as well as Agnes Barons, "resorted to law" in negotiating the relationship between power and community and law that governed their lives. Their interpretative maneuvers and rhetorical courage changed legal realities and legal priorities, at least for that day.

Interpretative maneuvers prove to be even more critical in Suzan More's (of London) testimony in the case of John Scales contra Thomas Creede (June 18, 1608) not only because the subject matter, rape, exemplifies the limits of language itself, that is, the "limits within which the sexual body [could be] presented in legal records"⁴⁷, but also because her narrative illustrates the politics of recognition and its deeper layer of misrecognition of the fundamental conditions of her existence. More's testimony exposing Thomas Creede, Shakespeare's printer, as an unscrupulous individual smugly confident of raping servant girls without his having to suffer either financial or legal consequences is especially relevant here: it raises the issue of what happens to female solidarity when women must respond to another woman's illegitimate pregnancy.

Suzan More, 25 was in the service of a bookseller Randall Birke and his wife (Anne Birke), not as a maidservant⁴⁸, but rather as a "point-maker" (lace-points), a skill that made her valuable to Mrs. Birke who was "using the trade of point making"⁴⁹. Thomas Creede's business as a printer brought him naturally (and frequently) to Birke's house. There, as More testifies, he chatted her up, asking her persistently, "if she would go drink with him some time"⁵⁰ but More refused. Creede then applied to her "maistress mrs Birke, for 'leave for her' to go, even asking 'mrs Birke to goe with them herselfe[,] which she often denied'"⁵¹. After some time, both Mrs.

46. Briggs, John; Harrison, Christopher; McInnes, Angus; Vincent, David. *Crime and Punishment...*: 53-54.

47. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003: 86.

48. More receives no wages other than those for pointmaking. In her response to the 15th Interrogatory of Creede, she deposes that she "had no wages but wrought her points by the gross and was paid by the gross, viz [namely] 5s. 4d a gross" (LMA. DL/ C 218, 144).

49. LMA. DL/ C 218, 138.

50. LMA. DL/ C 218, 138.

51. LMA. DL/ C 218, 138.



Birke and More agreed to go with Creede for a drink of wine, and More testified that Creede came “sondrye times after that to get More ‘to goe with him to drinke wine’”⁵². However, in midsummer, when she went with Creede to the Sun Tavern in Aldersgate Street, he gave her so much wine that More “was drunk and sick withall”⁵³, and then “Creede had her this deponent [More] to one widdow Grimes house by Pickt-Hatch”⁵⁴ an alehowse and had her upp into a chamber wheare she this deponent as she saythe lay downe on a bed to sleepe and she saythe that at that time he the same Thomas Creede had the carnall knowledge of her this deponents body”⁵⁵, a situation which we would now construe as date rape. From that point on, when More refused to go with him to the taverns, “he would be very angry and then he would sett others sometimes taverne boyes and sometimes the boyes of the forenamed widdow Grimes”⁵⁶ to stand in front of the Birke’s house, barring her progress and beckoning her to go to the tavern. More testified that twice after that, Creede had “carnall knowledge of her... body” at “widdow Grimes howse”⁵⁷. (It is from Widow Grimes’ collusion and Thomas Creede’s predatory behavior that More very likely saved Blanche Howell, the kitchen maid: “Blanche Howell...coming one daye home to Randall Birkes howse with som extraordinarie behavior and her face red”⁵⁸, Suzan More “perceyved she had byn drinking wine [...] thorougher her this deponents [More’s] importunitie”, Blanche Howell “confessed unto her this deponent that she had byn with Mr. Creede and he had willed her to bring home her mrs child which she then had and then meet him at goodwief Grimes howse but she this deponent [More] would not suffer her to goe at that time”⁵⁹. Even Anne Birke was not off limits to Creed’s sexual advances. More testified that after she, Mrs. Birke and Creede had been for the first time at the taverne, Creede bragged that if he had given Mrs. Birke “but a pynt more he sayed he could have don what he had would with her”⁶⁰. Anne Birke herself testified that among his many sexual overtures, Creede had told her that she “had a sweet pair of lips, and if she were a good wench she would let him have some part with her husband”⁶¹).

52. LMA. DL/ C 218, 139.

53. LMA. DL/ C 218, 139.

54. Pickt-Hatch (see: *The Dramatic Works of William Shakespere [sic], from the Text of Johnson, Stevens, and Reed*, ed. Nicholas Rowe, London: George Routledge & Co., 1856: 16, footnote unnumbered. Falstaff refers to Pickt-Hatch in Act II, sc. ii of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. According to the footnote, Pickt-Hatch was in Clerkenwell. Ben Jonson references Pickt-Hatch in Epigrams, book I, XII: *On Lieutenant Shift*: “Shift, here in town, not meanest amongst Squires. That haunt Pickt-Hatch, Mersh-Lambeth, and Whitefryers. In Thomas Middleton’s *Black Book*, featuring Lucifer as a tourist in London, Lucifer calls Pickt-Hatch: “the very skirts of all brothel-houses” (117).

55. LMA. DL/ C 218, 139.

56. LMA. DL/ C 218, 139.

57. LMA. DL/ C 218, 139.

58. LMA. DL/ C 218, 142-43.

59. LMA. DL/ C 218, 143.

60. LMA. DL/ C 218, 142.

61. LMA. DL/ C 218, 163 (Anne Birke’s testimony).



When More became pregnant, Creede turned churlish: “if you had gone from your maister and left his house and would have byn at my discrecion” as I asked you, “I would have provided for you”, but seeing that you didn’t, “Goe seek you another ffather to your child of your will for I meane not to ffather it”⁶². In any case, he added, “I will shift it of well enoughe and my weif will helpe to cleare me of this matter and to shift it of us as she hath shifted me of suche matters as this is before now”⁶³. When More told Mr. & Mrs. Birke of her condition, they “being much grieved sent for him the same Thomas Creede to a tavern”⁶⁴, to which Creede came with his wife. There Creede’s wife proved her husband’s warning to be true, facing down More with such fierce threats that More was too “terrifie[d]” to know “what to do”⁶⁵. Later, Mrs. Creede, who seems to have eventually believed More’s story, gave her ten shillings to have the Cambridge Carriers cart More to the country to deliver her baby. But this happened in the “great frost time”⁶⁶, and More could not “endure the uneasie going of the waggen”⁶⁷, and returned to London where, unable to get a place to stay, she “laye about in the streets”, until a poor woman in Gravell Lane in Houndsditch took her in where “she laye too dayes and too nightes without meat or drink”⁶⁸. Eventually through the efforts of Anne Birke, More found a place to lay in at Rebecca and Edward Handley’s house where her delivery was attended by a midwife, Philippa Webb and Isabel Chaundler (a neighbor of the Handleys). When more finally delivered her baby, neither Mrs. Creede, nor Mrs. Birke were there in time.

In Suzan More’s testimony interpretative strategies were perilously critical: the limits of language itself were (and still are) what every woman testifying to rape, —or sexuality itself— faced. It is not a matter of linguistic impoverishment; it is, rather, that the discourse of law has long been already colonized by the ethos of power asymmetry, male subjectivity, and the social and political practices of dominant interests. The effect was to rigorously set the “limits within which the sexual body [could be] presented in legal records”⁶⁹.

1. Rape narratives and the limits of language

Garthine Walker argues that rape narratives “were by definition *legal* narratives”, and their representation was formed by certain “legal constraints, demands,

62. LMA. DL/ C 218, 139-140.

63. LMA. DL/ C 218, 140.

64. LMA. DL/ C 218, 140.

65. LMA. DL/ C 218, 140.

66. LMA. DL/ C 218, 141.

67. LMA. DL/ C 218, 141.

68. LMA. DL/ C 218, 141.

69. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 86.



conventions, and the inherent values of rape law", and its "extra-legal associations"⁷⁰. It isn't just the "intentions of the storytellers" that are embedded in the narratives, Walker cautions. In the "act of telling her story a woman defined a reality about rape and its meaning, which was at the same time conditioned by available languages"⁷¹ —a condition, Walker observes, not unlike the juridical discourse of modern rape law famously critiqued by Catharine MacKinnon, namely, that "under law, rape is a sex crime that is not regarded as a crime when it looks like sex"⁷². And in the early seventeenth century jurists' views, rape was beginning to look like sex. Indeed, long before the jurist Matthew Hale's (1609-1676) influential work⁷³ defining rape unequivocally as a sexual crime, the shift from viewing rape as a property crime to construing it as a sexual crime was well underway. Hale insisted that *carnaliter cognovit* ("carnally knew") was essential to the definition of rape, as well as *rapuit* ("ravished", or "[forcefully] carried away")⁷⁴. That "there must be an actual penetration or *res in re*" simply strengthened the sexual nature of the act and distanced it yet further from its former view as an offense against property. This shift in the legal perception of rape had enormous consequences: the focus, no longer being the person's property, became, rather, the victim's resistance and moral character, including (her) state of mind (i.e., her consent). As Gowing succinctly puts it: "the more rape was undersood as sexual, the harder it was to believe women"⁷⁵.

The impact of this focus upon their sexuality or reputation, led women to change the ways that they talked about rape. Gowing states, "Women's testimonies typically underplayed or erased the actual act of sexual penetration that defined rape legally"⁷⁶. Their testimonies "strove to write sex out of it".⁷⁷ Walker sums up its effect: "By definition, speech about rape was semantically restricted"⁷⁸. And the legal system's structure naturally reinforced that semantic restriction. The legal structure —"Judges, magistrates, constables, commissioners and trial jurors were all male, in Tim Stretton's words; "it was men who made laws, men who staffed

70. Walker, Garthine. "Rereading Rape and Sexual Violence in Early Modern England". *Gender & History*, 10/1 (1998): 1-25, especially, 3.

71. Walker, Garthine. "Rereading Rape...": 5.

72. MacKinnon, Catharine A. *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1989: 172. Walker paraphrases this particular quote about rape by Catharine MacKinnon.

73. Hale, Matthew. *Historia Placitorum Coronae. The History of the Pleas of the Crown*. London: Sollom Emilyn, 1800: I, 626-636 (ebook). 10 July 2012 <books.google.com/books?isbn=1584772824>. *Historia Placitorum Coronae, The History of the Pleas of the Crown* was directed around 1680 and published c. 1736.

74. Hale, Matthew. *Historia Placitorum...*: 627. Matthew Hale (631) references the "opinion of Mr. Finch cited by Dalton...and by Stamford out of Britton [14th-century text considered the earliest summary of the law of England in the French tongue], that it can be no rape, if the woman conceive with child, seems to be no law, *mulier enim vi oppressa concipere potest*". The electronic version of the book says page 631, but the actual page number printed at the upper right hand of the scanned text is p. 731.

75. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 92.

76. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 92.

77. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 93.

78. Walker, Garthine. "Rereading Rape...": 5.



the courts, men who took down the testimony of witnesses and recorded judicial decisions and orders”⁷⁹.

2. The linguistic consequence

There was a momentous linguistic consequence to this. On the one hand, these constraints, demands, and possibilities of the legal system constituted social practices and a political ordering of social relations (political, insofar as it is based, as is every political impulse, on some form of exclusion). On the other hand, they operated as a linguistic device that reorganized More's and every assaulted woman's ways of representing their role in the rape and representing, too, the (assumed) degree of their consent and desire. If sex were now written out, what sort of narrative was available to victims of rape and assault? Laura Gowing's research in court records offers an intriguing and illuminating answer: in “court, women's stories of their sexual experiences emphasised one thing above all others: passivity. Defending themselves, women described ‘condescending’ to men, being ‘persuaded to give in to the satisfying of his lust’, being ‘tempted unto uncleanness’, ‘yielding up her body’”⁸⁰. They declared themselves to be “weak, repentant, ‘defiled’”⁸¹. Some of this passivity, Walker writes, was linked to the fact that “talking about rape formally before male officials might have produced a differently nuanced account from, say, that which a young woman told her own mother”⁸². Moreover, for women, “[r] esponsibility for sex, and the blame and dishonour that went with it, was feminised in ways that made sexual language an inappropriate medium through which to report a rape”⁸³. Even “the language which signified sexual intercourse was itself one of female complicity”⁸⁴. Melissa Sanchez adds another feature that played into the “legally passive femininity”⁸⁵ posture: “Rape survivors risked appearing disorderly and unfeminine if they represented themselves as aggressively fighting their assailants”⁸⁶. The effect on their testimonies is significant: “Consequently, in their testimony many women depict themselves as passive objects of brutal male lust, denying themselves agency in an attempt to remove any trace of accountability”⁸⁷. (Unquestionably, women—as decades of scholarship have established—commanded

79. Stretton, Tim. *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1998: 220.

80. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 86.

81. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 86.

82. Walker, Garthine. “Rereading Rape...”: 4.

83. Walker, Garthine. “Rereading Rape...”: 5.

84. Walker, Garthine. “Rereading Rape...”: 6.

85. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 86.

86. Sanchez, Melissa E. *Erotic Subjects: The Sexuality of Politics in Early Modern English Literature*. Oxford (UK): Oxford University Press, 2011: 88.

87. Sanchez, Melissa E. *Erotic Subjects...*: 88.



both domestic and public authority and power in a variety of discursive fields⁸⁸; the passivity referenced in the latter half of this essay refers solely to rhetorical strategies women appear to have adopted in response to the legal discourse available for their representation of rape and sexual assault). The volume of testimonial evidence in so many of the church courts across England confirms Walker's point: "The ease with which confessions reproduced these formulas itself says something about available languages and meanings"⁸⁹.

3. The politics of recognition

Significantly, the ease with which confessions reproduced these formulas also says something about the way that identity and subject position became constructed for women in the discourse of the law. Gowing's examination of the court records indicates that the legal representation of rape and assault as a sexual crime —itself a linguistic practice— led women in court to adopt a countering linguistic practice. Internalizing the ideology that encoded their sexual reputation as part of the definition of rape, they now struggled to recode their subject position in the rape or assault act. They presented themselves as sexually passive. It is classic Althusserian structure of misrecognition. (It also echoes the initial argument of Seyla Benhabib's situated and contextualized subjectivity —to be touched upon later). Althusser's thesis is that we acquire our subject position or identity through historically rooted cultural narratives that tell us the "way things should be". In Althusser's analogy, we are "hailed" by these narratives, these ideological constructs, much "along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: 'Hey, you there!'"⁹⁰. A person so interpellated or hailed recognizes "that the hail was 'really' addressed to him, and 'that it was *really* him who was hailed (and not someone else)'"⁹¹. But in Althusser's view this "recognition" of being hailed is actually "misrecognition"⁹²

88. Fletcher, Anthony. *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995; Livingston, Sally. *Marriage, Property, and Women's Narratives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; Wall, Wendy. *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2002; Walker, Garthine. *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2003; Brown, Pamela A. *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

89. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 86.

90. Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)", *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, Louis Althusser, ed. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972: 174.

91. Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses...": 174.

92. "Jacques Lacan has described how the moment when a child recognizes its own image in the mirror is crucial for the constitution of the ego". "The mirror phase occurs at a time when the child's physical ambitions outstrip his motor capacity, with the result that his recognition of himself is joyous in that he imagines his mirror image to be more complete, more perfect than he experiences his own body. Recognition is thus overlaid with misrecognition: the image recognised is conceived as the reflected body of the self, but its misrecognition as superior projects this body outside itself as an ideal ego" and "gives



because in the very act of turning to respond to the hailing, indeed, in the act of perceiving that one is being called, the person has already acknowledged her/his subject position in relation to that "hailing". "Misrecognition" does not, here, mean misrecognizing because the assigned identity is not one's "true" one (although no single identity is ever one's true one)⁹³. It means, rather, that the "recognition" is actually retroactive: you become conscious of being a subject only "after" being born into pre-established social relationships; you are responding to the "already there". So, too, we acknowledge or "misrecognize" the various cultural narratives into which we are born. Moreover, we are hailed ceaselessly; we go through the rituals of ideological (mis)recognition from person to person and discourse to discourse. Pierre Bourdieu provides a particularly lucid, practical example: our ordinary qualifications, our competencies and skill (in other words, our "cultural capital"), can also be a source of misrecognition and symbolic violence. "Therefore working class children can come to see the educational success of their upper- and middle-class peers as a legitimate" because what is actually often class-based inequality is seen by these children, instead, as the result of hard work or even natural ability⁹⁴. One can see why Patchen Markell, drawing on Hannah Arendt's notion of the non-sovereign character of human action, concluded that the practice of recognition always involves a "'misrecognition' of a different and deeper kind: not the misrecognition of an identity, either one's own or someone else's, but the misrecognition of one's own fundamental situation or circumstances"⁹⁵.

The problem is that our subject positions are often reinforced by "the misrecognition of others", Charles Taylor wrote, "and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves"⁹⁶. Centuries of ideology had long proposed that the women are excessively sexualized beings. And women being "hailed" thus, (mis)recognize themselves within that ideological construct. (Mis)recognition obscures every subject's "real conditions of existence" and, in women's case, it naturalizes their acceptance of their inferiority in the pre-established social roles. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

rise to the future generation of identification with others. This mirror-moment predates language for the child". As Laura Mulvey goes on to say, "it is the birth of the long love affair/despair between image and self image" (61). Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema": 57-68 (originally published in *Screen*, 16/3 [1975]: 6-18), 8 March 2012. <<https://wiki.brown.edu/confluence/display/MarkTribe/Visual+Pleasure+and+Narrative+Cinema>>.

93. The term "misrecognize" does, however, begin to include the concept of "not recognizing" one in later theorists, e.g., Axel Honneth (the issue of social death), Charles Taylor, Amy Gutmann (especially in the context of multiculturalism), Nancy Fraser (recognition as an aid to the redistribution of power and wealth), Anthony Appiah, Ernst Bloch (misrecognition as disrespect), etc.

94. Van den Berg, Hendrik. "A Reflexive Sociological Case for Heterodox Economics": 11. *International Confederation of Associations for Pluralism in Economics (ICAPE)*. 20 October 2012 <<http://www.icape.org/g5-van%20den%20berg.pdf>>.

95. Markell, Patchen. *Bound by Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003: 5.

96. Taylor, Charles. "The Politics of Recognition". *Multiculturalism*, Amy Gutmann, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994: 25-73, especially, 25.



century, the evolving definition of rape makes it clear that sexuality —closely allied with women and not so much with men— was inherent to the definition of rape. Women’s nature was defined by their sexuality, rape’s nature was defined largely by the sexuality of the act. There is a pernicious reciprocity of (mis)recognition in these imperfect terms of exchange: women’s sexual identity as socially constructed overlaid by rape’s sexual identity as socially encoded into law.

4. Suzane More: misrecognition and legal passivity

The first three pages of Suzan More’s five and one-half page deposition classically illustrates the misrecognition of the “legally passive femininity” posture referenced by Gowing, Walker, Chaytor, Sanchez, and others. Based on the cultural conviction⁹⁷ that “women barely owned their own bodies”⁹⁸, and the assumption that those bodies were “persuadable beyond the limits of rational consent,” women tended to frame the greater part of their sexual narratives as an account of “how men persuaded them into sex”⁹⁹. More’s three pages detail the unrelenting badgering pursuit of her by Thomas Creede. She describes Creede’s first “carnall knowledge” of her body as occurring only after a number of inappropriate¹⁰⁰ but innocent meetings for wine with him over a period of weeks, and only after he had given her so much wine that she became drunk and ill, was taken to an upstairs chamber of an alehouse where, in her drugged state, she was raped (as current legal views would characterize it, given that there could have been no legally willing consent). Further, More portrays her few other assignations with Creede as being “enticed” by Creede, and she stresses the harassment that met her subsequent determinations not to meet him. Creede’s literal deployment of physical forces is quite shocking in its publicly questionable intentions: not only did he send boys from the tavern to intercept and hound More, but he was joined in this also by widow Grimes’ sending a reinforcement of boys from her own alehouse’s staff.

97. Such as “The Merry Conceits and Passages of Simon and Cisley, Two Lancashire Lovers”, along with “Susan and William Her Apprentice,” and the “Merry Dialogue between Andrew and His Sweetheart Joan”, in: Spufford, Margaret. *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England*. London: Methuen & Co., 1981, Chapter VII and Chapter III, respectively. Most of these are taken from Samuel Pepys’s “Penny Merriments”, Volume I and II, listed in Chapter VI of Spufford’s *Small books and Pleasant Histories*. See also her discussion of the wooing letters and love letters found in early seventeenth-century chapbooks.

98. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 86.

99. Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 87.

100. Anne Birke, looking for Suzan, found her at the tavern with Creede, and reproached them both about the inappropriate nature of a married man spending money on a maidservant at a tavern. LMA. DL/C 218, 156-157.



5. More: dissent and the socially accountable ordered self

But More's testimony is significant because it did not finally settle for a passive discursive stance. And in that respect, it becomes exemplary of Bert Van der Brink's strongly worded observation: "Recognition would not be one of the most debated terms in social and political theory if claims as to the misrecognition of individuals did not play a distinctive role in processes of...emancipation"¹⁰¹. How did More or how does anyone contest the cultural narratives into which they are born? How challenge the misrecognition of aspects of one's own identity? Althusser provided the possibility of our responding to a variety of discourses: because a variety of discourses necessarily conflict with and thereby comment on other discourses, they invite examination of the status quo. Benhabib argues that we "become aware of who we are by learning to become conversation partners in these narratives. Although we do not choose the webs in whose nets we are initially caught, or select those with whom we wish to converse, our agency consists in our capacity to weave out of those narratives our individual life stories, which make sense for us as unique selves"¹⁰². That is indeed a certainty, particularly for the authentic self, but an acute provocation or stimulus seems fundamentally necessary to challenge the misrecognition in the first place. Axel Honneth's concept of conflicts as part of the politics of recognition brings us a bit closer to Suzan More's situation, namely, marginalized and excluded groups. In his book *The Struggle for Recognition*, Honneth maintains that conflicts make clear that persons are "vulnerable to moral injury"¹⁰³. Marginalized or excluded groups, he argues, develop "a consciousness of injustice" that evaluates how social circumstances rob them of chances to voice injuries". Conflicts between individuals and groups, in his view, are, at bottom, moral identity-claims¹⁰⁴.

However, the most useful and productive means of inducing misrecognition is perhaps the more powerfully charged concept of "disaster". Disasters constitute "fruitful sites...because they disorient us and expose what otherwise tends to remain obscured in the course of everyday life"¹⁰⁵. Those moments of disorientation, Schiff

101. Statement of Rationale: "Recognition and Power: A Symposium", Utrecht University, March 2003. 25 June 2012 <<http://www.phil.uu.nl/recognition/>>.

102. Benhabib, Seyla. *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002: 15.

103. Honneth, Axel. *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Cambridge (UK): Polity Press, 1995: 48. Michael Spång argues that Honneth views "the moral disapproval of social events and circumstances, misrecognition, as a motive for resistance and struggles for recognition, in terms of a set of relations of recognition" (Spång, Michael. "Recognition, Misrecognition, and Capitalism". *The Global Site*. 2001. 28 June 2012 <<http://www.theglobalsite.ac.uk/press/112spang.htm>>). Subjects are informed of the absence of this recognition, Honneth writes, "by experiencing disrespect in such a way that they see themselves obliged to engage in a 'struggle for recognition'" (Honneth, Axel. *The Struggle for Recognition*...: 69).

104. "Justice is a matter of conflict". Deranty, Jean-Phillipe; Renault, Emmanuel. "Politicizing Honneth's Ethics of Recognition". *Thesis Eleven*, 88 (2007): 92-111, especially, 96-97 (quotation is on p. 97).

105. Schiff, Jacob. "The Persistence of Misrecognition". Paper: Political Theory Workshop. 12 January 2009. University of Chicago. 22. 24 September 2012 <<http://ptw.uchicago.edu/Schiff09.pdf>>.



says, can be moments of possibility because in dislocating routine, they disrupt our experience of the normal, and can re-align our attention or re-situate us vis-à-vis that experience. In looking back at that experience, we necessarily look back at the ideological construct of which it is part. We look back, in other words, at the validity of the culturally constructed views of one's moral and social self. It is in such moments—which Bourdieu calls “crises”—“that the possibility of overcoming misrecognition emerges”¹⁰⁶.

The disaster for More was, of course, her seduction by Creede, her pregnancy as a single woman, the loss of her job¹⁰⁷, the loss of her reputation (Mrs. Worralls named her as “Creede’s whore” in the Birke’s household), and the public humiliation by Creede and his wife. Every one of these components plays into the cultural narratives concerning the single servant woman: he pre-established role of women’s inferiority, “contemporary ideas about women’s sexual drive and moral frailty”¹⁰⁸, the single woman’s threat to family relationships, women in taverns, etc. For More this “moment of disorientation” seems to have become a moment of possibility. In looking back on the experience, she has, it seems, conducted a narrative herself whereby the socially acquired ideological constructs and their narratives—women’s sexual drive, their moral frailty, etc.—are all challenged.

More’s was a discursive strategy that used at least three registers: the first was a narrative of self and community; that is, she represented herself as a single woman whose good work mentality and whose code of behavior was seemingly supported by people of status in the community, —in other word, hers was a coherent, socially accountable ordered self. With the second discursive strategy, she represented Creede’s persistent violation of the accepted model of male conduct: not only was his not a socially accountable ordered self but also his willful abuse of his business alliances and their staffs (including the Birkes and Widow Grimes) as well as the abuse of his spousal partnership testified to a contemptuous and felonious relationship with the community. Third, she represented her own collaboration with Creede’s reprehensible behavior. Not surprisingly she was at times complicit with the dominant narratives. Representing her relationship necessarily revealed issues of human rights and socio-political wrongs. In this she challenged the imaginary, comprehensive quality of the dominant grand narratives by using “little narratives to undermine grand narratives”¹⁰⁹.

Representation is the key. “[R]epresentation... ushers dissent into being”¹¹⁰, Rita Copeland laconically puts it. If one is required to defend one’s social or moral self,

106. Schiff, Jacob. “The Persistence of Misrecognition”...: 4.

107. LMA. DL/C 218, 138: More testifies to now working for Hugh Jackson in Fleetstreet, London, and earlier in the house of Edward Handby for 10 weeks or thereabouts in months following her pregnancy.

108. Capp, Bernard. *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighborhood in Early Modern England*. Oxford (UK): Oxford University Press, 2003: 227.

109. Allen, Julia M.; Lester Faigley. “Discursive Strategies for Social Change: An Alternative Rhetoric of Argument”. *Rhetoric Review*, 14/1 (1995): 142-172, especially, 170, n. 11.

110. Copeland, Rita. *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2004: 148.



such representation necessarily produces dissent because the discursive process of dissent confronts and examines the legitimacy of views that claim to constitute one's social and moral self. Law, of course, is one of the chief ways of producing such dissent because law, by nature of dealing with conflict, compels oppositional recognition. And in doing so, it likewise compels us to examine the narratives that organize those ideological constructs.

This is the critical moment that Copeland speaks of, when "dissent" becomes "the hermeneutical moment that finds no adequate articulation or representation, that key moment in ideological formation that Althusser (drawing on Lacan) describes in terms of the 'structure of misrecognition' between the law and the subject that it commands, where the meanings produced by either side confound and exceed all signifying intentions"¹¹¹.

6. More: representation of the self and the community

More's representation of herself and her character occur already in the deposition's opening formula providing the background of the witnesses. We can assume a fundamentally good character in More: under oath, she has testified to a history of living and working in four places over a period of five years and three months with no incidents¹¹². (It was not uncommon for single women servants to migrate from job to job¹¹³). Even more important, this case against Creede came to the Consistory Court not through More's efforts or through the churchwardens who ordinarily would present it as a disciplinary complaint. Indeed, More had no intention of bringing any court action. She represented herself as having refused in mid-winter, in want and near starvation to seek legal help offered through a kinsman who having heard of her extreme straits had come to her as she lay in a poor woman's

111. Copeland, Rita. "Introduction: Dissenting Critical Practices", *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*, Rita Copeland, ed. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1995: 14.

112. LMA. DL/ C 218, 138: Suzanna More, servant of Hugh Jackson in the parish of St. Briggitt in Fleet Street, London, and where she stayed for 6 or 7 weeks and before that she lived in the house of Edward Handby for 10 week or thereabout, and before that with a certain Randall Birk in the parish of St. Giles outside Cripplegate for about a year, and before that in Holy Trinity Minories with a certain Mistress Longe for three months or thereabout, and before that with a certain Arthur Goodgame in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountny for one year, and before that with a certain Mistress Lambert in the parish of St. Margaret New Fish Street for a year or thereabouts, and before that with Mistress Lynsey, widow, in the parish of St. Peter Cornhill for nearly two years, and before that in the city of Cambridge she was born and live, and she said that she is 25 years of age, and she has known John Scales for seven years or longer and Thomas Creede since Easter 1607 and before that.

113. Hubbard, Eleanor. *City Women: Money, Sex, and the Social Order in Early Modern London*. Oxford (UK): Oxford University Press, 2012: 35. Hubbard writes, "maidservants were highly mobile: when they switched services, they usually switched parishes as well, sometimes moving across London. For example, Joan Clay from Essex left her service in Aldersgate Street to serve an apothecary in nearby Cheapside. Then she moved to St. Mary Bermondsey across the Thames, where she stayed for two or three years, before moving north again to St. Sepulchre".



house without meat or drink¹¹⁴ and offered to ensure some aid for her if she would “procure him the same Creede to be called before som justice”. Rather, the case was prosecuted by a certain John Scales under the cause of ecclesiastical order (which included questions of paternity). More was prevailed upon to be a witness: she testified that “she cameth to depose the truth in this cause at the request and perswasion of John Scales”¹¹⁵, whom she had known for seven years or longer, and who she thought, but wasn’t certain, was “somewhat of kyn unto” her¹¹⁶. Scales was able to procure a warrant bringing Creede before Sir Stephen Soame (c. 1544-1619) mayor of London (1598) and member of the House of Commons (1601), who undertook to hear Creede’s versions (accompanied by his wife) before he examined More. More testified that when she came into Sir Stephen Soame’s presence for her examination, she heard Sir Stephen say, “Indeed” —apparently in response to Creed and his wife having just “towld their tale” to him. More added, significantly, “but after Sir Stephen had privately examined her this respondent [More]”, “Sir Stephen was then of another mynd and opinion, and bound Creede over to the sessions” —the very session, presumably, in which Suzan More was now testifying in the *John Scales contra Thomas Creede* case. Quoting Sir Stephen’s single emotional “indeed”, Suzan More’s narrative conveyed the immediacy of her fear of being disadvantaged by her social superiors, the Creedes, and by the historically rooted cultural narratives in their favor. If Schiff’s theory is correct (i.e., disruption and dislocation cause us to look back at the ideological construct of which it is part), More’s adding that single further remark regarding Sir Stephen’s change of mind, re-situated her vis-à-vis her experience. It attests, in my view, to the power of More’s having organized all the individual fragments of her past year to create a coherent profile of details that captured the contingency of her situation in sharp contrast to Creede’s obsessive and ruthlessly schematic pursuit that viewed her sexual integrity and her livelihood as disposable.

Moreover, More never asked for money or support from Creede, but only to have a place or a house in which to deliver her baby, and she testified that after returning from the harrowing wagon trip, she lay five nights in an old house “neere unto Birkes howse”¹¹⁷ before ever Birke or his wife knew of her this respondents being there¹¹⁸. Given that this was England’s worst winter in fifty years when ice split trunks of trees, birds and animals died, and the freezing of the Thames hindered the importing food to London from neighboring counties, inducing critical food

114. LMA. DL/ C 218, 141, following More’s description of lying in a poor woman’s house in Gravell Lane in Houndsditch “too dayes and too nightes without meat or drink”, she says that her kinsman, More, “ther came unto her”.

115. LMA. DL/ C 218, 143, article 8, Interrogatory.

116. LMA. DL/ C 218, 143, article 2, Interrogatory. Regarding John Scales, More adds: “but in what degree she knoweth not only she saythe she hathe heard her ffather saye that he the same Scales was of kin unto her grandmother”.

117. LMA. DL/ C 218, 146. Eleanore Hubbard, *City Women*, reads “Birke’s House” as Brickhouse, but it appears to be “Birkes” (84).

118. LMA. DL/ C 218, 146.



shortages and raising food prices, it says a great deal about More's character that she didn't ask for shelter from the nearby Birkes who had proven to be friends to her. Admittedly, she may well have been wary: it was more than possible that she would have been carted out of town immediately, again, as was the practice of so many villages and towns toward unwed mothers about to give birth. But it also references her character, suggesting that she was not the scheming woman as the master narratives implied. Finally, the combination of these gentlemen, Birke, Scales, and Sir Stephen Soame, supporting Suzan More points to More's considerable support within the power structures, and in turn, attests to her at least quondam good citizenship.

7. Creede's violation of the accepted models of male conduct

Creede's behavior toward business associates and the community was exposed as not only sexually scandalous but also as criminal. More referenced the constant coercion—not simply in Creede's setting the squads of boys to stalk More as she left her house, but also in coercing her, first, to bring a defamation suit against Mrs. Worrall, and then to suborn herself: he

*earnesley perswaded her [...] to clere him of his incontinentie with her [...] and to save his credit[,] he sometimes speaking her fayre sometimes threatening her that he would have her to Bridewell [...] [so that] she [...] did saye before all the company that then was ther being 2 or 3 of Mrs. Worralls neighbors that Mr. Creede never lyed incontinently with her*¹¹⁹.

Bridewell was no empty threat (even Mrs. Creede used it later to try to terrify More into naming someone else as the father of her unborn child): Bridewells (or houses of correction) were part of a "punitive trend, and increased the possibility that women would be disproportionately punished for bearing children out of wedlock"¹²⁰. The 1610 revision of the 1576 bridewell statute required justices of the peace "to incarcerate in bridewells all unmarried mothers whose children were chargeable to the parish"¹²¹. Steve Hindle points out in fact that at the turn of the century, punishment of unwed mothers in Essex, for example, "gradually intensified... from a few hours in the stocks, to lashes 'moderately given' at the cart's tail, to public whippings until their backs was [sic] bloody"¹²². Creede's threat of putting a maidservant in Bridewell unless she brought (false) charges against a married woman, Mrs. Worrall, approaches terrorizing: fornication was a legally

119. LMA. DL/C 218, 145.

120. Peters, Christine. *Women in Early Modern Britain, 1450-1640*. Houndmills-Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004: 85.

121. Peters, Christine. *Women in Early Modern Britain...*: 85.

122. Hindle, Steve. *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1640*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000: 161.



punishable act. Bridwell Court Minute Books record that between 1565 and 1606 even women's simple cross-dressing, suggestive, it was thought, of a loose life, sent women to the work-house in Bridewell. Indeed, according to Jean Howard, most of the (cross-dressed) women incarcerated in Bridewell "appear to be unmarried women of the serving class eking out a precarious living in London"¹²³. Moreover, Worrall's married status greatly disadvantaged More. A married woman's cultural capital gave her greater value to society in terms of power and status than a single maidservant could claim. Only dire intimidation could compel More to bring the suit, she later confessed to Anne Birke. Under oath, therefore, she asserted that she had never lain with Creede. She admitted, as well, that her oath compelled Mrs. Worrall both to ask public forgiveness of them and to pay the court charges.

The willingness of Creede to misuse the court system was of a piece with his aggressive mistreatment of women. One of the most startling testimonies about the breadth of Creede's illicit sexual activities occurs in Anne Birke's deposition: as she and Mrs. Creede accompanied Suzan More to meet the Cambridge carrier departing from the Bull in Bishopsgate, More disclosed to them further details about Creede's affairs at the widow Grimes' house: "he used to have other women besides her there, as namely one from Lambeth, another that had a great belly, and a third that was there in the same widow Grimes' house but she being grown now something old she said that he had told her that he cared not for her now"¹²⁴. Mrs. Creede, learning this for the first time, wept later with Anne Birke and Randall Birke that her husband:

*was bare of money and much behindhand or at least nothing aforehand, and oftentimes wanted money for his necessary use, and she was constrained to make shift for it. "Ay, sometimes" quoth she, "to pawn my own clothes to my back, and", quoth she, "thus this way doth he waste his money", she meaning by his unchaste life. And further said thus: "It is not yet", quoth she, "above eight weeks ago since I was fain to shift off a like matter for him as this is"*¹²⁵.

It was scarcely surprising that John Scales and eight witnesses from the community would finally bring Creede forward for prosecution for bastardy.

123. Howard, Jean E. "Cross-Dressing, the Theater, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England". *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing*, Lesley Ferris, ed. London: Routledge, 1993: 20-46, especially, 22. Johanna Rickman notes that the bill of 1628 suggests the penalty for fornication and adultery to be whipping, and Ian Archer asserts that "[i]ncontinent persons were carted, sent to Bridewell, and presented to the church courts" (Rickman, Johanna. *Love, Lust, and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008: 24; Archer, Ian W. *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1991: 235; see also 251).

124. LMA. DL/C 218, 159; Anne Birke.

125. LMA. DL/C 218, 160-161; Anne Birke.



8. Representation of more's collaboration with creede

Scrutinizing her experience with Creede, under oath, compelled More to confront her morality. Although she testified to meeting Creede for drinks several times more, and to having sex with Creede at Widow Grimes place twice more, the geater and more dramatic part of her narrative focuses upon her resistance. Resistance and dissent are everywhere: resisting Creede's multiple, draining attempts to get her to drink with him; resisting Creede's pressure that she quit the Birkes and be "at [his] discretion"; resisting Creede's stratagems to lay the blame for her pregnancy upon Randall Birke; and finally, resisting the pressure to bring suit against Creede.

Her resistance and dissent frame Creede's conduct as legally actionable. When she stressed her self-control in the face of Creede's relentless pressure to coerce her into drinking with him, she stressed, at the same time, the uncivilized and irrational nature of Creede: "he would be very angry and then he would sett others", using a staff of tavern boys and Widow Grimes' alehouse boys, to position themselves in front of the Birkes' house so as to harass her with signals to come to the tavern. When Creede turned on her after she acquainted him with her pregnancy, More represented him as not denying having fathered the child; rather, she quoted his objection to her not having left both her employment and the Birkes' house to be, as he said,

*"at my discretion" whereby "I would have provided for you, and you should have wanted nothing but seeing you have continued still ther at Mr. Birkes goe seek you an other ffather to you child of your will for I meane not to father it, I will shift of it well enoughe and my wife will helpe to cleare me of this matter and to shift it of us as she hathe shifted me of such matters as this is before now"*¹²⁶.

Given Creede's cool self-assurance and implied past of bastardy, the justice of peace would have understandably wondered at Creede's word "discretion,"—which had always meant "pleasure", as well as "judgment". He would have certainly found irregular Creede's insistence that More leave her employment and her place of residence to be at Creede's discretion. Did Creede have in mind the same future (prostitution) for Suzan More that he seemed to have devised for his other maidservants liaisons still ongoing at Widow Grimes alehouse?

More's resisting of Creede's stratagems to lay the blame for her pregnancy upon Randall Birke took an interesting turn in the presence of Justice Soame. When More told Justice Soame that Creede would say to her "in a perswading manner... to say that her master loved her for he would saye thus unto her...: 'Do not thy master love thee [?] His wife is a fowle sow and if I had so prettie a wench in my howse as thou art I must needs love her'"¹²⁷, Soame immediately stipulated that More's delivery be attended by a neutral party: "'it were good there should be a strange

126. LMA. DL/ C 218, 139-140; Suzan More.

127. LMA. DL/ C 218, 147, 148-149; Suzan More.



midwife', he said expressly, 'thus not provided by you, Mistress Creede, nor yet by Birke'". Soame recognized the legal consequences of Creede's speech: it was a ploy to impugn Randall Birke as the putative father.

9. Overcoming misrecognition

Those three registers—More's narrative of self and community, her representation of Creede's character as ignoble and irrational, and her account of her complicity—were the social and legal consequences of More's thorough inquiries of her legal culpability. They are the little narratives that undermine the "grand narrative" of dominant interests. The crisis that could produce the possibility of overcoming misrecognition had occurred, as Bourdieu theorized. On the one hand, Suzan More comprehended her own blameworthiness. On the other, she exposed the speciousness of the cultural narratives that view her (and all women) as the sexually driven and morally frail humans, with men being, presumably, morally superior. She was indeed morally culpable, but Creede's conduct not only included criminal acts, but also involved the community in his sexual predation.

10. Conclusion

Three women other than More appear in this deposition: Anne Birke, Margery Creede, Blanche Howell. Yet, none of them gave her shelter despite More's pregnancy's nearing its delivery and despite the freezing temperatures of an historically brutal winter. One woman, a "poor woman", although she allowed More two days and nights in her house, apparently offered not a morsel of bread or a drink of water. At first glance there seemed to be not only no alliances, but also almost no compassion either. Linda Pollock's observation that "alliances were highly context dependent" is undeniable¹²⁸. In this case, the context is that of single women who were pregnant. In London, for example, "harbouring" a single pregnant mother was a crime, and the church courts prosecuted it regularly. Agnes Goddard, for example, "was prosecuted at the church courts in 1610 for harbouring and delivering a single woman 'without enquiring her name and who was father thereof'"¹²⁹. Some networks appear to have been available to help a single woman giving birth, but these networks were known largely only through a series of references and private communications, and

128. Pollock, Linda A. "Childbearing and Female Bonding in Early Modern England". *Social History*, 22/3 (1997): 286-306, especially, 287.

129. Gowing, Laura. "Giving Birth at the Magistrate's Gate: Single Mothers in the Early Modern City", *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Stephanie Tarbin, Susan Broomhall, eds. Aldershot-Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008: 137-150, especially, 141.



operated on “an ability to forget, or not ask, names of those involved”¹³⁰. On the other hand, Anne Birke ultimately proved to be a single mother’s greatest champion. When she found out that Suzan had returned to London from Canterbury, she tried to persuade the Creedes to take responsibility, but they refused. She then mustered two citizens to track Suzan down and charged them with examining her closely¹³¹. On learning that Suzan maintained her story about Creede, she was instrumental in convincing Suzan to have Creede called before a Justice. Birke also arranged for More to lay in for her birthing with Rebecca and Edward Handly in Westminster. Creede was to pay the charges for this, and later, was compelled to assume charge of More’s baby which he and his wife put out to nurse in the country¹³². That Suzan More, at the time of this deposition —some seventeen weeks after the birth of her child— was working for a Hugh Jackson, Stationer in Fleet Street, might also have been at least partly the consequence of Anne Birke’s efforts: More would have needed references, and Hugh Jackson, like Randall Birke, was a stationer. Whatever the connections, it is clear that Suzan More, as Eleanor Hubbard put it, “did not sink irretrievably into prostitution”¹³³. Rather, she resisted the cultural narratives of women’s economic and sexual position into which she had been born: she did indeed —as was true of many single pregnant women— “have trouble making even the most basic arrangements for lying in”, yet, she was not driven from parish to parish by self-deputized neighbors and local officials¹³⁴; she shouldered the burden of her responsibility, asking no money from Creede and no help from her employers, the Birkes; she was clearly regarded by members of the community —the Birkes, John Scales, and her kinsman— as a viable economic and social member of the community, and in the end, the judgment for her indicates that her narrative of self and community, her representation of Creede’s character as ignoble and irrational, and her account of her complicity, ultimately outmaneuvered the interpretations of (male) legal priorities and depictions of legal realities.

130. Gowing, Laura. “Giving Birth at the Magistrate’s Gate...”: 142.

131. LMA. DL/ C 218, 161-162; Anne Birke.

132. LMA. DL/ C 218, 186; Randall Birke.

133. Hubbard, Eleanor. *City Women...*: 85.

134. Hubbard, Eleanor. *City Women...*: 86, citing: Mendelson, Sara; Crawford, Patricia. *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998: 268; Gowing, Laura. *Common Bodies...*: 117-118; Gowing, Laura. “Giving Birth at the Magistrates Gate...”: 141, makes the same observation: “When single women gave birth in the city, they were likely to be excluded from every established routine for women lying in”.



THE MEDIEVAL AND MODERN INVESTIGATION CENTRE (CIMM). DOCUMENTARY CONTRIBUTIONS

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Date of receipt: 12th of September, 2013
Final date of acceptance: 4th of February, 2014

ABSTRACT

The present article is about the study of the medieval and modern painting in the Crown of Aragon with the documentation located for Centre Modern d'Investigació Medieval (CIMM) of the Universitat Politècnica of València and the Universitat de Lleida. This study includes a total of eighteen documents, ten of which are previously unpublished. The remaining eight were known, but have been revised and completed in the archives and perfectly transcribed again for this publication. Although the first documents date from before 1450, these documents are very important for a full understanding of the stylistic switch to the late Gothic of Flemish influence that began in Valencia in the mid-fifteenth century, and continued until the early decades of the sixteenth. Although many of the documents on Jacomart are very brief, they contribute to a better overall profile of this important artist, painter to King Alfonso V the Magnanimous².

KEY WORDS

Painting, Crown of Aragón, Valencian, Jacomart, Paleography.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Pictura, Corona Aragoniae, Valentia, Jacomart, Paleographia.

The Centre d'Investigació Medieval i Moderna (CIMM) consists of a team of researchers of the Universitat Politècnica de València ("Polytechnic University of Valencia") that collegiately works with the Consolidated Investigation Group of the Generalitat de Catalunya ("Catalan Government") Art i Cultura d'Època Moderna ("Art and Culture of the Modern Age" also known as ACEM) and with the Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna ("Centre of Art of the Modern Age", also known as CAEM) of the University of Lleida.

It's main focus is the study of documentary sources about painters and works of art from the medieval and modern age in the area of the Crown of Aragon. The investigation group consists of a multidisciplinary team composed of paleographers, documentalists, and art historians. This diversity guarantees a rigorous edition of the elaborated documents. In addition, the members have an extensive experience in research, localization and transcription of documents about painting in the mentioned time periods.

On the other hand, and simultaneously, they are not only completing, revising, photographing and comparing *in situ* all the documents that have been published until today (of which there are many incomplete, with transcription errors, confusing misprints and often the use of misguided chronologies). They also thoroughly revised a large part of the elusive bibliographic sources in the world of painting and documentation in general, from the end of the 19th until the 21st century, bearing in mind the new contributions of recent researchers in a special way. This makes it possible for the researcher to have complete and reliable information at his disposal thanks to the database of the CIMM. This information is up to date for the elaborated, discovered and published documents of the Valencian archives (or other archives of the Crown of Aragon) regarding the world of Valencian medieval and modern painting.

The CIMM does not only work in the historical archives, it also covers the cataloging of works of art (mainly paintings, but also miniatures, sculptures, textiles or silverware and goldware) that are now preserved in museums and public, private and religious collections. That's why our researchers are conducting important field work with the aim of obtaining photographs in high resolution and infrared

1. Universitat Politècnica de València: Joan Aliaga, Nuria Ramon, Lluïsa Tolosa; Universitat de Lleida: Ximo Company, Isidre Puig; Universitat de València: Borja Franco; Università degli Studi di Cagliari: Stefania Rusconi.

2. This study has been carried out in the framework of a Project of Investigation I+D+I of the Ministry of Education and Sciences and Innovation of Spain, entitled: *La consolidación de la pintura del Renacimiento en la Corona de Aragón: la extraordinaria influencia del paradigma de Joan de Joanes* (HAR2012-32199), whose main researcher is Dr. Ximo Company, Professor of Art History of the University of Lleida. He also had the support of the international scientific team of the *Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna* (CAEM) and of the *Grup de Recerca Consolidat* ("Consolidated Research Group") of the University of Lleida, recognized by the Departament d'Innovació, Universitats i Empresa de la Generalitat de Catalunya: *Art i Cultura d'Època Moderna* (ACEM) (2009 SGR 348), guided by Professor Company. All of the authors who signed this study belong to CIMM, CAEM and to ACEM; <<http://caem.udl.cat>> for more specific data about each author and each of the three centers. We would like to express our gratitude to Salvador Ferrando Palomares for his help with the revision of the documents that we provide in this study. Used abbreviations: AMV, Arxiu Municipal de València; ARV, Arxiu del Regne de València.

reflectographs with professional high-end cameras that allow obtaining exclusive digital images that have to be processed afterwards for its use in formal, stylistic and technical analysis of works. Regarding the mentioned tasks, the traverse cross of work techniques and methodologies that the CIMM shares with the Technical and Analytical Cabinet of the Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna (CAEM) of the University of Lleida seems to be extraordinarily fertile.

The research activity of the human team of the CIMM has been developing for 25 years in different areas. In 1989 the *Institut Valencià d'Estudis i Investigació*, IVEI ("Valencian Institute of Studies and Investigation"), of the Generalitat Valenciana lended assistance to the project entitled *Exhumación de documentos inéditos sobre el Arte Valenciano, s. XV-XVII* (1989-1992), led by Professor Ximo Company in which collaborated Luisa Tolosa and Maite Framis. This was the official start of a research group that has not stopped persevering the rigorous and profound study of medieval and modern painting since.

Shortly thereafter, the scientific team consolidated with a new project I+D+I entitled *Análisis de las fuentes, documentos y obras de la pintura valenciana Medieval y Moderna. Base de datos de referencias bibliográficas y documentales Pere Nicolau* (1996-1998), granted by the Dirección General de Enseñanzas Universitarias e Investigación de la Generalitat Valenciana ("Directorate-General of University Education and Investigation of the Valencian Government") to the Professors Felipe Vicente Garín (dir.), Joan Aliaga and Ximo Company. This help made it possible to establish exchanges with European researchers such as Mathieu Hériard-Dubreuil (†), Claudie Ressorit, Gennaro Toscano or Mauro Natale. With these facts the Departament d'Història de l'Art de la Universitat Politècnica de València ("Department of Art History of the Polytechnic University of Valencia"), currently the *Departamento de Comunicación Audiovisual, Documentación e Historia del Arte* ("Department of Audiovisual Communication, Documentation and History of Art") or DCADHA, took in the research group of the CIMM, providing it with the necessary technical equipment. In addition, the Department launched a doctoral Inter-University programme in the strictly academic field entitled *La Cultura Mediterránea en el Mundo Medieval y Moderno* ("The Mediterranean culture in the medieval and modern world"), led by Dr. Joan Aliaga.

The researchers of the CIMM often carry out many activities. Besides the ones mentioned, in collaboration with the ACEM and the CAEM, there is also scientific management, coordination and the commissioning of exhibitions. Especially this exhibition is noteworthy: *La Llum de les Imatges. Lux Mundi. Xàtiva 2007*, organized by the Generalitat Valenciana (with more than 625.000 visitors), or *San Francisco de Borja, Grande de España. Arte y espiritualidad en la cultura hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII*, promoted by the local government of Gandia in 2010³.

3. Company, Ximo; Pons, Vicent; Aliaga, Joan. *La Llum de les Imatges. Lux Mundi. Xàtiva 2007*, 2 vols. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2007; Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan, dirs. "San Francisco de Borja Grande de España. Arte y espiritualidad en la cultura hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII". *Catálogo de la exposición celebrada en Gandía del 4 de nov. de 2010 al 9 de enero de 2011*. Casa de la Cultura Marqués de González de Quirós. Catarroja: Afers, 2010: 51-66.





ILLUSTRATION 1. COLECCIÓN: *DOCUMENTS DE LA PINTURA VALENCIANA MEDIEVAL I MODERNA*. VALENCIA: UNIVERSITAT DE VALÈNCIA, 2005-2013.

But most significant within the researcher profile of the group was the opening of an editorial line about Valencian painting documentation. Currently four volumes have been published, with the generic title *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna* in the collection *Fonts Documentals* of the University of Valencia that has a great acceptance in the international scientific context⁴.

The first book was published in 2004 and contains a complete corpus with documents from 1238, the date of the beginning of the conquest of Valencia, until the year 1400. It's a very extensive chronology that is more than 150 years old and of which in its time 987 documents were published. Nevertheless, the amount of the localized information of this has been increasing to reality and all the new data that are registered in the database *Documenta* of the CIMM.

The second volume was published in 2007 and, in this occasion, they chose a monographic work over an extensive and extraordinary document that can be found in the Municipal Archives of Valencia. We are talking about a ledger of expenses incurred between 1401 and 1402 to mark the first real entry of King Martin the Humane into Valencia, with his wife Maria de Luna and his daughter Blanca, Queen of Sicily. A spectacular event in which over 40 artists of the city took part, building ephemeral works: the "rocks" (decorated cars that were used later in the procession of the Corpus) that will have the lead role in the royal parade. Among the registered artists are many decorators but it is clearly stated which painters dedicate their work to altarpieces and which painters receive higher salaries, such as Gerardo Starnina, Marçal de Sas, Gonçal Peris, Gonçal Sarrià, Antoni Peris or Pere Nicolau.

The third volume, published in 2011, includes a chronology of 25 years and, again, we chose to publish a *corpus* of documents organized from 1401 until 1425. Despite being an inferior period to volume I, the number of data about painters increased considerably to a total of 1,304, which is evidence of the development of

4. Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Framis, Maite (responsible for ed.); Nuria Ramon (contributor), *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna, I (1238-1400)*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2005; Aliaga, Joan; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Company, Ximo, eds; Silvestre, Aureli (contributor). *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna, II. Llibre de l'entrada del rei Martí*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2007; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan, dirs. *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna, III (1401-1425)*, Ferran Garcia-Oliver, coord. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2011; Cárcel, Milagros; García, Juan Vicente. *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna, IV*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2013.

trade in the Valencian painting in a favorable socio-economic time. At the beginning of the 15th century the production of altarpieces increased significantly, driven by a demanding clientele that attracted painters from different origins in order to establish their work studios in the capital of the kingdom. Just like in previous volumes, the work in the archives carried out by our team for the last two years has increased the number of unpublished documents that are also registered in the database *Documenta del CIMM*.

In 2013 a fourth volume of the series was published, this time by M. Milagros Cárcel Ortí and Juan Vicente García Marsilla, professors of the University of Valencia. It's about a new entry or actual receipt, in this case one from the king Ferran d'Antequera, with his wife and Elionor de Albuquerque and firstborn the future Alfonso the Magnanimous in 1413.

Since the appearance of the first volume in 2004 until present day, many researchers used the books of the series *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna* as a reference in their publications as a documentary source. In this sense, it is remarkable that the volumes, published by CIMM, have had such a significant and positive impact on the development of several doctoral theses at the University of Valencia and the Polytechnic University of Valencia, such as the ones from doctors Núria Ramón (2005), Matilde Miquel (2006), Asunción Mocholí (2010), Carme Llanes (2011), Teresa Izquierdo (2011) and Encarna Montero (2013)⁵. On the other hand, the members of our research team have also delved into various aspects of some of the unpublished exhumed information, of which its results have been presented at conferences or published in journals such as the paper, "Documents on Valencian Late Gothic Painting. Contributions from the Centre for Medieval and Modern Research" submitted to the *International Medieval Meeting Lleida* in 2011⁶, in which revisions and enlargements about painters such as Lluís Dalmau, Lluís Alimbrot, Jaume Bacó, also known as Jacomart, Paolo da San Leocadio; Rodrigo and Francesc d'Osona or Jan Van Eyck himself were presented. In addition, recently an article appeared, entitled "Una *Flagelación* de Joan Reixach de colección particular.

5. Ramon, Nuria. *La iluminación de manuscritos en la Valencia Gótica. Desde los inicios hasta la muerte de Alfonso V el Magnánimo (1290-1458)*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2005, published in: Ramón, Nuria. *La iluminación de manuscritos en la Valencia Gótica (1290-1458)*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2007; Miquel, Matilde. *Talleres y mercado de pintura en Valencia (1370-1430)*, Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2006, published in: Miquel, Matilde. *Retablos, prestigio y dinero. Talleres y mercado de pintura en la Valencia del gótico internacional*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008; Mocholí, Asunción. *Estudi dels documents dels pintors i altres artífexs valencians. Segles XII, XIV i XV (1238-1450)*. Valencia: Universitat Politècnica (PhD Dissertation), 2010, published in: Mocholí, Asunción. *Pintors i Altres artífexs de la València Medieval*. Valencia: Universitat Politècnica, 2012; Llanes, Carme. *L'obra de Pere Nicolau i la Segona Generació de Pintors del Gòtic Internacional a València*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2011; Izquierdo, Teresa M. *El Fuster, definició d'un ofici en la València medieval*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia (PhD Dissertation), 2011; Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión del conocimiento en los oficios artísticos. Valencia, 1370-1450*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2013.

6. Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Puig, Isidre; Ramon, Nuria; Rusconi, Stefania. "Documents on Valencian Late Gothic Painting. Contributions from the Centre for Medieval and Modern Research", *Late Gothic Painting in the Crown of Aragon and the Hispanic Kingdoms*, Francesc Fité, Alberto Velasco, eds., forthcoming.



Nuevos documentos y consideraciones sobre el binomio Jacomart-Reixach", published in the magazine *Archivo Español de Arte*⁷. The result of this study has been the incorporation of a new painting in the catalog of attributions of the painter Joan Reixach and the contribution of an important unpublished document, exhumed in the Arxiu del Regne de València (ARV) during the summer of 2011. It's the first time the two painters Reixach and Jacomart —*magistros Iacobum Jacomart et Iohannem Rexach, pictores*— in 1449 are united in one document to arbitrate a work of another painter called Felip Porta⁸.

Other studies have allowed the affiliation of works that up until now maintained a code of unknown authorship, or in other words, that its existence was practically unknown. We find something similar in the article "Jaume Mateu y el Retablo de San Sebastián de Villar del Cobo (Teruel)", in which the remains of a magnificent altarpiece preserved in a small town in the interior of Teruel are rescued. In addition, we were able to relate this to a very valuable unpublished document that allowed us to link this work with the painter Jaume Mateu. We also want to draw attention to the article "Nuevas aportaciones a la pintura del Gótico Internacional, Berenguer Mateu y el Retablo de San Jorge de Jérica (Castellón)", in which the unprecedented contract by the painter Mateu Berenguer with the members of the brotherhood of San Jorge in 1430 is published, with the precise reason to paint the altarpiece that currently is being preserved in the Municipal Museum of Jérica⁹. Significant was also the discovery of the marriage contract between Jaume Llopis, a banker from Valencia, and the famous Italian painter Paolo da San Leocadio, wherein the bond between the mentioned painter and Isabel Llopis, sister of Jaume, is established. The banker offers a rather respectable dowry of 4,000 salaries and the painter adds another 2,000 salaries because of the virginity of the bride. The document is important because although the reality of this marriage has been cited more than once¹⁰, we did not possess the specific document that guaranteed and sanctioned it in a definitive way¹¹.

Among international publications there is the noteworthy study called "Bertomeu Coscollà and the main altarpiece of the cathedral of Valencia. New documents", next to appear in the North American magazine *La Corónica*. The study is about the

7. Company, Ximo; Franco, Borja; Puig, Isidro; Aliaga, Joan; Rusconi, Stefania. "Una Flagelación de Joan Reixach de colección particular. Nuevos documentos y consideraciones sobre el binomio Jacomart-Reixach". *Archivo Español de Arte*, 340 (2013): 363-373.

8. ARV. Protocolo de Marti Doto, 10.422.

9. Aliaga, Joan; Llanes, Carme. "Jaume Mateu y el Retablo de San Sebastián de Villar del Cobo (Teruel)". *Ars Longa: cuadernos de arte*, 23 (2014): forthcoming; Aliaga, Joan; Rusconi, Stefania. "Nuevas aportaciones a la pintura del Gótico Internacional, Berenguer Mateu y el Retablo de San Jorge de Jérica (Castellón)", forthcoming.

10. Tramoyeres, Luis. "Los cuatrocentistas valencianos, el Maestro Rodrigo de Osona y su hijo del mismo nombre". *Cultura Española*, 9 (1908): 143 (n. 1). Tramoyeres cites that Paolo da San Leocadio entered into marriage in September 1493 with Isabel López or Llopis, but the consulted documentary source was never known.

11. ARV. Protocolo de Vicente Artés, 20.068; Rusconi, Stefania; Company, Ximo. "Nuevos datos documentales sobre Paolo da San Leocadio". *Ars Longa, cuadernos de arte*, 22 (2013): 87-92.



biggest primitive altar of the cathedral of Valencia that was destroyed in 1464. The research includes information about the activity of the silversmiths Pere Bernés and Bertomeu Coscollà Pere, thanks to payment orders that have been documented¹².

At the moment, the research team is delving into the analysis of documentation about Joan Reixach and Jacomart, of which the results will appear in a monographic volume. And on the other hand they are working on the analysis of the documentation and the works related to Miquel Alcanyís. To study the latter painter the research team spent time at the *Hispanic Society of America* and the *Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York* as well as the Museu de Mallorca, Museu Diocesà de Palma and Museu Capitular, Museu Parroquial d'Alcúdia (Mallorca), Convent de la Concepció de Palma, and also in the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca, the Arxiu de la Catedral de Mallorca and the Diocesà de Mallorca. At the same time it is about to complete the full review of all the documents relating to Joan de Joanes, one of the most important painters of the Spanish Renaissance, with very important and unpublished documentary novelties. An important work that has been complemented with obtaining valuable high-definition images and absolutely unprecedented infrared reflectographs, belonging to many of the preserved works of Joan de Joanes, his son Vicente Joanes, and his father Vicente Macip¹³.

All documentary work that has been developed in recent years has the support of the *Documenta* database that currently contains about 3,500 records with digital photographs of the documents and more than 10,000 photographs of works. Therefore numerous protocols, notes, books about accounting, factories, justice, etc. from those dates or notaries that can possibly contain information about painting and painters in the main archives of Valencia (Arxiu de Protocols del Col·legi de Corpus Christi de València, Arxiu del Regne, Arxiu de la Catedral and Arxiu Municipal) have been systematically emptied. On the other hand, there have been more specific searches for other files such as the ones indicated above, in Mallorca, or in Morella (Castelló), Vila-real, Castelló, Xérica, Ontinyent, Gandia, Lleida, Verdú, Vic, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona) and abroad, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio Curia Vescovile di Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Archivio di Stato di Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Archivio di Stato di Cagliari, and the Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

12. Aliaga, Joan; Ramon, Núria. "Bertomeu Coscollà and Valencia Cathedral's Main Altarpiece: New documents". *La corónica: A journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures and Cultures*, 42/2 (2014): 15-55.

13. In this investigation project participate various researchers of the CIMM, led by Isidro Puig Sanchis, of the University of Lleida.



1. New documents about the painter Pere Nicolau. A tragic death

For this publication we would like to present some novelties about information that allows us to value more profoundly the social dimension of the Catalan painter, Pere Nicolau, in the context of the first decade of the 15th century that is marked by violence and tension that caused the clash of fights of the social “factions” of that time. In relation to these data, we also believe that we can give documentary support to the paintings *Escenas de la vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán*, preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Valencia, a work of art that up until now was being considered an allocation to the previously mentioned Nicolau¹⁴.

Pere Nicolau is a painter extremely valued by historiography as part of the Valencian International Gothic, along with other personalities such as Llorens Saragossà, Marçal de Sas or, among others, Gerardo Starnina¹⁵. Nicolau comes from Igualada

14. Saralegui, Leandro de. “Miscelánea de tablas valencianas. En torno a Pedro Nicolau”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 41 (1933): 103-104; Saralegui, Leandro de. *El Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos. Tablas de las salas 1ª y 2ª de Primitivos valencianos*. Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1954: 59-69 (pictures 17-20).

15. Among the studies about the painter we emphasize: Tramoyeres, Luis. *Guía del Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia*, Valencia, 1915; Tormo, Elías. *Levante*. Madrid: Guías Calpe, 1923; Tormo, Elías. “El Museo Diocesano de Valencia”. *Arte Español*, 6 (1935): 293-300 and 354-365; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1930: III; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1930: VII; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1938: VII; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1947: IX; Saralegui, Leandro de. “En torno a Pedro Nicolau Un retablo de su escuela”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 19 (1933): 3-30; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Pedro Nicolau”, *Almanaque Las Provincias*. Valencia: 1941; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Miscelánea de tablas valencianas. En torno a Pedro Nicolau...”: 103-104; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Pedro Nicolau. I: Introito biográfico”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española*, 49 (1941): 76-107; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Pedro Nicolau II: Obras”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española*, 50 (1942): 98-152; Saralegui, Leandro de. *El Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes...*; Gudiol, José. *Pintura gótica*. Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1955: IX; Camón, José. *Pintura medieval española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1977: XXII; Dubreuil, Hériard. “Importance de la peinture valencienne autours de 1400”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 46 (1975): 13-21; Dubreuil, Hériard. *Valencia y el Gótico Internacional*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987; Dubreuil, Hériard. “Gótico Internacional”. *Historia del Arte Valenciano*, 69 (1988): 182-235; Catalá, Miguel Àngel. “La pintura medieval valenciana. Temas y fuentes literarias”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 46 (1977): 117-126; Garín, Felipe M^a. *Historia del Arte de Valencia*, 49 (1978); José i Pitarch, Antoni. *Pintura gótica valenciana: el periodo internacional*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1982; José i Pitarch, Antoni. “Les arts plàstiques: l’escultura i la pintura gòtiques”, *Historia de l’Art al País Valencià*. Valencia, 1986: I, 163-239; José i Pitarch, Antoni. *Retaule de la Santa Creu. Museu de Belles Arts de València. Obra recuperada del trimestre, abril, 1998*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1998; Pérez, Alfonso E. “Arte”, *Valencia (Colección “Tierras de España”)*. Madrid: Noguer, 1985: 145-393; Rodrigo, Carmen. “El retablo de Sarrión: Análisis documental y estilístico”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 68 (1987): 8-16; Rodrigo, Carmen. “Aproximación al retablo de Pere Nicolau ‘Los Gozos de la Virgen María’ en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao”. *Urtekaria Bilbao* (1988): 9-24; Rodrigo, Carmen. “El retablo de los Siete Gozos del Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 71 (1990): 39-46; Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura valenciana medieval*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1996; Gómez, José. *El retablo de San Martín, Santa Úrsula y San Antonio Abad*. Madrid: Generalitat Valenciana, 2004; Miquel, Matilde. *Retablos, prestigio y dinero. Talleres y mercado de pintura en la Valencia del gótico internacional*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2008; Ruíz, Francesc; Montolio, David. “De pintura medieval valenciana”. *Espais de Llum*. Valencia: La Llum de les Imatges, 2008: 125-169; Llanes, Carme. *L’obra de Pere Nicolau i la Segona Generació de Pintors del Gòtic Internacional a València*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation),



(Barcelona), but as of today there are no data for this initial period in Catalonia, so the proposals on his artistic training remain conjectures that are unsustainable for the moment¹⁶. During the last years of the 14th century, migrations occurred in the Principality as a result of the crisis, social conflicts, wars or epidemics. The city of Valencia, being exempt from these threats, changed and received all the immigrants that were attracted by the offer of a booming town, urban growth and construction. The first known documentary data on Pere Nicolau were found in Valencia in 1390, when he already had an important workspace that dominated the market for the painting of altarpieces and especially the environment of the Cathedral. At that time he was already known as “neighbor” painter of Valencia, which means that he must have arrived there a few years before¹⁷. All of the information about Pere Nicolau reveal a constant and sometimes intense activity, in just two decades he worked in various areas of the city and beyond; in the Torres de Serranos; the Cathedral; la Casa de la Ciudad; the Carthusian monasteries of Valdecrist (Altura), Portaceli (Serra); as well as in various populations of Valencia and Teruel. Pere Nicolau was the owner of a powerful production company of altarpieces in which the master hired other painters now and then to finish the work efficiently in the studio; Miquel Alcanyís was one of them. Numerous apprentices also participated with him to collaborate regularly in the studio to become future painters. Jaume Mateu is the most prominent example of a young apprentice educated by Nicolau during a process of approximately fourteen years (from 1394 until 1408). But above all, the collaboration agreements between Nicolau and the North European painter

2011; Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión del conocimiento en los oficios artísticos. Valencia, 1370-1450*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2013.

16. Ruiz Quesada made a proposal to let the education of Pere Nicolau take place in the studio of the painter Esteve Rovira de Chipre but there isn't any documentary indication that affirms this, and there isn't documented work of Esteve Rovira that allow us to link these two styles. Ruiz, Francesc. “L'estil cortesà a Barcelona”, *L'art Gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura II*. Barcelona: Enciclopedia Catalana, 2005: 48-53. Authors who have contributed documentation about Pere Nicolau are Agustín Arqués Jover: Arqués, Agustín. *Colección de pintores, escultores desconocidos sacada de instrumentos antiguos, auténticos*, Inmaculada Vidal, Lorenzo Hernández, eds. Alcoy: Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros de Alicante y Murcia, 1982; de Alcahalí, Barón. *Diccionario biográfico de artistas valencianos*. Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 1987; Sanchís, José. *La Catedral de Valencia. Guía histórica y artística*. Valencia: Vives Mora, 1909; Sanchís, José. *Pintores medievales en Valencia*. Barcelona: Massó Casas, 1914; Sanchís, José. “Pintores medievales en Valencia”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 15 (1928): 3-64; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 29 (1958): 95-123; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 34 (1963): 63-156; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 39 (1968): 92-98; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 42 (1971): 23-36; Fuster, Francisco. *Cartuja de Portaceli: Historia, vida, arquitectura y arte*. Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1994; Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura...*; Llanes, Carme. “Pere Nicolau i la Catedral de València. Aclaracions sobre els retaules de ‘Santa Clara i Santa Isabel’ (1403) i ‘Sant Maties i Sant Pere Màrtir’ d’Onda’ (1405)”. *Boletín de la Sociedad castellonense de Cultura*, 80 (2004): 83-96; Llanes, Carme. *L'obra de Pere Nicolau...*; Company, Ximo. *Documents de la pintura...*, 2005; Miquel, Matilde. *Retablos, prestigio y dinero...*; Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...* 2011.

17. You can find a detailed study about the vital trajectory of Pere Nicolau in Llanes, Carme. *L'obra de Pere Nicolau...*: 98-117.



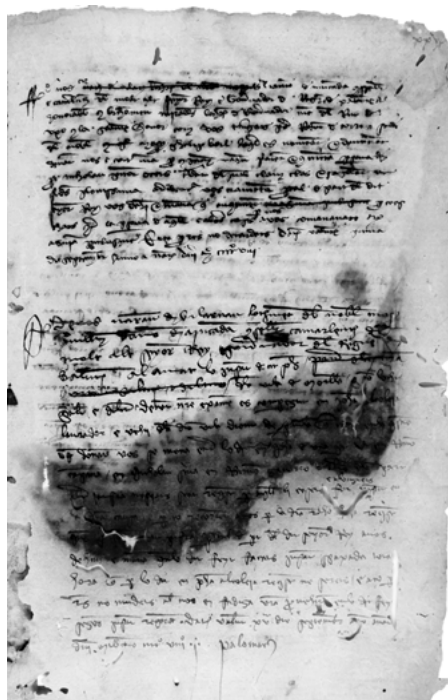


ILLUSTRATION 2. NEW DOCUMENT EXHUMED IN THE ARXIU DEL REGNE DE VALÈNCIA. GOVERNACIÓ, NO. 2.793, MANO 1, F. 26R.

Marçal de Sas are very significant. Nicolau-Sas formed an important and fruitful professional binomial. Together they signed capitulations and received payments of several important altarpieces, although the most successful of the two masters was the Catalan. Hence, from the late 14th century until his death in 1408, Pere Nicolau was the undisputed market leader in painting altarpieces in Valencia, owner of a studio for which he transited a wide variety of painters and with a great ability to negotiate contracts with ecclesiastics, clients of the bourgeoisie and the nobility. It stands without reason that Pere Nicolau had an intense professional life with various social relations within a conflicting city.

We knew Pere Nicolau had suddenly died on the date of July 25th, 1408, the celebration of St. James, without having had the time to draw up a will. However, thanks to the transcription of new localized documents by the research team of the CiMM in the Arxiu del Regne de València, we are able to present the information that the cause of the painter's death was the murder by Ramon Torres, squire of Felip Boil, a noble ally in the mentioned faction fights. A social phenomenon that caused great instability in the early years of the 15th century in Valencia. The Consell de la Ciutat expresses it like this:

*e lo punt en què la ciutat era per ocasió de persones de bandos e guerres e altres de sinistra intenció per aduersar a la cosa pública*¹⁸.

Nicolau's death was destined to cause a big commotion among his fellow painters, and his disappearance marked a before and after in the School of Valencian Painting that can still be noticed in the surviving works. Two days after the death of the artist, the nephew of the deceased, Jaume Mateu, demanded the Civil Justice to recognize him as the heir to the estate of his uncle. This demand is an exceptional document that has provided researchers with unique information on the professional and family life in the largest Valencian studio of the first half of the 15th century. It is complemented by a second open process a year later when Mateu makes another demand to receive money from his salary that Nicolau had not paid him for fourteen years¹⁹. The interest of his nephew to hastily get hold of the inheritance, can be interpreted as a cunning of Jaume Mateu who wanted to take advantage of the absence of his mother, sister of Nicolau, and his own brother to become the universal heir and receive all of the material goods and, among others, also the business (clients and market dominance) created by Pere Nicolau²⁰.

Only a part of the first paper was published in 1968 by Luis Cerveró and had a considerable impact on historiography²¹. But the true extent of the information was obtained in the full review, conducted by the research team of the CiMM, two volumes of Civil Justice of Valencia and the discovery of the second process in 1409. The complete transcript of both documents has already been studied in the doctoral thesis of Joan Aliaga, *Anàlisi dels documents i obres atribuïdes als pintors Gonçal Peris i Gonçal Sarrià*, defended at the Universitat Politècnica de València in 1994²². Recently, Carme Llanes and Encarna Montero, as mentioned before, delved into the subject in their doctoral thesis.

Despite the importance and extent of the mentioned documents, there is no reference to the cause of death of Pere Nicolau in the composition of the text. Only the testimony of the student, Pere Valles, declares that he has not seen him dead, but indicates that the event had transpired throughout the city and that it was sure he had been injured *et dix que ell, testimoni, no havia vist mort lo dit Pere Nicholau*

18. AMV. Manual de Consells. A-24, f.64v-66. Published in: Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*: 200. More information about the conflict of the factions: Narbona, Rafael. *L'univers dels prohoms*. Valencia: Edicions 3 i 4, 1995; Narbona, Rafael. *Valencia, municipio medieval. Poder político y luchas ciudadanas (1239-1418)*. Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1995.

19. The first process can be found in: ARV. Justícia Civil, 3.703, 11, f. 16-16v and 34-36v. The second process begins May 7, 1409, and can be found in: ARV. Justícia Civil, 3.700, 8, f. 10-10v; 9. f. 17-24v. y mano 10, ff. 25-26v. The first document was partly published by: Cerveró, Luis. "Pintores...": 97. Document entirely published in: Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura...*: 154-174.

20. The document refers to Jaume Mateu being the only relative that was found in the Kingdom of Valencia and that the inheritance is his by law.

21. Cerveró, Luis. "Pintores valentinos...": 97.

22. The thesis was published in: Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura...*: 145-174. A transcription of the document, revised and updated, can be found in: Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*: 2011 (doc. n. 381): 183-188 and (doc. n. 428): 214-217.



ne nefrat, mes sabia que aquell era mort per comuna fama de molts que són en València. Since the knowledge of the data in 1994, the suspicion that the death of the artist could have been tragic, was a constant. When the third volume of *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna III* (2011) was being published, they included a document that already had been published by Luis Cervero, relating the mentioned judicial proceedings whose transcription was revised and corrected by our team²³. It is a payment made by Jaume Mateu at the request of a woman named Catalina for the work of serving in the house of Pere Nicolau. In the notification dated November 23, 1408, Mateu is listed as the universal heir. The transcription of Cerveró (1963) contained an important error that impeded the understanding of the information, indicating [...] *den Pere Nicolau, pintor, omnes per testes [...]* instead of [...] *d'en Pere Nicolau, pintor, occís, per testimony [...]*. The word *occís* was transcribed as *omnes* twice. *Occís* means killed, an expression that never appears in the trials of the *Justícia Civil* but that does appear in the *Justícia dels 300 Sous*.

The new documents (vid. docs. 1 and 2) that we present, provide clarifying information on the circumstances, linking the painter to the family Boil. On September 1, 1408, Guillem Ramon de Montcada, governor of the kingdom and officer of the Royal Court, demands the governor of River Uxó (Castellón) to proceed against Ramón Torres based on the complaint presented by Jaume Mateu. The letter details the status of Torres as a squire of the noble Felip Boil and Jaume Mateu as the relative of the murdered painter Pere Nicolau. Torres remained locked in the prison of Castellón, accused of killing officials of the King as well as others and was present at the time of the murder of Pere Nicolau. The second document corresponds to a trial beginning on September 2, and comments about a group of armed men who arrive in Castellón at night, heading to the prison screaming *Boil, Boil, Boil [...]*. When they were already at the door of the prison, they docked until they found the chained squire. Although the exciting story surpasses fiction novels, there is only one allusion to the murder of our painter when the deputy, Bartomeu Miralles, reports that Ramon Torres was linked to Nicolau's death and emphasizes that his lord was present during the executions. Surely the crippled condition of Felip Boil obliged him to have a squire²⁴.

The Boil family was powerful and were originally from Aragon. The family's lineage is introduced in Valencia for Pere I Boil and Mur to participate in the conquest of Valencia. His grandson, Pere II Boil of Aragon, was the first lord of Manises. The latter married Altadona de la Scala, out of this marriage nine children were born. One of them was Ramon Boil de la Scala, a very powerful character. Ramon Boil, head of the second line of the Boil family, was the adviser of Alfons IV, ambassador

23. Cerveró, Luis. "Pintores valentinos...", 1963: 123 and 138; Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*: 2011 (doc. 394): 195. Encarna Montero includes this correction in her thesis and also observes that Nicolau could have been murdered, see: Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión...*: 61-62.

24. We note that in the investigation of Encarna Montero we sense the possibility of the tragedy of Pere Nicolau. See: Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión...*: 557 (*No sería descabellado pensar (aunque se trate de una mera suposición sin fundamento documental alguno), que Nicolau se pudo ver envuelto, en el verano de 1408, en alguna cuestión de armas relacionada con una familia para la que había trabajado en encargo tan bien retribuido*).



in Granada in 1325. He was associated with the royal house of Aragon as treasurer of Pere IV the “Ceremoniós” and ambassador of the Crown before the pope in 1338. He also participated in the campaign of Rosellón against Jaume III of Mallorca. He married Berenguela Castellar with whom he had two children, Pere and Lluís²⁵.

Felip Boïl and Díes, the character we have documented in relation to the death of Pere Nicolau, was the son of Pere Boïl Castellar and brother of Ramon Boïl, governor of Valencia from 1393 until 1407, when he was killed the night of March



ILLUSTRATION 3. CHAPTER HOUSE OF THE CONVENT OF SANTO DOMINGO OF VALENCIA.
BUILDING AT THE EXPENSE OF PERE BOÏL (1310-1320).

21 by Berenguer Reixac, to revenge the capture of his brother Felip Reixac. Ramon was buried in the Chapter House of the convent of Santo Domingo of Valencia.

As a result of this altercation, Felip Boïl lost his right hand as a consequence of the royal punishment to hit one of the accused nobles as the instigators of the murder of his brother. He married Leonor Soler, daughter of Ramón Soler with whom he had three sons and a daughter, Aldonça.

This part of the Boïl family branch was in favor of the Vilaragut in the Valencian factions in the first years of the disputes and afterwards with the Solers, connected

25. To delve into the historic data you can look into: Hinojosa, José. *Diccionario de historia medieval del Reino de Valencia*. Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 2002: I; Rubio, Agustí. “II. El segle XIV”, *Història al País Valencià: de la conquesta a la Federació hispànica*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1988: II, 261-264.



by family alliance. This noble war phenomenon already begins to protest in the early 14th century. It seems that he has his origin from the attempt of the noble classes to maintain their social and economic status, in a time in which some of the largest fortunes went bankrupt. In Valencia the most significant case was the bankruptcy of Gilabert de Centelles, one of the factions of this movement. At the end of the 14th century, the noble factions incorporate in the trade sector and the subsection of the proletariat will be inclined to occupy another sector according to their convenience. These battles will be led by two families. On the one hand, the Centelles led by Gilabert de Centelles, on the other hand, Jaume Soler, successor to the cause of Vilaragut. In 1398 Pere Centelles was killed and his brother Gilabert changes the revenge of this death into an act of honor. Years later, in 1403, Jaume Soler was killed. We do not know if it was the brother-in-law of Felip Boïl. With the arrival of King Martin the Humane in 1406 it was possible to establish a relative calm that will be broken with the murder of Governor Ramón Boïl, brother of Felip Boïl, our character.

Another unpublished document (vid doc. 3) recently contributed by Encarna Montero allows us to relate to the painters Pere Nicolau and Marçal de Sas with the relatives of Felip Boïl, Peirona Llançol and her husband Lluís Boïl²⁶. This is an act of the notary Pere Bigueran preserved in the Archive of Protocols of Corpus Christi in Valencia dated July 1, 1416. The document concerns a will in which different letters, titles and deeds are related that were found by the executors of the noble widow Peirona Llançol. As indicated, Peirona drew up a will on July 3, 1400, that was published a few months later, as can be witnessed in the same document:

noble madona Peyrona Lançol, muller [del] noble mossèn Lois Boïl, defuncts, segons [de la dita] marmissoria consta per testament [per la] dita noble madona Peyrona feyt a tres dies de juliol en [el any] MCCCC e publicat per lo dit notari [Pere de Loças]²⁷.

The original executors of the will were Guerau Llançol, canon and dean of the Cathedral, and Arnau Llançol, also a clergyman, although both were released in the document of 1416 by Jaume Romeu and Joan Llançol.

It may have been on the day that this same Aldonça died, when they effectuated the inventory of assets that the deceased owned; her testamentary executors had to localize each and every receipt, title and deed with the details:

Aquestes són aquelles cartes, cauteles, scriptures e alb[arans] que a present ha atrobat ésser [e pertànyer] a la dita marmessoria [.....] que si d'aquí avant atrobars [altres] béns ésser e pertànyer a la dita [marmessoria], aquelles pusca posar en [...] en altre inventari [...] esdevenidor.

26. The author explains the information of the document but she does not transcribes it. The complete transcription is provided here. See: Montero, Encarna *La transmissió...*: 552-557.

27. We were able to confirm that there are no protocols preserved about this alluded notary in the archives valencianes.



Among the different items that are targeted, the most significant is a receipt that corresponds to what could be the last payment, made on October 15, 1400 to the painters Pere Nicolau and Mestre Marçal (Marçal de Sas) for the work on an altarpiece. The amount paid was 2,100 salaries, a very large sum and, especially if it concerns a partial payment as indicated. The information on the execution of this altarpiece remains unpublished, and corresponds to a new example of collaborative work between the two painters. On the other hand, we also found two other payments in the will to Vicent Serra, a carpenter who had also conducted a wooden altarpiece just one year before, intended for the Cathedral of Valencia for the same painters. The first payment is made on October 2, 1400, when Nicolau and Marçal perceive 200 salaries of the executors of Peirona Llançol. The second is made on April 11, 1401, then receiving 15,5 golden florins of Aragon. The documents do not reveal the concept of the payments to the carpenter, but it stands to reason, given the appearance of the entry related to Nicolau and Sas in the same document, that we are talking about the wooden altarpiece for the same work that the painters finished.

Throughout the reading of the extensive and damaged document, we found other data that coincide y confirm the information that was published by the historian and Brother José Teixidor (1694-1775) about the family grave of the Boïls in the convent of Santo Domingo²⁸. The construction of the Chapter House of the convent (1310-1320) was financed by Pere Boïl of Aragon as a family vault. The double grave of his descendants Ramón Boïl Dies and Ramón Boïl Montagut²⁹ are still preserved in situ. Documentary data indicate that Lluís Boïl († 1386) was also buried in the monastery of the Frares Prehicatoros. His testamentary codicil was drafted on December 30, 1385; and, according to Teixidor, requested for 400 salaries to be paid a year, just like they made other payments for the same religious services and anniversaries made upon his grave situated in the convent previously mentioned:

lo qual convent y frares de aquell volem que cascun any en per tots temps en aquells dies e a[n]y, tantes vegades com a la noble dona Na Peyrona Llançol, muller nostra, volrra e elegirà, sien tenguts fer aniversaris et celebrar misses en los dies que aquells faran et anar a fer absolució sobre la nostra fossa o tomba a coneguda de la dita muller nostra³⁰.

In the transcription of the presented document appear several entries in which the realization of these payments is confirmed. This receipt is important, given that the paid amount coincides with the amount that Lluís Boïl requested in his will

28. Teixidor, José. *Capillas y Sepulturas del Real Convento de Predicadores*, 3 vols. Valencia: Acción Bibliográfica Valenciana, 1949-1952 (Manuscript dated in 1755).

29. For more information about this grave see the dedicated section in: Español, Francesca. *El escultor Bartomeu de Robió y Lleida eco de la plástica toscana en Catalunya*. Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 1995: 135-142; see: de San Petrillo, Barón. *El doble sepulcro de los Boïl que se conserva en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional y en el Provincial de Valencia no es de los señores de Manises*. Valencia: s.n., 1920.

30. Teixidor, José. *Capillas y Sepulturas...*: III, 139-140.





ILLUSTRATION 4. *SEPULCROS DE RAMÓN BOIL DIES Y RAMÓN BOIL MONTAGUT*, s. XV, ALABASTRO. CHAPTER HOUSE OF THE CONVENT OF SANTO DOMINGO OF VALENCIA.

to be paid each year to the monastery. Hence, November 16, 1400, Tomás Gaçó, from the monastery of Santo Domingo of Valencia receives 400 salaries from the executors of the noble Peirona Llançol. Other payments appear, one conducted on August 13, to Domingo Agramunt, prior, with the amount of 208 salaries. In early October, we cannot say whether it is the second or the third, Guillem Ortoneda, monk of the monastery, receives 50 salaries from the executors of Mrs. Peirona. On October 6 of the same year, 50 salaries were paid to friar Francisco. That same day Bertomeu Gaçó receives 100 salaries. Finally, on November 24, 1400, 100 salaries are paid to prior.

This obvious link to the Boil family with the convent of Santo Domingo of Valencia, logically allows us to ascribe the altarpiece alluded in the probate documents to the latter convent. According to the librarian of the Convent of Preachers, José Teixidor³¹ and following the chronicler Hall, in the early 18th century there was a “very old-fashioned” altarpiece in the Chapter House dedicated to the Virgin with scenes of her life. If there had already been an altarpiece in the Chapter House, the order of the Valencian masters obviously must have had a different location. We know that in 1395 Pere Nicolau had already painted another altarpiece for the

31. Teixidor, José. *Capillas y sepulturas...*: III, 114.



ILLUSTRATION 5. PERE NICOLAU AND MARÇAL DE SAS, *PREDELA DE RETABLO DE SANTO DOMINGO*, 1400. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS OF VALENCIA.

chapel of San Lorenzo in the same convent. The new work documented on October 15, 1400, is a joint work of two great masters in which also the young apprentice painter, Jaume Mateu, was able to collaborate. In addition, the painters perceived a very large sum (though not entirely determined), as was the case with the notable amount received by the carpenter, data that could justify that the work was of great size. The owners chose the best and most quoted painters, which at that time were located in Valencia. Bear in mind that, in the same period, Gerardo Starnina was still in Valencia working on another big project, the altarpiece of the church of the monastery of St. Augustine, for the bishop of Doglia, Joan Beciaco, and for which were paid up to 550 golden florins.

Teixidor describes the main altarpiece of the church of the convent of Santo Domingo indicating that all images were of natural size. In the center the Virgen and Child, on the right San Pablo and San Pedro giving the staff to Santo Domingo and on the left, Blessed Reginald of Orleans receiving the scapular from the hands of the Virgin. On the sides St. Peter Martyr and St. Augustine were represented. The author indicates that in 1403 carving columns and ornaments were added. Leandro de Saralegui already identified some of the paintings of this great altarpiece with a predella with scenes from the life of Santo Domingo de Guzmán which are now preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Valencia and that attributed to Pere Nicolau, relating it stylistically with the Sarrión altarpiece (Museum of Fine Arts of Valencia) and with the *Gozos de la Virgen* (Museum of Fine Arts of Bilbao)³². The

32. Saralegui, Leandro de. "Miscelánea de tablas...": 103-104; Saralegui, Leandro de. *El Museo provincial...*: 59-69 (pictures 17-20).



catalogs of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1847 and 1850 contain references to the “Asuntos de la Vida de Santo Domingo. Tablas al óleo y temple. Escuela alemana”, a piece that entered the museum with the Confiscation in 1837³³.

This is actually a piece of the predella with three panels in which passages from the “Golden Legend” are represented. So from left to right: *El sueño de Juana de Aza*, according to which the mother of St. Domingo dreams she had a dog in her gut (black and white, like the habit of the Dominicans) with a flame in its mouth while coming out, as a symbol of preaching; *el Sueño de Inocencio III*, that tells the story of the pope dreaming that Santo Domingo maintains the collapsing Lateran Basilica as a reference to the crisis of the Roman church; and *La ordalía de Fanjeaux*, the trial to save the Catholic books from heretical books. According to the size of these preserved pieces (88 x 172 cm.) and its structural characteristics, they should correspond to the predella of an altarpiece of considerable size, which perfectly matches the description of Teixidor. We can sum up the reference year 1403 to all of this, when carving ornaments were added, a fact that indicates that the altarpiece must have been painted before that date. All data presented allow us to relate the testamentary document of Peirona Llançol to the predella of the Museum of Fine Arts of Valencia. The family devotion to the convent of Santo Domingo, and essentially the elevated payment to the painters Pere Nicolau and Marçal de Sas in 1400 are crucial elements to support this hypothesis. On the other hand, a detailed analysis of the technical and pictorial style of the paintings of the Dominicans allows us to visualize differential aspects between the physiognomy of the represented characters. The models of the tonsured apprentices next to Santo Domingo, start from the same formal pattern, typical of the creative schemes of Pere Nicolau, something that can also be found in the altarpieces of the Museum Bilbao and Sarrión. Our painter uses thin and transparent-colored brush strokes with great confidence in the drawing, as if it were a miniaturist, resolving directional lights with a white touch. The hands, with long fingers, follow the fashion introduced by Starnina, as can be seen in the altarpiece of Bonifacio Ferrer. Furthermore, the figures that appear in the second term are more expressive and absurd, approaching the models of Marçal de Sas in *Duda de Santo Tomás* in the Cathedral of Valencia.

In conclusion, the contributed documents allow us to support the hypothesis that the painters Pere Nicolau and Marçal de Sas painted the main altarpiece of the convent of Santo Domingo of Valencia in 1400, an important work of which three predella scenes are still preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts of Valencia. The work was commissioned by Peirona Llançol, Lluís Boil's wife, who was destined to fulfill the wishes of her husband in relation to the same convent and Chapter House where he was buried.

Social clashes between Valencian lineages factions of different sides in the early 15th century caused many deaths. The conflict spread to the artisans, crafts and corporations. In 1407 Ramón Boil was killed, nephew of Lluís Boil. A year later, on

33. Catalán, Joaquín. *Museo de Pintura y Escultura de la ciudad de Valencia*, 1847 (number 189); Catalán, Joaquín. *Catálogo de los cuadros que existen en el Museo de Pinturas establecido en el Convento del Carmen de esta capital*, 1850 (number 189).





ILLUSTRATIONS 6A AND 6B. PERE NICOLAU AND MARÇAL DE SAS, DETAIL, *PREDELA DE RETABLO DE SANTO DOMINGO*, 1400. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS OF VALENCIA. MARÇAL DE SAS, DETAIL, *INCREULIDAD DE SANTO TOMÁS*, MUSEU DE LA CATEDRAL DE VALÈNCIA.

July 25, tragedy struck the leading master painter in Valencia, Pere Nicolau. He was killed by Ramon Torres, squire of the noble Felip Boïl, brother of Ramón. We do not know what caused the one-armed Boïl to order the execution of the squire. It is has probably more to do with the leadership of Nicolau in the art of painters than with the painted altarpiece for his aunt Peirona in 1400.

Appendix

Document number 1

1408, September 1, Valencia.

The governor of the kingdom of Valencia sends for Bertomeu Miralles, his representative of the river Uxó (Castellón), because of the complaint of Jaume Mateu, relative of Pere Nicolau, murdered painter, that proceeds against Ramon Torres, squire of the noble Felip Boïl.

ARV. *Governació*, núm. 2.793, mà 1, f. 26r.



De nós, en Guillem Ramon de Muncada [Montcada], conseller e carmelenc del molt alt senyor rey e governador de regne de València, al honorable en Berthomeu Miralles, lochtinent de governador nostre del riu de Uxó en là, saluts e honor. Com vós tingats pres Ramon Torres, scuder del noble mossèn Phelip Boil, d'aquell és nomenat e denunciât denant nos e cort nostre per en Jacme Matheu, parent e conijuncta persona de Pere Nicholau, pintor occís, cridat del qual clam clos e segellat et fide plenissima adibeatur, vos trametem pertal de part del dit senyor rey, vos dehim e manam que encontinent proceschats contra la persona de aquell e altres caps per nos a vos comananats tro a sentència inclusive. E açò per res no detardats.

Datum Valencie, prima die septembris, anno a Nativitate Domini M^oCCCC^oVIII^o.

Document number 2

1408, September 2, Valencia.

Trial against Ramon Torres, squire of the noble Felip Boil, concerning the events that occurred in la Vila de Castellón during an assault against the prison. In the report of Bartomeu Miralles, representative of the river Uxó, it is said that Ramon Torres is connected with the death of Pere Nicolau.

ARV. *Governació*, núm. 2.198.

[...] era vengut a la vila de Castelló en Ramon Torres, scuder del dit noble mossèn Felip Boil, lo qual se dehia que seria stat en diverses aguats ab lo dit noble mossèn Felip Boil, per matar alcun officials reyls e altres persones e sia stat a la mort d'en Pere Nicholau, pintor, ab lo dit mossèn Felip [...].

Document number 3

1416, July 1. Valencia.

Inventory made by Jaume Romeu and Joan Lançol, substitutes of Guerau and Arnau Lançol, executors of the will of Peyrona Lançol, wife of Lluís Boil, in which letters pertinent to the inheritance of the deceased in which, among others, a receipt is registered dated October 15, 1400 in which Pere Nicolau and Marçal de Sas, painters of Valencia, declare to have received 2,000 salaries for the realization of an altarpiece.

APCCV. *Protocol de Pere Biqueran*, no. 25.322³⁴.

D[i]e [mer]curii, prima mensis iulii, anno predicto MCCCCXVI.

Com per esguinar tota form e [...] [mar]mess[ors], tudors e curadors de [...] deffunt[...] son tenguts fer [...] que aquells per traspasament [...] o amagar se pusquen. Em peramor de açò yo, en Jacme Romeu, menor de dies, cavaller, habitador de València, marmessor e

34. Document cited by Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión...*: 552-557.



execudor ensemps ab lo honorable mossèn³⁵ Johan Lançol, cavaller, habitador de la dita ciutat³⁶, subrogats en loch dels honorables mossèn Guerau Lançol, canonge e deguà de la Seu [de] València, e de mossèn Arnau Lançol, cavaller, habitador de la dita ciutat, \deffunts/, marmes[sors] e execudors del derrer testament [de la] noble madona Peyrona Lançol, muller [del] noble mossèn Loís Boil, deffuncts, segons [de la dita] marmissoria consta per testament [per la] dita noble madona Peyrona feyt a tres dies de juliol en [el any] MCCCC e publicat per lo dit notari [Pere de Loças], mes e any MCCCC. E[...] sub rogacionibus mei et dicti [hon] orabilis Iohannis [L]ançol cum duobus [...] in curia officialatus Valencie confrates iudiciales coram honorabili [...] Bartholomeo Salat, clerico, locumtenenti [...] officialis Valencie, uno scilicet [...] Lançol, XI die m[ar]cii, anno a [Nativitate Domini mill]lesimo CCCCº quintodecimo, in posse discreti Bernardi Floris, notarii publici, dictam curiam regentis, alio vero nostri dicti Iacobi, XIII die septembris dicti anni millesimi quadragesimi quintidecimi in posse discreti Berengarii Dezcamps, notarii. Dels quals bens de la dita madona Peyrona, la noble madona Aldonça Lançol fon usufructuaria de tota sa vida e, après mort de la dita madona Aldonça Lançol, los dits bens fossen per sos marmessors e per [...] surrogats en lo dit testament [...] e donats segons per lo dit testament app[ar] [...] per tal lo senyal de la Santa e Verdadera Cr(+) eu precedent dels [...] e drets que apresent he atrobat [...] bens de la dita marmessoria [...]. Confès e en veritat reconech [haver] atrobats tots aquells XVI milia [sous], VII diners e M, los quals son es[tats entre]gats a la dita marmessoria [...] e [...] per los honorables [mossèn] en Gar(cia) Pont e en Dionís Cerverà per les causes e rahons en la dita sen[tència] contengudes e expressades, la qu[al] fon [sig]nada en Valencia, a XII dies de deembre de l'any M CCCCXV en posse de [...] Joan de Caldes, notari, [...]. [La qual] sentència és començat sots kalendari de XXVII de setembre del dit any MCCCCXV en poder del dit notari, segons en la dita sentència largament és contengut.

Ítem, enaprés confés haver atrobats los títols e cartes e \altres scriptures/ per la dita marmessoria faens:

Primerament, una carta en la qual appar com los honorables [mossèn] Pere Maresme, cavaller, e micer [Guillem] Çaera, licenciat en leys, ha[b]itador de València, axí com a tudors e generals administradors dels bens de la [no]b[le] Matheua de Castellet, filla e hereua [de la no]ble n·Aldonça Lançol, muller quòndam [noble n·][Anth]oni de Castellet, deffunt, [.....] e transportaren a nosaltres, dits [marmessors], en pagua e prorrata de [...] quinze milia cent dotze sous [...] [...] testades a nos appar [...] per los dits mossèn Pere [Maresme] e micer Guillem Çaera, en los dits noms, de aquells XVII^m CCCCLXXIII sous, VII diners en los quals foren condemp[nats a pagar segons la] dessús dita sentència [...] [a nosa]ltres, dits marmessors, la qual fon feta en València a V de juny de l'any present MCCCCXVI, closa per lo discret en Jacme de Blanes, notari.

Ítem, altra carta pública ab la qual appar com los nobles mossèn Pere de Centelles e na Johana de Centlir, muller sua, e³⁷ l'onrat en Jacme Dezplà, notari, en lurs noms propis e la dita na Johana, axí com a hereua uni[versal] de tots los bens e drets que foren de [la ho]norable dona na Sança, muller [de l'ho]norable n·Arnau Scrivà, cavaller, vene[ren] a la noble n·Aldonça Lançol, muller del [quòndam] noble n·Anthoni de Castellet, [com] a dona

35. Marked text: "Eximen Pereç".

36. Marked text: "ensemps del".

37. Text: "en Jac".



poderosa e usufructuaria [e general] administradora de tots [los bens] e drets que foren de la [dita] noble [madona] Peyrona Lançol, de una part de tres-[cent] setanta-tres sous, moneda [reals] València, censals, rendals e anuals de loïme, fadiga etcètera, per preu de [...] tres milia DCCCXXXIX sous de la [dita] moneda, e de altra part veneren a la dita noble dona CCXXVII sous, censals, rendals e anuals [...] [per] preu de dos milia moneda [reals de València] [...]. Los quals censals pugen en quantitat de sis-cents sous carregats specialment e expressa sobre aquelles M^e D sous censals, los quals lo honorable en Johan de Boil, habitador de València, senyor de Maçalavêç, e na Blanca de Bonastre a la dita madona Sança carregaven sobre lo dit loch de Maçal[avêç], segons consta de la venda dels [dits] sis-cents sous ab carta pública feta en València a XXIII de juliol, any [M] CCCCVII, closa per lo discret en Johan [...] [notari], una clausula del testament [de la] dita madona Sança ab la qual [.....] dita madona Johana [...] és hereua, feta en València a [...] de juliol, any MCCCCXII, [clo]sa [per lo discre]t en Bernat de Montalbà, notari.

[Íte]m, altra carta pública ab la qual [appar] com los honorables en Johan [de Boil], senyor del loch de Maçalavêç, e na Blanca de Bonastre, muller sua, veneren a la honorable madona Sança, muller del quòndam honorable n·Arnau Scrivà, [...] censals carregats sobre lo dit loch per preu de denou milia e cinch-cents sous, ab carta pública feta en València a XXVIII de abril, any M^eCCCLXXXI, closa per lo discret en Jacme Maestre, notari.

Ítem, altra carta pública feta en València, XXX die iunii, anno a Nativitate Domini millesimo CCC^oLXXX^oIIII^o, rebut en València e clos per lo discret Pere Basella, notari, per lo qual appar que l noble en [Johan] de Boil vene al noble en Pere de M[ontagut], senyor del loch de la Alcudia, cinch-cent sous censals per preu de sis milia sous, [segons] un trellat de la propdita carta feta en València a XV de octubre en [l'any] de la [Nativitat] de Nostre Senyor mil CCCC, clos e [signat] per lo dit Pere Basella, [notari].

[Ítem, altra] carta pública per la qual appar que en Pere de Montagut vene a la no[ble] Damiata de Boil, muller quòndam del [noble] Dalmau de Cruelles, los dits D sous [...], feta en València a XXIX de octubre, [any M] CCCLXIXVI, rebuda per lo discret en Pere [Basella], notari.

Ítem, altra carta o trellat de la dita carta fet en València a XV d'octubre any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, altre trellat per lo qual appar que lo honorable en Pere Eximeneç de Lomberri vene al dit noble en Loïs de Boil un alberch situat en la parròquia de Sent Esteve de la dita ciutat, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari, lo segon dia d'abril any MCCCXCVII³⁸.

Ítem, un testament [pú]blich de la dita noble madona Pey[ro]na en dues peces de pergami, lo qual [fon fet en] València a III de juliol, any de la Nativitat de Nostre Senyor mil [...], e clos per lo discret en Pere [Basella, notari].

Ítem, un inventari fet [per l'hono]rable mossèn Guerau Lançol, ca[nonge] d[e la] Seu de València, e mossèn Arnau [Lançol], cavaller, e n·Aldonça Lançol, axí [com a] marmessors de la dita noble ma[dona] Peyrona dels bens seus, fet en València a XXI de juliol, any M^oCCCC, clos per lo discret en Pere de Loças, notari.

38. Marked text: “Ítem, altra carta pública feta en València a XXIII de juliol, any M[...], rebuda e closa per lo discret en Johan [...], notari, per la qual”.



Ítem, un quern de paper en lo qual eren escrites XIII cartes majors en lo qual [...] de la dita marmessoria de la noble madona Peyrona scrit de propia mà del dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altre quern de paper en lo qual eren escrites VII cartes majors e era la almoneda dels bens de la dita noble madona Peyrona Lançol.

Ítem, altre quern de paper en lo qual eren scrites quatre cartes majors en lo qual eren expressades les solucions [...] de la marmessoria de la dita noble [ma]dona Peyrona.

Ítem, una carta [...] solució feta per lo honorable mossèn [...] Dolç, doctor en decrets, [...] procurador del senyor bisbe de València, a[ls] marmessors de la dita madona [Peyrona] Lançol, de la reddició de [...] marmessoria, fet en València en] la cort del oficial de la [...] a XXI de juliol, en l'any [de la Nativitat] de Nostre Senyor MCCCC, clos [e signat] per lo discret en Bernat Floris, [notari].

Ítem, una carta de època per la [qual] lo honorable mossèn Guerau Lançol confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors de la dita madona [Peyrona] XXV lliures per rahó de [...] [de la] dita marmessoria, fet en València lo noven dia de setembre, en l'any de la Nativitat de Nostre Senyor MCCCCII, clos e signat per lo dit en Pere de Locas.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo honorable mossèn Bringuer Vives de Cavemarc, cavaller, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors M sous reals de València, fet en València lo primer dia de febrer del dit any MCCCCII, clos e signat per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual la dona na Francesca, filla quòndam d'en Johan Fuster, confessa haver rebut [dels] dits marmessors sis-cents sous, [feta en] València a VII de febrer de l'any [...], closa e sotssignada per lo dit Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta de època per] la qual lo discret en Pere Fabra confessa haver hauds e rebuds [dels dits] marmessors XXX florins d'or [comuns] d'Aragó, feta en València, lo VII de febrer del dit any MCCCCII, [closa] e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [altra carta] de època per la qual n-Anthoni Bo[...] confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors C sous, feta en València lo primer dia de març del propdit any, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual la dona na Lorença, muller d'en Francesch Ferrando, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, feta en València a nou de juny, any MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo dit [en] Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta [de època] per la qual en Berenguer Fabra, ciutadà de València, c[onfe]ssa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CC sous, feta en València a XIII de juliol, any dessus dit MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època [per la qual] lo honorable en Jacme [...], [...] de València, confessa haver rebut dels [dits] marmessors mil sous reals [de València], feta en València a II de octubre [del des]ús dit any, closa e signada per [...] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo honorable en Bernat Lançol, [habita]dor de València, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors doents sous, feta en València a tres de octubre del dit any M[...], closa e signada per lo dit en Pere [de] Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo honorable mossèn Arnau Lançol, cavaller, habitador de València, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors XX florins d'or comuns de Aragó, feta en València a XXIX de juliol en l'any de la Nativitat de Nostre Senyor MCCCChu, closa e signada per lo dit notari.



Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo honorable mossèn Ramon Boil, cavaller, habitador de València, hereu universal de tots los bens e drets que quòndam foren del noble en Loís de Boil, cavaller, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors diverses quantitats de moneda, feta en València a XIX de juliol, [any] MCCCC[...], [closa] e signada per lo dit en [Pere Base]lla, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca [per la qual lo] honorable mossèn Jacme Ro[meu], [cavaller], habitador de València, tudor [e curad]or dels fills e hereus del honorable [Bereng]uer Lançol, cavaller, senyor [del caste]ll o vall de Vilalongua, confessa [haver] rebut dels dits marmessors qua[...] milia sous, feta en València lo nove dia de agost, en l'any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, [...] un full de paper en lo qual eren los legats fets per la dita noble madona Peyrona Lançol a les parròquies de València, en lo qual eren los segells dels dits parròquies.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual en Pere Nicholau e Mestre Marçal, pintors, confessaren³⁹ haver rebut dels dits marmessors dos milia cent sous restants de maj[or] quantitat per rahó de un retaule, feta en València a XV de octubre, any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual [lo honorable] Draquo de los Campos confessa haver [re]buts dels dits marmessors VI[...] d'or comuns d'Aragó, feta en València [a die] XIII de juliol, any MCCCC [...], [closa e signada] per lo dit en Pere [...], notari.

[Ítem], altra carta de àpoca [per la qual lo honorable] [...] Bonshomes, apotecari, confessa haber reebut dels dits marmessors [...], feta en València a XIII de j[...] MCCCChu, closa e signada [per] [...], notari.

Ítem, un albarà per lo qual frare Johan Dominguo de l'orde de Sent Johan de Hierusalem, confessa haver rebut [dels dits] marmessors quatre florins e mig d'or comuns d'Aragó, feta en València a XII de juliol, any MCCCCI.

Ítem, altre albarà per lo qual n-Anthoni Belloc, prevere, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XXVI sous, fet en València a dos de juliol, any MCCCCI.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual la dona na Sibila de Romaní, muller quòndam d'en Ramon Dezsplà, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors C sous, feta en València a XII de juliol del dit any MCCCCI, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual en Pere Roqua, notari, [confe]ssa haver [re]but dels dits marmessors XI florins d'or comuns d'Aragó, [feta en] València a XXX de octubre, any mil [...], [closa e] signada per lo dit en Pere [...], notari.

[Ítem], altra carta de àpoca per la qual [la dona] Bertomeua, muller [de] [...], laurador de València, confessa [haver re]but dels dits marmessors setanta [...], fet en València a XIII d'agost, any [...], closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [alium] instrumentum apoce per lo qual lo honorable mossèn Berenguer Vives de Canemars, cavaller, senyor del loch de Benifayó, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors u[n]es cor[tines] de cendat verd e un cubertor, feta en València a XXI de juliol, any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual la dona Francescha, muller quòndam d'en Joan Fuster, texidor de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors trenta florins d'or

39. "confessaren" repeated twice.



[comuns] d'Aragó, feta en València a XIII de agost, any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo honorable mossèn Guerau Lançol, canonge de la Seu de València, confessa haver reebut de la dita noble madona [Al]donça Lançol, axí com a usufructuaria dels bens de la dita noble madona [Aldonça] Lançol, mil sous reals de València, [feta] en València a XIX de febrero, [any] [...], closa e signada [per lo dit Pere] de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra [carta de àpoca] per la qual en Johan [...] [con]fessa haver reebut dels dits [marmes]sors tres florins d'or comuns [d'Aragó], feta en València a XI de agost, [en l'] any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta [de àpoca] per la qual en Vicent Serra, fuster, confessa haver reebut dels marmessors quinze florins e mig d'or comuns d'Aragó, feta en València a XI d'abril, any dessús dit MCCCCI, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per al qual lo dit en Vicent Serra, fuster, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors do-ents sous, feta en València a dos d'octubre any MCCCC, closa per lo dit [notari].

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la [qual] en Pere Lopeç, mercader, confessa [hav]er reebut dels dits marmessors VII [...] sous, VI diners, feta en València a [...] de deembre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [altra carta de] àpoca per la qual en Johan [...] confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors VII florins d'o[r] comuns d'Ara[gó], [feta e]n València a XVIII [...] del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual frare Thomas Gaçò, del monestir de frares prey[cado]rs de València, confessa haver haut dels [dits] marmessors quatre-cents sous, la qual [fon] feta en València⁴⁰ a XVI de noembre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual appar com en Francesch Company, laurador de València confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual fon [feta] en València a XIX d'abril de l'any MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo discret en Pere Bonanat, notari, procurador del monestir de la Çaydia, confessa haver reebut [dels] dits marmessors cent sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de noembre de l'any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo [dit] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca [per la] qual frare Domingo Agramunt [del mo]nestir de frares preycadors [de València] confessa haver reebut dels [dits marmes]sors cent sous, la qual fon [feta en Valèn]cia a XXIII de noembre [del di]t any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo dit frare Dominguo Agramunt, prior del dit monestir, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CCVIII sous, feta en València a XIII d'agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo propdit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual frare Guillem Ortoneda, del monestir de frares preycadors de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual fon feta en València a II d'octubre de l'any dessús dit MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual en Nicholau Perpenyà, pre[vere], [admini]strador e distribuïdor dels percases de la esglèsia de Sent Esteve, [con]fessa] haver reebut dels dits

40. Marked text: "per lo prop dit".



marmessors [certes] quantitats de moneda, [la qual fon] feta en València a XX de juliol de l'any MCCCC, closa e signada [per el dit] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de [àpoca per] la qual frare Francesch [...] [del] dit monestir de frares preycadors de València, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual [fon] feta en València a VI d'octubre de l'any Mil CCCC, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual lo dit [fra]re Bertomeu Gaçò, del dit monestir de frares preycadors, confessa haver reebut [dels dits] marmessors cent sous, la qual fon feta en València a VI d'octubre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual frare Francesc Eximeneç, del monestir de frares menors de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cent sous, feta en València a VI d'octubre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual lo discret en Matheu Agramunt, prevere, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors, cinquanta sous [com] a procurador de la casa de Sent La[tzer], feta en València a XXVI d'agost [del dit] any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo [dit] en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, [altra carta de àpoca] per la qual na Elionor [...], prioressa del monestir de [...], confessa haver reebut dels [dits marmessors] XXX sous, la qual fon [feta en] València a XXVI de agost de dessús dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual frare Berenguer [...], [del] monestir de la Trenitat, confessa [haver] reebut dels dits marmessors [...], la qual fon feta en València a XXV de agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual la honorable na Clara March, abadessa del monestir de la Çaydia, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors L sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXVI de agost de l'any dessús dit MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca [per la qual] sor Margalida de Xenoneyers, [abadessa] del monestir de Santa Clara, [confessa haver] reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXV d'agost del propdit any [MCCCC], closa e signada per lo dit notari.

[Ítem, altra c]arta de àpoca per la qual Francesch de Sent[...], prior del monestir de Santa [Maria del] Carme, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors L sous, feta en València a X[...] d'agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual frare Dominguo Loret, prior del monestir de Sant Gerònim, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors [...], la qual fon feta en València a XXV d'agost del propdit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual frare Johan de Josa, procurador del monestir de Santa Maria de la Mercé de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XXXX sous, la qual fon feta en València a XX[...] d'agost del propdit any MCCCC, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual frare Francesch Gostantí, prior del monestir de [Sent] Agostí de València, confessa h[aver rebut] dels dits marmessors cinquanta [sous], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de agost del propdit any MCCCC, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [altra] ca[rta de] àpoca per la qual frare Bernat [...], guardià del monestir de [...] de València, confessa haver reeb[ut dels dits] marmessors L sous, la qual [fon] feta en València a [...] d'agost del propdit any, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo discret en Jacme Vilatzen, notari, procurador del monestir de Santa Maria Mag[da]le[na], confessa haver reebut dels dits [m]ar[mess]ors L sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXV d'agost del dit any, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual en Gabriel [...]als, draper, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors X florins d'or comuns d'Aragó, la qual fon feta en València a [...] d'agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Pere Sanxo, sartre de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits [marme]ssors cent-trenta sous, la qual [fon feta] en València a XIII d'agost del [dit any] MCCCC, closa e signada per lo [dit notari].

Ítem, altra carta d'època per [la qual] appar com en Johan Bonshoms [...] confessa haver reebut dels dits [marme]ssors certes quantitats de moneda, la [qual fon] feta en València a XI de agost del [dit any] MCCCC, closa per lo dit en Pere [...], notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època [per la qual] en [G]u[il]lem Portales, apothecari, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors tre-ents nou sous, XI diners, la qual fon feta en València a XXX de juliol del dit any Mil CCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per [la qual] en Thomas de Caxi, mercader de València, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors quaranta florins e quatre sous d'or comuns de Aragó, la qual fon feta en València a XXIX de juliol del propdit any, closa per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo discret n-Albert Fexinet, prevere, maïoral e clavari de la confraria de la Verge Maria, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XI lliures, VI sous, feta en València a XXVIII de juliol del dit any, closa per lo [dit notari].

Ítem, altra carta de època [per la qual] lo discret en Pere d'Orcal, prevere [beneficiat] en la Seu de València, procurador [...] de la dita Seu, confessa haver [rebut] dels dits marmessors XX[...], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de juliol del dit any en poder del dit notari.

Ítem, altra [carta de època per] la qual en Draquo [...] confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XVII florins [d'or comuns] d'Aragó, la qual fon feta en València a XVII de setembre del dit any en poder del dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de [època per la qual] frare Dominguo Gil, prevere, [...] casa de sant Johan de Hierusalem, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CXIII sous, VI diners, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de juliol, any damunt dit, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Bernat Balaquer, corredor de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors quaranta-quatre lliures, dos sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de juliol del propdit any, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta [de època] per la qual n-Anthoni Navarro confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors mil sous, la qual fon feta en València a VIII de juny, any MCCCCIII, [closa] per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

[Ítem, altra] carta de època per la qual en [Draquo] de los Campos, ciutadà de València, e [...], muller sua, confessaren haver [rebut dels dits] marmessors M sous, la qual fon feta en València a VII de juliol del propdit any MCCCCIII, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta per la qual na Sanxa Esplugues, muller quòndam del honorable [...] Roig de Corella, confessa haver [rebut dels] dits marmessors do-ents sous, la qual fon feta en València a [...] juny en l'any de la Nativitat de Nostre [Senyor] MCCCCIII, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.



Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual en Johan Fuster, clergue de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CC sous, feta en València a VI de [ju]liol del dit any MCCCCIII, closa e signada per lo propdit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual en Ramon Bo[...], corredor, confessa haver reebut dels dits [mar]messors quinze florins d'or comuns de Aragó, feta en València a XXVIII de març en l'any MCCCCIII en poder del dit [notari].

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la [qual lo] honorable mossèn Arnau Lançol, [cavaller], habitador de València, confessa haver [rebut] dels dits marmessors quatre-cents [...], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de març del propdit any MC[...], [closa per lo dit] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo discret en [...], notari, confessa haver [rebut dels dits] marmessors XIII florins [d'or comuns] d'Aragó, feta en València a XXVII de març del dit any MCCCCIII, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual la noble madona Sanxa Lançol, [muller] del honorable en Dalmau de [...], [confessa] haver reebut dels dits marmessors sis milia sous de reals de València, los quals la dita noble madona Peyrona li havia lexat, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de març del dit any MCCCCIII, closa e signada pe lo dit en Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual la dita noble madona Aldonça Lançol confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors VI milia sous, los quals la dita deffuncta li havia lexat, la qual [fon] feta en València a XXIII de març del [dit] any MCCCCIII, closa per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de ab[...] feta entre los nobles [...] Boil e los dits mossèn Arnau [Lançol], Guerau e madona Aldonça [Lançol], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de juliol, any MCCCCI, closa e signada [per el] dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, [altra] carta de àpoca per la qual lo honorable mossèn Arnau Lançol confesa haver reebut dels dits marmessors de una [part] [...] milia sous e d'altra part mil sous [...] [que la] dita deffuncta a ell [havia lexat], la qual fon feta a XXIII de març del propdit [any M] CCCCCIII, closa per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual na Sança [...] Pomar, muller quòndam del honorable n-Arnau Sanç, ciutadà de Xàtiva, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cent sous, los quals la dita deffuncta li havia lexat, la qual fon feta en València a X de octubre de l'any MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo discret en Ramon Dez[...], notari.

Ítem, un albarà destrictual del honorable justícia de la ciutat de València tro en suma de CCC sous de XX florins d'or comuns d'Aragó, lo qual fon fet en València a XIX de juliol en [el any] MCCCCI.

Aquest son aquelles cartes, cauteles, scriptures e alb[arans] que a present ha atrobat ésser [e pertanyer] a la dita marmessoria [.....] que si d'aquí avant atrobars [altres] bens ésser e pertanyer a la dita [marmessoria], aquelles pusca posar en [...] en altre inventari [...] esdevenirdor.

Testimonis foren a les dites coses apellats lo honorable e discret Gerard Dezponte, Dionís Cerverà, notari, ciutadans de València.



PATRIMONIAL ARCHIVES AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY: THE NECESSARY DIALOGUE

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Date of receipt: 1st of December, 2012
Final date of acceptance: 10th of October, 2013

ABSTRACT

This article expounds on the importance of patrimonial archives for the understanding of medieval history, specifically in Catalonia. The problems surrounding this particular type of archives will be presented in order to grasp their significance. The main issue is accessibility, which, in turn, poses several difficulties for researchers attempting to study these holdings. Possible solutions will also be suggested. The article focuses on a particular patrimonial archive, the Fontcuberta Archive, whose features and medieval holdings will be properly described. We will also deal with the actions currently in progress in order to provide access for the scientific community¹.

KEY WORDS

Catalan Patrimonial Archives, Medieval History, Archive Digitization, ARQUIBANC Project, Fontcuberta Archive.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Archivia patrimonii Cataloniae, Medii Aevi historia, archivium digitale, institutum ARQUIBANC, Archivium Fontcuberta.

Nowadays, historians have naturally assumed Lucien Febvre's idea that history needs every single available text. He added that, besides archive holdings, other kinds of sources were also necessary². Many years have passed since he wrote those words, but it is to our understanding that they are still valid and must be taken into account. Otherwise, historical studies would be partial, fragmentary and, ultimately, incomplete. That is, at least, the theory, but the actual practise can be quite different. Moreover, we endorse Flocel Sabaté's statement that *en el cas de Catalunya, és ben clar que els nombrosos dipòsits de pergamins ens recorden sovint que tenim la gosadia d'escriure la història medieval del país quan sols controlem minúsculs percentatges del contingut de les petges documentals*³. That is, according to him, a considerable amount of documents remain outside the archive holdings accessible to researchers. Those documents make up the bulk of private archives. Among them we find family archives, personal archives, company archives, organizational archives and patrimonial archives. The situation has changed a lot since 1997 and Flocel Sabaté's comment, and the archival work on such documents has increased steadily on account of both the initiative of the Administration and academic research. It is also worth mentioning here the initiatives launched by several associations, such as the History Workshop of Maçanet de la Selva, cited by Santi Soler⁴. Such circumstances have promoted the use of patrimonial documents for research. This article will focus on the general situation of patrimonial archives in Catalonia and their value to medieval history. Patrimonial archives are the object of this article because they are the most suitable private archives for the study of several aspects of the medieval period.

1. Patrimonial Archives from the Perspective of Archival Science and History

In 2002, a renowned study on patrimonial archives brought to the fore several ideas related to such documentary holdings⁵. It established the concept of patrimonial archive, distinguishing it from other types of archives, and described the kind of documents preserved there, as well as the archival treatment they had received. However, the study by Pere Gifré, Josep Matas and Santi Soler was not only intended for archivists. It was also meant for historians and researchers who worked on such archives, since an in-depth study of a patrimonial archive is not

1. Projects HAR2008-01748; HAR2012-33755 and PGIR-08/09. Used abbreviations: DOGC, Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya.

2. Febvre, Lucien. *Combates por la Historia*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1970: 29-30.

3. "in the case of Catalonia, it is very clear that the numerous stores of parchments often remind us that we have the boldness to write the medieval history of the country when we only control minuscule percentages of the contents of the documentary traces" (Sabaté, Flocel. "Pròleg", *Pergamins de Privilegis de la ciutat de Balaguer*, Dolors Domingo. Lleida: Universitat de Lleida-Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1997: 8).

4. Soler, Santiago. "Els arxius patrimonials". *Revista de Girona*, 197 (1999): 67-69.

5. Gifré, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials*. Girona: CCG Edicions, 2002.



possible without understanding its structure, the typologies of its documents, the history of its formation and the family that generated it, etc. Therefore, working with patrimonial archives requires a close relationship between archival science and history, although both disciplines have to bear in mind their own goals.

On the basis of these considerations, we would like to draw attention to the increasing interest in patrimonial archives, from the point of view of both archival science and history⁶. Thus, the Administration promotes the recovery of patrimonial archives and their inclusion in public archives by means of donations, deposits and other legal figures. Archival treatment involves not only the deposit but also the arrangement and description of documents. These tasks must be performed with the final goal in mind, that is, facilitating the access of researchers to those documents. Immediately after the inclusion of patrimonial archives in the public system, archivists carry out the necessary arrangement and description and, sometimes, disseminate the archive's contents through publications⁷. The purpose behind the publication of inventories or the announcement of the existence of a particular patrimonial archive is fostering research as well as encouraging the deposit of those archives in order to preserve them and facilitate their consultation. In this way, the archive network of the Generalitat of Catalonia preserves in its depositories a considerable number of patrimonial archives, most of which are at the disposal of researchers and other users. In 2002, considering only the region of Girona, 30% of the patrimonial holdings were preserved in public archives, while the rest was still in private hands⁸. However, those data have changed over time, since Catalan public archives periodically receive patrimonial archives, as well as other types of fonds. This growing trend is part of the preservation policy of the private documentary heritage promoted by the Catalan Administration. In 2010, therefore, 682 patrimonial archives were preserved in public archives, which meant 4,841 linear metres of documents⁹. 602 archives include finding aids, although that number is constantly changing because Catalan archives are currently carrying out a remarkable descriptive task¹⁰. The archival policy also involves the development of a census of Catalan archives. That census has already been completed in thirteen districts, while the work is currently in progress in seventeen other districts and,

6. Gifre, Pere. *Els Arxius patrimonials. Possibilitats historiogràfiques*. Figueres: Arxiu Històric comarcal-Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos, 1992.

7. Roig, Marisa. "Inventari d'un arxiu patrimonial: els Delhom-Gibert de Castelló d'Empúries". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos*, 29 (1996): 343-352; Roig, Marisa. "L'Arxiu patrimonial Bosch Aymerich de Castelló d'Empúries". *Villa Castilionis Impuriarum: Revista cultural de Castelló d'Empúries*, 2 (1996): 61-65.

8. Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials...*: 99-103.

9. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura. "Estadística d'Arxius, Informe 2010". 19 December 2012. <http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/CulturaDepartament/SSCC/GT/Arxius%20GT/Informe_Arxius_2010_def2.pdf>.

10. Arxiu Comarcal de la Ribera. *Butlletí informatiu*, 6 (2012): 5. A recent exemple is the case of the patrimonial funds of the Domènech-Martí family, from Vinebre. The funds spans from the 17th to the 19th century and is deposited in the District Archive of Ribera d'Ebre.



by June 2012, it had not yet started in the remaining eleven¹¹. The Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya ("National Archive of Catalonia") has led the implementation of that policy and those initiatives. For years now, it has been receiving company archives¹², as well as personal and patrimonial archives¹³. Patrimonial archives can also be found in other public institutions, such as district archives or the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón ("Archive of the Crown of Aragon"). The latter includes remarkable patrimonial archives, for instance, part of the documents from the Sentmenat Archive, whose descriptions are available at the archive's website.

However, such initiatives are not only the result of some political will, archival trend or historiographical interest. Laws also deal with private archives, and the law must be abided by. Law 9/1993 of 30 September on Catalan Cultural Heritage¹⁴ specifies that private documents belong to the Catalan documentary heritage. Law 10/2001 of 13 July on Archives and Documents remarks that private archives are also included within its scope, and establishes several regulations for their owners. They must have an inventory of their archives and facilitate the access of researchers¹⁵, which leads us to the next idea we would like to discuss.

There is a significant increase in the number of research projects based on patrimonial archives. Llorenç Ferrer, in his contribution to the 1st International Symposium *Patrimonial Archives: Current Situation and Future Challenges*, held in Barcelona on 1-2 June 2011, noted this fact. However, he also pointed out that the use of such archives is more frequent among historians devoted to modern or contemporary history than among medievalists. The research line promoted by the Rural History Research Centre at the Universitat de Girona is also focused on the Modern Era. However, our interest is not to so much to insist on the fact that, unlike other historians, medievalists barely use such archives, rather the opposite. Our purpose is to look at the situation from a positive angle that takes into account the long way yet to go.

Pierre Vilar already noted the relevance of patrimonial archives for historical research, and included that concern in his study on modern Catalonia¹⁶. Since then, many others have used patrimonial archives as a source of information. Nevertheless, they kept in mind Lucien Febvre's idea, namely, that a single kind of documentary source or archive is not enough. It is necessary to complete the number of sources, to contrast them and elaborate the information they provide.

11. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura. "Cens d'Arxius de Catalunya". 19 December 2012 <<http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/CulturaDepartament>>.

12. Fernández, Josep. "Los archivos empresariales en Cataluña. Balance de 15 años de actuación del Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya". *Revista de Historia Industrial*, 9 (1996): 183-198.

13. Fernández, Josep. "Aproximació al contingut dels arxius nobiliaris i el seu interès per a la investigació". *Butlletí de l'Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya*, 28 (2011): 2-8. For instance, the archive of the Sentmenat family, marquises of Castellodorsius, whose parchments were catalogued and indexed in May 2012.

14. DOGC, n. 1807, 11/10/1993, article 19.2/b.

15. DOGC, n. 3437, 24/07/2001.

16. Vilar, Pierre. *Catalunya dins l'Espanya Moderna*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1986: I, 30 and following.



Coral Cuadrada used private archives for her work on medieval Maresme, besides other types of archives. She distinguished between those related to a noble patrimony (patrimonial archive of the marquis of Barberà) and small non-noble archives (Can Palau, Can Català, Escolapis, Can Vallmajor, Cuadrada-Gallifa family, Teresa Gallifa (Mataró); Can Beatriu, Can Calopa, Can Pins (Argentona); Can Cabanyes (Barcelona); Can Maïans (Vilassar de Dalt); Can Riera (Premià de Dalt); Can Senromà (Tiana); and Can Prats (Òrrius). According to Coral Cuadrada, one of the main features of these archives, is their variability, they can include from several documents to complete series¹⁷.

Mercè Aventín also uses patrimonial archives in her work on the Vallès Oriental. In her introduction she describes the sources she uses, delving into parochial archives, seigniorial archives and peasant farmhouses alike *per conèixer millor la pagesia, les causes de la seva prosperitat o davallada, les limitacions imposades als seus moviments i a les seves iniciatives econòmiques i familiars*¹⁸. Throughout the book, we find countless references to documents preserved in patrimonial archives. The presence of these data is justified by the author herself [...] *sovint es tracta de documents patrimonials no accessibles als estudiosos*¹⁹. Several years later, the same author made known the archives of Can Llobera (87 documents, dated between 1284 and 1630) and Can Bruniquer (38 documents, 1336-1604) through the publication of their inventories²⁰.

Although well outside the medieval period, we'd like to recall that one of the first remarkable works based on patrimonial documents was that of Eva Serra on the Senmenats²¹. Carme Sanmartí used her own family archive to study the Sanmartí farmhouse, on the basis of modern documents but also taking into account the medieval period —the parchment fonds starts in 1182 and continues through to 1617—²².

The aforementioned examples show that the scientific community has always used patrimonial fonds together with other archives. Pierre Vilar had pointed it out and the works we have cited so far proceeded accordingly. Patrimonial archives are used in order to complete the data of a study, whose documentary base is another, for example notarial documents, among others²³. They have also been

17. Cuadrada, Coral. *El Maresme Medieval: Hàbitat, Economia i Societat, segles X-XIV*. Mataró: Caixa Laietana, 1988: 23-27.

18. "in order to understand peasantry, the causes of its wealth or failure and the constraints imposed on their movements and their economic and familial initiatives" (Aventín, Mercè. *La societat rural a Catalunya en temps feudals*. Barcelona: Columna, 1996: 18).

19. "[...] These are often patrimonial documents not accessible to the scholars" (Aventín, Mercè. *La societat rural...*: 65).

20. Aventín, Mercè. *Documents per a la Història de Llinars del Vallès*. Llinars: Museu Municipal-Ajuntament de Llinars del Vallès, 1990.

21. Serra, Eva. *Pagesos i senyors a la Catalunya del segle XVI: baronia de Sentmenat 1590-1729*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1988; See also: Serra, Eva. "L'evolució d'un patrimoni nobiliari". *Recerques*, 5 (1975): 33-71.

22. Sanmartí, Carme. *La pagesia benestant al Bagès: el mas Sanmartí*. Manresa: Angle, 1995.

23. Codina, Jaume. *Contractes de matrimoni al Delta del Llobregat (segles XIV a XIX)*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1997. The author uses the documents preserved in his private archive. Fernández, Josep.



the essential basis of remarkable studies on the medieval period, complemented by royal, notarial or ecclesiastical documents²⁴. In some very specific cases, patrimonial archives, or certain documents preserved within them, have been included in documentary editions. In the *Diplomatari de Cardona* the author includes documents from the patrimonial archives of Mas Garriga de Bergús, Mas Palà de Coma, Mas Pinell, Franch and Mas Altamís²⁵. Only nine parchments over the total 509 that compose the diplomatarium come from patrimonial archives but, in any case, taking into account all the archives physically located in Cardona, including patrimonial archives, was a wise choice.

Thus, the work with patrimonial archives is just taking its first steps and there is still much to do. Archival initiatives and historical research will bear fruit, but we need to improve our knowledge of these archives as well as their accessibility. That is what Flocel Sabaté suggested, paraphrasing Jacques Heers, when he emphasized the importance of new documents coming into play²⁶. The existence of sufficient sources is always a concern when we face any historical study focused on the Middle Ages. In the case of medieval Catalonia, the exceptional archives and their first-class holdings ease that concern. The variety of available sources is remarkable. The extant documents include those issued by the royal power and mainly preserved in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, among which are to be noted the significant series of chancery records, as well as notarial documents certified by all sorts of rural notaries. However large the number of preserved documents, it surely does not encompass all the documents that each institution actually issued. Suffice it to look at the archives' finding aids to notice the gaps in the series of documents, which are larger for the medieval period than for the Modern Era. Therefore, any action that leads to the dissemination of new documents is both welcome and necessary, although a certain measure of caution is required in order to appraise the material in our hands²⁷. Thus, as we previously mentioned, the data concerning archives change over time, especially due to the inclusion in the archival circuit of documents so far unaccounted for, as in the case of the archive of the marquis of Barberà, with 12,000 parchments, that Flocel Sabaté used as an example.

"Grans establiments moliners a la Vall Baixa del riu Llobregat: els casals de Martorell, Sant Vicenç dels Horts i Molins de Rei (segles XII-XV)". *Estudis Històrics de Documents i Arxius de Protocols*, 26 (2008): 7-60.

24. Fernández, Josep. *Una família catalana medieval. Els Bell-lloc de Girona, 1267-1533*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1995.

25. Galera, Andreu. *Diplomatari de la vila de Cardona (anys 966-1276)*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1998.

26. See note 2.

27. [...] *hem de ser prou assenyats com per no creure que tot paperam que hom troba és històricament transcendent. Penso que no hem de creure-ho ni tan sols com a coartada per autojustificar-se el molt de temps esmerçat en realitzar una classificació i valoració del material documental* ("[...] we must be sensible enough to question the transcendence of every bit of extant historical paper. I do not think we have to take it for granted, not even as an excuse to justify to ourselves the huge amount of time invested in classifying and appraising the documentary material"). Sabaté, Flocel. *L'arxiu d'una masia: Can Prat*. Igualada: Centre d'Estudis Comarcals d'Igualada, 1991: 3.



2. The General Problems of Patrimonial Archives

When the Catalan archival sphere first addressed the issue of patrimonial archives, several problems were brought up: accessibility, preservation, lack of finding aids, etc. This suggests that there was already an interest in grasping and highlighting the reality of patrimonial archives and in intervening when necessary²⁸. The first step was to draw up an inventory of the patrimonial archives of the districts of Girona²⁹. Despite the initial impetus, however, there was no systematic follow-up, which led to our current lack of information on the existence of patrimonial archives, their preservation and contents.

One of the main problems any historian faces when trying to consult fonds preserved in private hands is the access to holdings that have not been deposited in public archives. Their owners do not always facilitate the consultation of their archives, on the contrary, they are wary of letting anybody, even accredited researchers, work with their papers. The application of the laws mentioned above, with the obligations they imply for the owners, is not easy. That is why, too often, peculiar strategies are needed in order to access the archives. Let us see some cases.

Pierre Vilar recounts how

*en saber que m'interessava pels papers privats, alguns amics m'obtingueren l'accés als arxius de cases nobles: el de Dalmases, gràcies a l'amabilitat del marquès de Vilallonga; el de Guàrdia, gràcies a l'amabilitat del baró d'Esponellà*³⁰.

Carme Batlle remarks the importance of private documents for any global study, in her case, on medieval Maresme³¹. Just as Pierre Vilar did, she also alludes to the easy access she was granted by the owners, a family from Mataró. Andreu Galera, compiler of the aforementioned diplomatarium of Cardona, also stressed the importance of the family's attitude in order to access their fonds. These criteria are not related to archival science nor are they protected by the law, but are nonetheless real. In conclusion, in most cases the good will of the owners is essential³², as stated by professor Llorenç Ferrer in his keynote address, "Private Archives and Historiography", at the 1st International Symposium *Patrimonial Archives: Current*

28. Adroer, M. Àngels; Gifre, Pere. "Arxius privats i patrimonials a Catalunya". *Lligall. Revista Catalana d'Arxivística*, 1 (1988): 83-92; Fernández, Josep. "Els arxius familiars i patrimonials. Problemàtica, caracterització i metodologia". *Lligall. Revista Catalana d'Arxivística*, 4 (1991): 95-113.

29. Adroer, M. Àngels; Gifre, Pere. "Inventari dels arxius patrimonials de les comarques gironines", *Revista de Girona*, 119 (1986): 80-84. See also: Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials...*: 99-116.

30. "knowing that I was interested in private documents, several friends helped me access the archives of noble houses: the Dalmases Archive, thanks to the kindness of the marquis of Vilallonga; the Guàrdia Archive, thanks to the kindness of the baron of Esponellà" (Vilar, Pierre. *Catalunya dins l'Espanya Moderna...*: 30).

31. Batlle, Carme. "Presentació", *El Maresme Medieval...*: 15.

32. Gifre, Pere; Soler, Santi. *Patrimoni i Arxiu. Inventari del fons patrimonial Caramany de Corçà, segles XIII-XX*. La Bisbal d'Empordà: Ajuntament de La Bisbal d'Empordà, 1996: 46.



Situation and Future Challenges. However, the good will of the owners must not only be directed towards researchers. When archivists want to proceed with the archival processing of these fonds, they have to negotiate with the family. The most important thing is to clearly explain the parameters of their intervention³³. It is our opinion that, if both the archivists, who need to intervene a specific patrimonial archive, and the researchers, who want to work with its holdings, explain their project in detail, there should be no problem. However, we are fully aware that the role of the owners must be taken into account throughout the project, not only as regards their good will but also concerning the trust they have to place on the experts; especially because, however protective and cautious about the preservation of their archives they may be, they are neither archivists nor researchers. Therefore, they ignore the possibilities that the bundles of documents in their possession open up for research as well as the most adequate archival techniques for the preservation, arrangement and dissemination of their archives. They may even be unaware of the regulations binding their holdings. That is what Mr Carlos de Fontcuberta, owner of the Fontcuberta Archive, said during the round table that closed the aforementioned international symposium. Mr Fontcuberta thanked the organizers for the opportunity to participate in the event together with archivists —Dr. Josep Fernández Trabal, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, and Dr. Raffaella Ponte, Archivio Storico del Comune di Genova—, and university professors —Dr. Rosa Lluç, Universitat de Barcelona, and Dr. Antonio Castillo, Universidad de Alcalá—. The round table was chaired and coordinated by Dr Rosa Congost, Universitat de Girona. The dialogue established between owners, archivists and researchers was highly appreciated.

Despite all these considerations, patrimonial archives may also pose another problem, that is, the destruction and other vicissitudes undergone by their holdings. In many cases, the documents have been preserved in special places within the houses, rooms set up with furniture suitable for safekeeping of the patrimonial titles that only served as archives³⁴. In case of danger, the documents were even hidden underground or in the most unsuspected places in order to keep them safe³⁵. But sometimes documents got lost due to causes unconnected to the family, as, for instance, the rebellions of the *remences*³⁶. Several private archives in Tarragona, Montblanc and Reus also suffered the aftermath of military conflicts³⁷. Nevertheless, the initiatives the Generalitat launched during the Spanish Civil War safeguarded

33. Marugan, Carme Maria. "La recuperació dels fons patrimonials dels Pallars Sobirà. El cas de Casa Subirà, d'Altron, i el projecte de la recuperació de la memòria històrica de la Vall de Cardós". *Lligall. Revista Catalana d'Arxivística*, 29 (2002): 127-141.

34. Gifre, Pere; Soler, Santi. *Patrimoni i Arxiu...*: 41.

35. Adroer, M. Àngels; Gifre, Pere. "Arxius patrimonials...": 270.

36. Gifre, Pere. *Els Farners: vassalls de senyors i senyors de pagesos. Catàleg documental de l'Arxiu Farners*. Santa Coloma de Farners: Centre d'Estudis Selvatans, 1996: 15.

37. Grau, Josep; Güell, Manel. "La crònica negra de la destrucció d'arxius a la demarcació de Tarragona". *Lligall. Revista catalana d'Arxivística*, 18 (2001): 102.



many public and private archives, twenty-six patrimonial archives among them³⁸. In our opinion, however, actual destruction was far from general and only happened in a few specific cases. Therefore, rather than destruction and plunder, we should point out abandonment and lack of action, or the dispersal of holdings caused by the distribution of the patrimony through inheritance, indiscriminate release or contempt³⁹. Such things could happen when the old papers became a nuisance and the way to get rid of them was to sell them to antiquarians, but those were only extreme and rather anomalous cases. Fortunately enough, that is not the usual situation of archives. In the case of important estates that were divided by means of bequests, the documents related to each legacy also left the main estate, since they were needed for the management of the different properties.

Therefore, the initiatives fostered by the Administration, the research institutions and some individuals, aim to solve those two key problems of patrimonial archives. Important actions, such as the aforementioned deposit of private fonds in public archives, are performed in order to facilitate access to private documents. But the owners of patrimonial archives are not always willing to participate in the process. On the contrary, they are protective of “their” documents and want to control them themselves, somewhat unaware of the terms of the law and the possibilities it offers. Other alternatives are also possible without involving the Administration. One of them is, for instance, the edition of documents, which, in Catalonia, has its leading exponent in the task of the Fundació Noguera, mainly focused on notarial documents. The diplomatarium of Cardona, already mentioned, includes several parchments that come from patrimonial archives, and it is also necessary to mention the parchments of the Mercader-Belloc fonds⁴⁰. The edition of unpublished sources allows us to learn not only about large collections of parchments, but also about exceptional documents. Such was the case of the book of the barony of Eramprunyà, owned by Mr. Ignacio de Puig Girona and recently published⁴¹. This book gathers together copies of the documents of the barony, which was owned by the Marc family, as well as several personal and familial writings. The book, therefore, is a diplomatarium but, at the same time, became a family book, although far from the quality of Tuscan late medieval *libri di ricordanze*.

38. Zamora, Jaume Enric. “El salvament dels arxius catalans durant la Guerra Civil espanyola (1936-1939)”. *Lligall. Revista Catalana d’Axiística*, 16 (2000): 85-151.

39. [...] *aquests arxius han hagut de pasar moltes penúries: saquejos, guerres i, darrerament, la incultura dels nous propietaris urbans que menyspreen allò que no és modern* (“these archives have been through hard times: plunders, wars and, lately, the ignorance of their new urban owners who look down on anything less than modern”). Adroer, M. Àngels; Gifre, Pere. “Arxius patrimonials. Propostes de treball”. *Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Empordanesos*, 21 (1988): 269-270.

40. Fernández, Josep. *Inventari dels pergamins del Fons Mercader-Bell-lloc de l’Arxiu Històric Municipal de Cornellà de Llobregat (segles XI-XVIII)*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1989.

41. Cantarell, Elena; Comas, Mireia; Muntaner, Carme. *El Llibre de la Baronia d’Eramprunyà*. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2011. The analysis of the original book allows us to see how its author made use of the sheets of paper still blank to write down brief regesta of other documents of his archive. Those regesta are not included in this volume, since they demand a detailed diplomatic and archival study well beyond the scope of this edition.



Besides the edition of documents we find the publication of notes on patrimonial archives, as those mentioned in the first paragraph of the present article regarding two patrimonial fonds from Castelló d'Empúries, the article by Montserrat Sanmartí on the Martí d'Ardenya family⁴², or the edition of inventories and catalogues, such as those of the Caramany de Corçà fonds and the Farmers Archive, both of them previously mentioned. Thus, the goal is not so much a widespread dissemination but rather providing information about those archives, including classification tables, typologies of documents, history of each archive and the research possibilities it offers.

Another way of bringing archives closer to the scientific community is the use of technology —documentary databases, digitization and the Internet—. Technology can, no doubt, help us approach these problems from a different perspective with the aim of finding solutions that suit all the interested parties: owners, scholars and the Administration. However, an in-depth reflection is necessary in order to decide what to do and how to do it.

On the one hand, the inclusion of finding aids in documentary databases and, in turn, their inclusion in the global network has greatly furthered the dissemination of documents and the research based on them. At first, however, some voices raised against it arguing that the more the documents were disseminated the less people would go to the archives⁴³. Certainly, that sets up a paradox, but we also have to take into account that although the number of on-site users may decrease, on the other hand, we are approaching the fonds of documents to a wider, global audience and, therefore, the number of potential off-site users increases geometrically. We cannot deny the evidence that information and documentation technologies offer infinite possibilities for research and the dissemination of scientific knowledge⁴⁴. In that sense, the access to patrimonial archives could also benefit from them. The public access to the finding aids of these archives could, on the one hand, cope with the possible destruction and/or fragmentation derived from the problems mentioned above; on the other hand, that would grant an initial access to those fonds in order to appraise the possibilities each of them offers for research. At the same time, the owners would not lose the physical property of the archive, which constitutes their main concern. If these tools —online databases and finding aids in a PDF format— are to be of use to researchers, it is necessary that they facilitate as much information as possible about the documents. The records have to follow certain standards based on the international regulations for the description of archives (ISAD-G and NODAC) and all online archives have to match those same criteria, already met in the case of public archives.

So far we have dealt with universal accessibility through databases and the global network. We will now turn to digitization. From the moment that archive documents

42. Sanmartí, Montserrat. "L'Arxiu patrimonial Martí d'Ardenya". *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics*, 17 (2006): 85-109.

43. Boadas, Joan. "Taula rodona", *Medievalisme: noves perspectives*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2003: 289-291.

44. Sabaté, Flocel. "Medievalisme: noves perspectives", *Medievalisme: noves perspectives...*: 9-16.



could be transferred to good quality image files, a lot of projects focused on the digitization of historical sources emerged around the world. The Administration, universities and archives plunged into it, from the first images generated by the Catalan Department at the University of Berkeley⁴⁵ of the collection of Catalan medieval parchments in their possession, up to the projects currently in progress around the world.

But digitization has both advantages and disadvantages, especially because it must be understood as a medium and not a goal in itself. Before starting the digitization process, our objectives, the scope, expected benefits and final cost of the project must be well defined. But, first and foremost, we must question the necessity of digitization itself. At first, digitization was motivated by preservation, but that is not so clear now⁴⁶. Obviously, digitization preserves in the sense that it avoids handling the documents. Since they are consulted by means of an image on a screen, there is no actual contact wear. In the case of archives preserved by private individuals, digitization may also help preservation and prevent total loss if the actual documents disappear, are sold or given away by the owner. But the digital copy of a document can never provide an unfailing guarantee of preservation since, as we have already seen with other technologies such as the VCR or audio recordings, the durability of the current storage and reproduction systems is not at all ensured.

Another important issue that we have just brought up and needs to be taken into account is the cost of a digitization project. The volume of the documents that need to be digitized, the original support material, the final destination of the images and the available budget must be considered. When the volume of documents is large, the project can only be undertaken by the Administration as a long-term project, such as the PARES project funded by the Spanish Ministry of Culture. As for the original support material, it stands to reason that digitizing registers written on folio pages is not the same as digitizing large format parchments, usually more than a metre wide, not to mention their length. In those cases, on-screen reading is only occasionally viable. Furthermore, the image resolution required for proper reading generates huge files —larger than 4 Mb—, which, in turn, pose a storage problem, since their size advises against uploading them to the Internet, and the disk space needs increase storage costs. Despite these and other difficulties, derived from the aforementioned issues, digitization is of the essence in the case of archives preserved in private hands. It is the best way to conduct an exhaustive research into these fonds without constantly dealing with the owners' reluctance to allow access. In theory, at least, the owner is "disturbed" just once, instead of every time that the researcher needs to consult the documents in order to make corrections or broaden the research. Therefore, the systematic digitization of the documents preserved in private hands is justified for both research and dissemination purposes. By way of

45. This collection is currently hosted by the University of California. *Digital Scriptorium*. 12 December 2012 <<http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/digitalscriptorium/>>.

46. Seton, Rosemary E. *The Preservation and Administration of Private Archives. A RAMP Study*. Paris: UNESCO, 1984.



example, we will discuss the procedure and criteria followed by the ARQUIBANC project in the case of the Fontcuberta Archive.

Before that though, let us consider a few examples related to patrimonial and/or private archives within the framework of public initiatives that could, in so far as possible, serve as a model. At the Nobility Section of the National Historical Archive, nobility archives' databases can be accessed through the PARES portal, which is but a part of the Archives Digitization and Description Plan (PIDA). However, these ambitious ministerial projects do not work quite well. Probably because of the lack of budget, which entails an improper maintenance of the search engines that usually yield false results. Therefore, the project is only partially useful to researchers, although, hopefully, those problems will be solved in the near future. Another example is the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya which, through its website, allows access to some of the documents of the patrimonial holdings therein preserved. This initiative is only a part of the general policy of the institution, which also uploads documents that belong to other types of archives. We would also like to remark the task carried out by the *Monasterium* network⁴⁷, which compiles digitized documents coming from more than fifty private European archives, many of them ecclesiastical. It is a very good example of digitization directed at the dissemination of documents and their availability to researchers.

Digitization is also fostered by the research community. A good example is the "Personal Memory" project promoted by the "Manuscripts" research group of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. The project makes private Catalan documents available to researchers by means of a database and the digitized images of those documents⁴⁸. Another research project already bearing encouraging fruits is the ARQUIBANC project, of the Universitat de Barcelona, which brings together several initiatives focused on patrimonial archives⁴⁹. Some of the results of several papers delivered at conferences and discussion forums have already been internationally published⁵⁰. The four initial objectives of the project in the field of private archives

47. ICARUS (International Centre for Archival Research). *Monasterium* (MOM). Associated with Archives Portal Europe. 19 December <<http://www.monasterium.net>>.

48. The project is one of the activities of the research group "Manuscripts" of the Department of Modern and Contemporary History at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona: Antoni Simon. *Memòria Personal*. 19 December 2012 <<http://www.memoriapersonal.eu>>.

49. Project led by Daniel Piñol and funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness HAR2008-01748 and the Universitat de Barcelona PGIR-08/09. The research team is formed by Ignasi Baiges, Elena Cantarell, Mireia Comas, Giacomo Floris, Rosa Lluch, Carme Muntaner and Teresa Vinyoles.

50. Cantarell, Elena; Comas, Mireia. "The ARQUIBANC Project: location, recovery, arrangement, and dissemination of Catalan private archives and documents", *Digital Medievalist* ISSN: 1715-0736. <<http://www.digitalmedievalist.org/journal/7/cantarell>>; Cantarell, Elena; Comas, Mireia. "Localización, recuperación, organización y difusión de archivos y documentos privados catalanes. El proyecto Arquibanc", *La escritura de la memoria: los registros*, Elena Cantarell, Mireia Comas, eds. Barcelona: PPU, 2012: 363-372; Cantarell, Elena. "ARQUIBANC. Les archives privées catalanes on-line. Récupération, préservation et diffusion digitale de documents conservés en mains privées". *Lire demain. Des manuscrits antiques à l'ère digitale. Reading tomorrow. From Ancient Manuscripts to the Digital Era*, Claire C. Clivaz, Jérôme Meizoz, François Vallotton, Joseph Verheyden, eds. Lausanne: PPUR, Édition Digitale et Papier, 2012: 579-590; Piñol, Daniel. "De la casa a la web. Archivos y documentos privados catalanes en Internet".



were: location, recovery, arrangement and dissemination. However, every research project redirects its purpose according to the difficulties it encounters. As a result, our first idea of digitizing documents and making them available online in order to facilitate the access of researchers, developed into digitizing in order to perform research. In other words, we understand digitization not only as a means of dissemination but also, first and foremost, as a tool for the members of the research teams working on patrimonial archives. That was one of the conclusions drawn by the participants of the conference *Digital Diplomats 2011: An International Conference* held in Naples in September 2011, whose proceedings are currently in press⁵¹. Those conclusions were actually similar to the ones reached the year before at *The Digital Middle Ages: Teaching and Research. Third International Margot Conference* (New York, June 2010)⁵². Therefore, the digitized images are used by the members of the research team. That research team will in turn disseminate documents through the publication of monographs and documentary editions. On the other hand, other researchers may access the information related to the documents through databases accessible online. If any researcher is interested in some specific image, s/he can contact the ARQUIBANC research team, which will provide the image of the requested document. That researcher may be interested in diplomatic, palaeographic or codicological aspects, in which case the analysis of the original is of the essence. ARQUIBANC is an ongoing project that is currently refining its initial goals. The Spanish Ministry has renewed funding for the project, which is now focused on the edition of sources and the historical research based on private archives, specifically patrimonial archives⁵³.

3. What kind of documents can be found in patrimonial archives and what do they offer?

As we previously noted, patrimonial archives have been used mainly as a source for studies focused on the Modern Era. The classification tables of patrimonial archives show that both those preserved in public archives and those already published, basically contain documents from the modern period. The series of documents of many patrimonial archives begin in the 16th century or later. In many

Télémaque. Archiver et interpréter les témoignages autobiographiques, Beatrice Barbalato, Albert Minglegrün, eds. Leuven: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2012: 79-89. Piñol, Daniel. "ARQUIBANC. Arxius catalans a la xarxa". *Humanitats a la xarxa: món medieval/Humanities on the web: the medieval world*, Lourdes Soriano, Helena Rovira, Marion Coderch, Glòria Sabaté, Xavier Espluga, eds. Bern: Peter Lang, 2014: 383-390.

51. Piñol, Daniel. "Proyecto ARQUIBANC. Digitalización de archivos privados catalanes: una herramienta para la investigación", *Digital Diplomats. The computer as a tool for the diplomatist*, Antonella Ambrosio, Sébastien Barret, Georg Vogeler, eds. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014: 99-107.

52. University of Waterloo. 19 November 2012 <<http://margot.uwaterloo.ca/>>.

53. *Los archivos privados: más documentos para la Historia. Edición de fuentes e investigaciones históricas* (HAR2012-33755).



other cases though, archival series begin in the 13th century or before that⁵⁴. We can even find remarkable documents prior to that date, such as the Carolingian codex preserved in Can Viader and dated between 950 and 1050⁵⁵. According to Pere Gifre, [...] *aquest fet hauria d'atreure medievalistes i modernistes interessats en l'estudi de la societat agrària catalana*⁵⁶.

Delving into patrimonial archives we find complete series whose origin dates back to the Middle Ages and are therefore useful for medieval studies; but we can also find small family archives that include singular documents capable of arousing the interest of researchers⁵⁷. Nevertheless, our own interest lies with the first, since the medieval documents preserved in patrimonial archives allow us to discover the origin of patrimonies and families, as well as the conditions under which they settled in a particular territory; for instance, the Farners family, who were documented as the castellans of the Vilademany family in 1127⁵⁸. We may also find references to the fall into serfdom or the recognition of peasant tenants of their status as *homo proprius vel solidus* during the first quarter of the 14th century⁵⁹.

Ledgers, the true cornerstone of any patrimonial archive, are among the most crucial documents that can be found in these holdings⁶⁰. These books evince an archival intervention but they are also a reflection of the archive itself. They compile brief versions of the documents in the archive, including the date and also the name of the notary who certified the original contract. Most ledgers date from the 18th century, although some of them are more recent and the documents they include date back to the previous centuries. On their basis, we are able to locate documents related to the formation of the patrimony and its management, and also genealogical documents and other unconnected papers⁶¹.

54. Gifre, Pere. "Quins títols i on es guarden? Els arxius patrimonials, reflex de la dinàmica dels drets de propietat (segles XVI-XVIII)". *Dels capbreus al registre de la propietat*, Rosa Congost, ed. Girona: CCG Edicions, 2008: 183-191.

55. Adroer, M. Àngels; Gifre, Pere. "Arxius patrimonials...": 269.

56. "[...] that fact should attract both medievalists and modernists interested in the study of Catalan rural society" (Gifre, Pere. "Arxius patrimonials per a la història agrària". *Revista de Girona*, 135 (1989): 62).

57. Muntaner, Carme. "Els Milà de Sitges (Barcelona, Catalunya): un ejemplo de pequeño archivo familiar en el seno de una comunidad rural", *Archivos de familia, siglos XIII-XX: que presente, que futuro*, M. Lurdes Rosa, ed. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2012: 465-478. See also: Muntaner, Carme. "Registros notariales y registros de la corte del baile". *La escritura de la memoria. Los registros*, Elena Cantarell, Mireia Comas, eds. Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 2012: 247-262. In this work, the author locates notes on disappeared notarial documents through a private census notebook.

58. Gifre, Pere. *Els Farners...*: 17.

59. Gifre, Pere. *Els Farners...*: 45.

60. Bosch, Mònica; Gifre, Pere. "Els llibres mestres dels arxius patrimonials. Una font per a l'estudi de les estratègies patrimonials". *Estudis d'Història Agrària*, 12 (1998): 155-182; Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santi. *Els arxius patrimonials...*: 68-75. Gifre, Pere. "Quins títols i on es guarden?...": 195-198.

61. Here we refer to the classification suggested in: Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials...*



3.1. An example of a patrimonial archive: The Fontcuberta archive

The available finding aids provide many data and countless examples of the general content of patrimonial archives, but, in order to proceed systematically, we will now delve into the specific example of the Fontcuberta Archive.

This important Catalan archive is composed of three fonds that correspond to three different patrimonies owned by Mr. Carlos de Fontcuberta: the Fontcuberta patrimony, the Perramon patrimony and the Sentmenat patrimony. These fonds are preserved together but each one keeps its original structure, according to the fundamental principle of Archival Science, that is, the principle of provenance. Each fonds presents the same typologies of documents.

The structure of the holdings of the Fontcuberta archive has been preserved since 1897, after the patrimony of the main branch received two important additions. Dolores de Perramon y de Comas de Brugar, married to José Eugenio de Fontcuberta, inherited all the possessions of the Perramons after being widowed. Therefore, the Fontcuberta and Perramon patrimonies ended up united only when Carlos de Fontcuberta received his maternal inheritance in 1870. The heir was married to Dolores de Sentmenat y Despujol, who, in turn, inherited the Sentmenat patrimony in Terrassa and Castellar del Vallès. The archive was perfectly organized and evinced the existence of the three aforementioned patrimonies⁶². New indexes were compiled, which included complete regesta, dates and the name of the notary, together with the call number of each document within each series. These indexes were based on 18th-century ledgers, which, in turn, compiled notes on the documents prior to that date preserved in each fonds.

In most cases, the series —testaments, nuptial agreements, *censuses*, etc.— are divided into two subseries: the original documents or their copies, and a bundle with notes on each of those legal contracts. The series physically match the archival units, tailor-made boxes labelled both with the call numbers that appear in the indexes and the title of each series. The Perramon fonds are the only one that has been preserved in bundles, but those are also labelled with the same call numbers and the documents are classified according to the call numbers registered in the indexes. The call number, composed by the name of the fonds, the box or bundle number and the number of the document, is written in ink on the back of each document. Sometimes, one or several original copies or translations accompany the original document. Those copies have the same call number as the original document plus a letter, A, B, C, etc. These letters are sometimes also added to certain documents that are not copies from any original but documents related to it, such as a sale contract attached to a payment letter or to a specific title deed and its copy. This particular fact demonstrates the relevance of the preservation of documents for the management of any given patrimony. That includes even the copies and the notes derived from the notarial composition of a legal contract.

62. Garí, Blanca. *El señorío de Ventalló. Historia de las familias Requesens, Caramany y Perramón, que lo poseyeron*. Ventalló: Casa Perramón, 1989: 126-127.



The archive does not have a classification table according to the current guidelines of archival science, but it does have a sort of classification and also reliable finding aids that allow an efficient access to each document. Archival science tells us that we must respect the previous structure and archival interventions, and the structure of the Fontcuberta Archive indeed meets a management need. Hence the current structure and description designed for the efficient management of a complex patrimony, and not so much on the basis of historical and research criteria⁶³.

The series of documents of the three fonds are ordered according to the same structure. They start with testaments, then nuptial agreements, donations and bequests, payment letters and resignations, inventories, agreements and concords, rulings, properties (orchards, houses, farmhouses, etc.), rentals, *censuses*, benefices and pious causes, debt redemptions, lawsuit transfers, rent rolls, notebooks, family trees, nobility documents and plans. Notwithstanding individual peculiarities, that is, roughly, their classification system. It is also necessary to remark that, within each fonds, the documents related to farmhouses and properties added to the global patrimony remain together and are preserved separately, that is, they are not included in other boxes. Among them, for instance, we find emphyteutic leases and sale and barter contracts related to those specific properties. The most obvious case is that of boxes 10 to 19 of the Fontcuberta fonds, which contain the documents related to the properties of the family in Vic, Arenys de Munt and several other farmhouses and houses —Mas Fontcuberta, Sant Sixt, Mas Talaia, Mas Pujol, Mas Avenc, Mas Rajol, Mas Mayans, Mas Coromina and the Saladeures manor—, dated between 1240 and 2002.

The Sentmenat patrimony is similarly arranged. Boxes 9 to 15 and box 23 contain documents related to the castle of Castellar —which include documents dated between 1060 and 1953—. We can find title deeds but also documents for the management of the *censuses* and rents generated by those properties⁶⁴. The properties in the city of Terrassa are another key part of the Sentmenat patrimony. Their corresponding documents are preserved in boxes 16 to 21, including sale contracts that date back to 949. That was actually an outstanding find since the tasks of recovery, arrangement and digitization have presented us with the opportunity of locating six 10th century documents, whose edition has already been included in remarkable research works⁶⁵. These documents are well preserved and their description in the aforementioned indexes is adequate, but they were not found until we entered the archive and surveyed its holdings in order to start the process of digitization. The box concerning the properties located in Terrassa contains more than two hundred parchments dated between 960 and 1828, although most of

63. Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials...*: 31-32.

64. Piquer, Esperança. "Castell de Castellar". *Catalunya Romànica*. Barcelona: Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1991: XVIII, 96.

65. Baiges, Ignasi. "Documents del segle X al Fons Sentmenat de l'Arxiu Fontcuberta", *La Corona Catalano-Aragonesa, L'islam i el món mediterrani. Estudis d'Història Medieval en homenatge a la Doctora Maria Teresa Ferrer i Maloll*, Josefina Mutgé, Roser Salicrú, Carles Vela, eds. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013: 13-21.



them belong to the medieval period. The Terrassa, Centelles, Mena and Sentmenat families generated them in a sort of historical sequence that records the different owners of the properties. Especially remarkable are the documents related to the Carthusian monastery of Vallparadís⁶⁶. The documents preserved in those boxes have changed several key dates of the history of the city of Terrassa, in particular, the date of creation of the Carthusian monastery itself. In general, those documents improve our knowledge of the city, which proves the relevance of the work on patrimonial archives and their recovery⁶⁷.

As for the Perramon patrimony, boxes 8 to 24 contain documents from the properties in Sant Vicenç de Sarrià, Ventalló, Girona, Empúries, l'Escala, Figueres, Girona and La Bisbal, and from the farmhouses Pasqual de les Corts, Martí, Berart, Casa Gran de Piferrer, Vilamala, La Llacuna, Cortalet, Girona, La Bisbal, Cases, Comas and Romaguera. The timeline spans from the middle of the 14th century to the 20th, but most of the documents date from the 17th and 18th century.

Regarding the chronologies of the different boxes and bundles, their starting points do not necessarily match; the same applies to the three fonds. However, in light of the aforementioned examples we can assert that there is medieval documentation. As for the geographical scope, we have to take into account that most patrimonial archives, and this one is no exception, cover extensive areas around the actual location of the holdings. The Fontcuberta patrimony includes several villages in the district of Osona, mainly in Santa Eugènia de Berga and Vic, but also has properties in Arenys de Munt and Barcelona. The Sentmenat patrimony comprises properties in the Vallès Occidental and the Perramon patrimony includes properties in several areas of the Empordà. These documents can also complement the documents preserved in other patrimonial archives. Maybe the most obvious example is that of the Sentmenat fonds, since documents concerning other branches of the family are preserved in the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya and the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. Eva Serra used the latter in her doctoral thesis, as we mentioned at the beginning of the present article. The documents in the Perramon fonds can also complement those in the Caramany fonds, since both lineages were related.

Finally, we'd like to insist on the importance of delving into such archives and surveying the boxes where the documents are kept in order to find documents that have not been previously described in the indexes. The Fontcuberta Archive has boxes labelled as "Odd Documents" or "Documents pending classification" or, even "Useless Documents". Probably of no use to the management of the family properties, they were therefore left out. However, after careful analysis, these documents, now in the Fontcuberta fonds, box 47, seem to belong to the Sentmenat fonds. The confusion probably arose from the moment when the three fonds were arranged and some box was misplaced. They decided to label it as useless or odd because it was of no use to them. In the eyes of the person in charge of the archival

66. Piquer, Esperança. "Castell Cartoixa de Vallparadís". *Catalunya Romànica* Barcelona: Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1991: XVIII, 268.

67. These documents will be jointly published with the Arxiu de la Ciutat de Terrassa.



processing, they had lost all their value as management tools. In case of a future archival intervention, these documents have to be included in one of the series of the classification table. Finally, another important element is that all the boxes of the three fonds share the same labels —testaments, inventories, *censuses*, rulings, and etc.— Therefore, the normalized description standard helps both the recovery of information and the research. Nevertheless, it needs to be taken into account that the box labelled as “nuptial agreements and bequests”, will not systematically contain actual nuptial agreements until the middle of the 16th century. In the previous centuries we find bequests, dowry agreements or documents related to marriage law, but no actual nuptial agreement, although the description of 14th-century documents —in the case of the Fontcuberta Archive— classifies them as such. In fact, that kind of document did not consolidate until the 16th century. Before that, there were only loose contracts that could end up as a part of a nuptial agreement⁶⁸.

3.2. *The Intervention of the ARQUIBANC Project Team*

The objectives of the ARQUIBANC project were, as we have already mentioned, to locate, recover, arrange and disseminate patrimonial fonds as well as private fonds preserved in private hands. Leaving out the rest of the private archives we have located, we will now focus on the Fontcuberta Archive in order to briefly sum up our task there. As stated before, this archive is perfectly preserved and ordered, however, if its classification is useful for the owners in order to manage their patrimony, it is probably not the most suitable arrangement for historical research. Therefore, our intervention was aimed at making the fonds accessible to researchers. First, we designed the database that had to contain the finding aids. Its architecture has already been detailed in several papers published by our team throughout the duration of the project⁶⁹. At the same time, we started the digitization of the holdings, with the purpose of being able to carry out research without having to handle documents more than twice. During the digitization phase we took into account several considerations in order to avoid some of the most frequent errors and to follow certain criteria that rationalized the process⁷⁰. First we prepared the documents, that is, we selected one by one those that had to be digitized —all documents prior to the 16th century—. Next we appraised the finding aids already in use —old indexes— to assign call numbers to every document. Those call numbers match the identification code of the digital image.

68. Gifre, Pere. “El procés d’implantació dels capítols matrimonials (final de segle XVI-començament de segle XVII)”, *Els capítols matrimonials. Una font per a la Història Social*, Rosa Ros, ed. Girona: Associació d’Història Rural de les Comarques Gironines-Centre de Recerca d’Història Rural, 2010: 55-69.

69. See note 49.

70. Serra, Eugènia. “Digitalització? Parlem-ne”. BID. *Textos universitaris de biblioteconomia i documentació*, 24 (2010). Accessible at: Universitat de Barcelona. “Digitalització? Parlem-ne”. *Textos universitaris de biblioteconomia i documentació*. 1 June 2014 <<http://bid.ub.edu/24/serra1.htm>>.



Finally we put together a series of specific indications for the company in charge of the actual process⁷¹. This procedure also helped us check each and every document as well as its corresponding description in the finding aids already in use. We also measured all the parchments to include this basic information in their records. The documents contained in the boxes labelled as “useless and odd documents”, which were not accounted for in the existing indexes, were also completely described.

The development of the database itself started once the documents were digitized and returned to their owner. The different fields for each document were filled in with the data resulting from an attentive reading. Even though we limited our research to documents prior to 1600, the work required for such an archive is immense. A classification table following the indications established by the regulations of archival description is also in progress. Our goal is that, once this process is considered finished, the documents are fully accessible to all interested researchers⁷².

4. Conclusion

The relevance of patrimonial archives lies in the fact that they can help us further our knowledge of the medieval past. The aforementioned examples make that manifest. We have seen how the location of new documents allows us access to new information and even makes us change some chronologies. The work based on patrimonial archives, or at least on a part of them, also enables the location of documents thought to be lost, as happened with the book of the barony of Eramprunyà. But we need to stress the need to keep on working on the recovery of patrimonial archives. Such a work demands the participation and consensus of the owners in order to avoid conflicts and suspicion and to grant workteams free access to private archives.

The future of patrimonial archives also demands the search for new tools that approach these archival holdings to the scientific community. In some cases, the instruments provided by the Administration to the owners so that they deposit their archives in public institutions will do the trick. In some others, though, the tools may be provided by technology and the opportunities it furnishes. All the initiatives along those lines are welcome and, as we showed, yield good results that need to be followed up and consolidated. The knowledge of the history of Catalonia, especially for the medieval period, will benefit from that. Patrimonial archives are necessary in order to know more about our past, always through a dialogue with the sources that can be found in other archives.

71. Day, Michael. *Preparing Collection for Digitization*. London: Facet Publishing, 2011.

72. Universitat de Barcelona. *Arquibanc*. 1 June 2014 <<http://www.ub.edu/arquibanc/home.html>>.



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ORIGINALS OF THE TEXTS NOT SUBMITTED IN ENGLISH



RÉFLEXIONS SUR L'ÉVOLUTION DE L'HISTORIOGRAPHIE ET DE LA SOCIÉTÉ

JACQUES LE GOFF ET DANIELA ROMAGNOLI

ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES ET SCIENCES SOCIALES ET UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PARMA

Résumé

Ce dialogue avec Jacques Le Goff a été terminé le mardi 25 mars 2014, une semaine avant sa mort. C'est son dernier texte. Il avait fêté ses 90 ans le premier janvier, en pleine et brillante activité. Comme il s'était exprimé à plusieurs reprises sur son histoire professionnelle et personnelle, le but de ce dialogue a été de ne réfléchir que sur la dernière décennie de sa vie et de son travail. Ce sont les années pendant lesquelles il a publié trois volumes et nombre d'articles, interview, préfaces. Ici il a donc repensé quelques uns de ses principaux thèmes de recherche, entre autre : le « long Moyen âge », la critique au concept de renaissance, le refus d'une périodisation banalement arithmétique en termes de siècles, la relevance politique et sociale de l'Union Européenne, la nécessité d'une économie attentive aux besoins des plus démunis.

Daniela Romagnoli (D. R.): Jacques Le Goff, vous venez d'avoir 90 ans, avec quelques problèmes de mobilité physique mais en pleine activité. Il suffit de penser aux deux livres publiés respectivement en 2011 et en 2014, sans compter des activités ininterrompues depuis pas mal d'années, comme l'émission *Les lundis de l'histoire* sur France culture, qui a débuté en 1968, ou l'activité dans la cuisine — si je peux dire — des Annales. Vous êtes donc en condition de voir d'en haut, l'évolution (si d'évolution il s'agit) de l'historiographie d'un côté, de la société de l'autre, toujours étant que les deux choses ne sont pas totalement indépendantes. C'est sur ces deux pôles que je voudrais vous poser quelques questions, en essayant de ne pas reprendre des aspects, comme ceux de type biographique, sur lesquels vous avez déjà répondu à Marc Heurgon dans le bel entretien *Une vie pour l'histoire*¹. Sans oublier, loin de là, l'exemplaire exploit de méthode que vous avez donné en joignant l'expérience de vie aux raisons profondes de la recherche (peut-être non seulement historique) dans l'essai *L'appétit de l'histoire*². Et sans oublier, non plus, l'émouvant hommage à la mémoire de votre épouse, hommage qui est en même temps œuvre d'historien, car comme vous l'avez souligné, il s'agit aussi de l'histoire d'un couple franco-polonais à travers des années politiquement difficiles³.

Je voudrais pourtant vous demander si vous voulez ajouter quelques réflexions sur la dernière décennie de votre vie, avant qu'on entre dans le cœur de cette interview.

1. Heurgon, Marc. *Jacques le Goff. Une vie pour l'histoire. Entretiens avec Marc Heurgon*. Paris : La Découverte, 1996.

2. Nora, Pierre, dir. *Essais d'égo-histoire*. Paris : Gallimard, 1987.

3. Le Goff, Jacques. *Avec Hanka*. Paris : Gallimard, 2008.



Jacques Le Goff (J. Le G.): La dernière décennie de ma vie a été marquée, d'abord, je dois le dire, par l'ineffaçable tristesse et solitude de la disparition de mon épouse Hanka en 2004, mais aussi par la chance que j'ai eue de pouvoir continuer à travailler et à avoir sous une forme pleine mon activité de directeur d'une émission mensuelle sur France Culture et avec plus de distance mais malgré tout une certaine présence à la direction de la revue *Annales*. J'estime donc que cette dernière décennie a été pour moi une décennie de grande tristesse non pas corrigée, mais qui n'a heureusement pas empêché la continuation d'une activité assez sérieuse dans mon domaine d'historien.

D. R.: Après que les historiens aient ouvert leurs fenêtres sur les ainsi dites sciences humaines, notamment l'anthropologie et la sociologie, et après l'époque effervescente de *Faire de l'histoire* et de *La Nouvelle histoire*⁴, que s'est-il passé ? Il y a eu bien sûr un retour à l'histoire politique (ce qui ne veut pas dire histoire événementielle : rappelons votre article *Is Politics still the Backbone of History* ?⁵), et le retour, ou plutôt le renouvellement, de la biographie, et on pense évidemment à votre *Saint Louis*.

Est-ce que vous voyez des développements significatifs de l'historiographie dans les années récentes ?

J. Le G.: Sans aucun doute l'histoire évolue, change, et l'historiographie est soumise à ce que je n'appellerai pas une loi mais une réalité. Il y a eu, dans le demi-siècle précédent, une vogue de la notion de mentalité dont j'avais souligné l'ambiguïté. Il me semble que depuis quelque temps la notion émergente est celle d'histoire des sentiments, d'histoire des passions, et je tiens à dire que, à mes yeux, elle présente aussi une ambiguïté qui me rend non pas hostile ou méfiant mais prudent et critique, quel que soit l'apport que cette nouvelle direction peut proposer.

D. R.: Pensez-vous que votre travail ait pu suggérer des parcours, ouvrir des perspectives communes aussi à d'autres secteurs de la recherche, au-delà du Moyen-Âge ?⁶

J. Le G.: Très franchement, je n'en sais rien. Je pense que mes travaux, qui sont évidemment, comme vous venez de le souligner, consacrés essentiellement au Moyen-Âge, ont derrière le Moyen-Âge, si j'ose dire, une ambition plus large car le thème essentiel c'est le temps et par conséquent mes réflexions, mes recherches, peuvent peut-être apporter des pistes — je ne dirai pas davantage — sur l'histoire et l'historiographie à d'autres périodes antérieures ou postérieures au Moyen-Âge, et je viens d'ailleurs de tenter de situer le Moyen-Âge dans un travail plus vaste de l'historiographie : celui de la périodisation générale de l'histoire. Par conséquent, si j'ose dire, j'ai ouvert les chemins médiévaux soit vers le passé, soit vers le présent.

4. Le Goff, Jacques ; Nora, Pierre, dirs. *Faire de l'histoire*. Paris : Gallimard, 1974 ; Le Goff, Jacques. *La Nouvelle histoire*. Paris : Retz CEPL, 1978.

5. Le Goff, Jacques. « Is Politics Still the Backbone of History? ». *Daedalus*, 100 (1971) : 1-19.

6. Au colloque de Cambridge en 1994 (cité dans l'Introduction à cet interview) de nombreux médiévistes de différents pays ont accompli un ample tour d'horizon. Voir aussi : Rollo-Koster, Joëlle. « Jacques Le Goff (1924-...) », *French Historians 1900-2000: New Historical Writings in Twentieth Century France*, Philip Daileader, Philip Whalen, eds. Oxford (UK) : Blakewell, 2010 : 371-393.

D. R.: Votre long Moyen-Âge semble ne pas avoir eu un succès suffisamment large, malgré ce que Jean-Philippe Genet a soutenu, en médiéviste : « nous sommes de plus en plus nombreux à adhérer, avec plus ou moins de nuances, au long Moyen-Âge de Jacques Le Goff »⁷.

À moins que l'abolition du concept de Moyen-Âge, très peu pratiquée d'ailleurs, n'aille en définitive dans la même direction. Il y a eu, dans la deuxième partie du XX^e siècle, des historiens de formations et de pensées différentes, prêts à nier qu'il y ait jamais eu un Moyen-Âge : Lopez, Barraclough, Guenée, Cardini...⁸. D'ailleurs un médiéviste italien que vous connaissez bien et que vous estimez, je crois, Massimo Montanari, a abandonné le concept et jusqu'au mot même de Moyen-Âge : dans ses ouvrages il n'en est plus question, car il ne s'agit pas d'une réalité historique mais d'un concept négatif, puis positif, puis les deux ensemble, mais toujours rien qu'une idée⁹. C'est peut être un type de choix qui irait dans le sens de votre long Moyen-Âge ? Qu'en pensez-vous ?

J. Le G.: C'est évidemment un problème complexe. Je crois qu'il y a une période originale qui se situe entre les périodes relativement lointaines que nous appelons Antiquité — mais qu'il faudrait, je crois, creuser aussi — et la période dite des Temps Modernes. Ce que je mets en cause dans la périodisation actuelle la plus acceptée, et non seulement en Occident et en Europe, particulièrement, mais, me semble-t-il, dans tout l'univers scolaire et intellectuel du monde, c'est cette notion de Moyen-Âge. Personnellement la notion ne me gêne pas : l'essentiel c'est de respecter sa réalité et, me semble-t-il, s'en débarrasser n'est pas une bonne méthode. Je regrette, je ne le cache pas, qu'un historien, pour lequel j'ai autant d'estime que Massimo Montanari, se soit débarrassé du Moyen-Âge. La période à laquelle correspond le Moyen-Âge est là. Pourquoi ne pas continuer à l'appeler Moyen-Âge ? Cette expression est, d'une part, installée par l'habitude, et d'autre part elle indique malgré tout qu'il y a un certain rôle de passage dans cette période. Curieusement pour moi l'expression Moyen-Âge signifie le contraire de ce que l'on a voulu lui faire dire. On a voulu la considérer comme une période si non sombre, ce que les anglais ont appelé les *dark ages*, mais comme une période à laquelle on ne saurait donner d'autre caractère principal que celui d'être située entre deux périodes qui, elles, auraient des significations plus riches. Or, je crois que Moyen-Âge a le sens de passage, a le sens de transition, et que, par conséquent, il exprime très bien ce qu'a été en fait pour moi le Moyen-Âge : une période de progrès qui n'ose pas dire son nom. Le Moyen-Âge a curieusement occulté ses progrès sous la notion de renaissance. Quand il progressait il pensait qu'il fallait surtout l'attribuer à la survie ou à la nouvelle vie du passé qui, lui, était indubitablement riche en valeurs ; et donc c'est avec une sorte de peur du futur que le Moyen-Âge a eu recours, pour exprimer sa conscience de ce qu'il faut bien appeler un progrès, à le dissimuler sous le terme de renaissance. Par conséquent, Moyen-Âge me convient très bien et si le long Moyen-

7. Genet, Jean-Philippe. « Être médiéviste au XXI^e siècle », *Être historien du Moyen-âge au XXI^e siècle*. Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008 : 9.

8. « Vieni da chiedersi se il termine Medioevo abbia ancora senso » : Roberto S. Lopez, 1951 ; « There never was a Middle Ages » : Geoffrey Barraclough, 1955 ; « Tout médiéviste sait aujourd'hui que le Moyen-Age n'a jamais existé, et encore moins l'esprit médiéval » : Bernard Guenée, 1980 ; « Il Medioevo è sempre altrove » : Franco Cardini, 1988 ; Heers, Jacques. *Le Moyen-Age. Une imposture*. Paris : Perrin, 1992 ; « There is no such thing as the Middle Ages » : Alexander Murray, 1996 ; tous, cités dans : Romagnoli, Daniela. « Il medioevo: la lunga strada di un concetto storiografico », *Le vie del medioevo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Parma 28.9-1.10 1998*. Milan : Electa, 2000: 434-439.

9. Montanari, Massimo. « L'invenzione del Medioevo », *Storia Medievale*. Rome-Bari : Laterza, 2002 : 268-279.



Âge n'a, il est vrai, pas réussi à gagner sa place dans la périodisation habituelle, je continuerai à débattre en faveur de cette reconnaissance.

La Renaissance, vous le savez, a deux moments de victoire et deux créateurs, si l'on peut dire. Le premier c'est au XIV^e siècle, Pétrarque, qui invente d'ailleurs non pas la notion de renaissance mais celle de Moyen-Âge qui laisse la place à la notion de Renaissance. Il me semble que l'on ne donne pas tout son sens au fait que, en réalité, la Renaissance est née au XIX^e siècle et son créateur c'est Michelet, et face à la gloire méritée de Michelet, grand écrivain, grand poète plus sans doute que grand historien, a fait facilement triompher la Renaissance sur le long Moyen-Âge peu poétique, peu enthousiasmant. Mais je m'y tiens. C'est à mon âge je dirais presque un ultime message : je demande que l'on retienne la notion du long Moyen-Âge.

Je viens de publier un petit livre sur la périodisation de l'histoire, où j'indique comment les aspects importants qui définissent une nouvelle période en histoire ne sont réunis que vers le milieu du XVIII^e siècle en Occident. Je souhaite que cette démonstration soit bien étudiée et qu'elle soit adoptée. Les périodes ont bien entendu des sous-périodes et puisqu'on a pris l'habitude d'utiliser le mot renaissance pour les sous-périodes du Moyen-Âge — puisque on a parlé de renaissance carolingienne, de renaissance du XII^e siècle — pourquoi ne pas parler de grande renaissance à l'intérieur d'un long Moyen-Âge. Je ne nie pas qu'il y ait eu des mutations aux XV^e-XVI^e siècles ; je ne les crois pas assez profondes pour apporter un changement de période, mais elles apportent une sous-période dont je ne nierais pas l'éclat. Je pense que, profitant du fait que l'expression Moyen-Âge appelait à la découverte de Temps Modernes plus ou moins tôt, Michelet a pu imposer, avec son brio, cette notion de Renaissance qui, me semble-t-il, fait partie des nombreuses déraisons brillantes et attractives qu'il a proposées dans son œuvre.

D. R.: Tout ça me suscite des questions supplémentaires, auxquelles je n'avais pas pensé au début. Il se peut qu'il y ait, disons, une espèce de problème sémantique : Moyen-Âge entendu comme quelque chose qui se situe entre deux : ce qui est advenu avant et ce qui a suivi après ; mais il n'y a pas d'époque qui ne soit pas moyenne entre le passé et le futur, sauf, pour les croyants, le premier jour de la création et celui du jugement dernier.

Bien sûr, j'ai pensé, moi aussi, à Pétrarque et au fait qu'il a prononcé, a écrit, un mot qui a marqué le jugement négatif sur ce que nous appelons Moyen-Âge, pour mépriser des valeurs artistiques et littéraires coupables de s'être trop éloignées des splendeurs de l'Antiquité : *tenebrae*, ténèbres. Mais il y a là aussi le besoin de rehausser la culture « nouvelle », pour des fins peut-être moins nobles — ou plus politiques — à savoir, souligner la sortie des ténèbres, grâce *aux* et à la faveur *des* mécènes. Ce qui a déclenché les conséquences dont vous parliez tout à l'heure.

Une périodisation est une sorte de classification, qui en soi n'est jamais un but, mais un moyen, et en tant que tel peut et doit être modifiée à l'occurrence. En ce qui concerne le Moyen-Âge, comment parler de « transition », d'une transition qui durerait des siècles ?

J. Le G.: Cette question est en fait une question complexe, car j'y vois au moins trois questions particulières qui s'y trouvent combinées. Premièrement la notion de passage. Je me permets d'être tout à fait opposé à l'opinion que vous avez émise sur le fait que toute période serait un passage, une transition entre une période et une autre. Ce point de vue, qui est un point de vue d'une arithmétisation banale du temps, n'a guère, me semble-t-il, de signification dans l'effort de compréhension de l'évolution du monde et de l'humanité dans le temps. Moyen-Âge signifie à la fois,

je viens de le dire, à mes yeux, progrès, mais progrès qui ne veut pas s'avouer, et par conséquent qui revendique en quelque sorte de son caractère comme étant celui d'un passage enrichissant, qui comprend des novations, mais qui ne veulent pas s'imposer. Il faut attendre le milieu du XVIII^e siècle, cette période qui encore une fois est pour moi la fin de la période du long Moyen-Âge, pour le début d'une nouvelle période — que l'on peut appeler les Temps Modernes — où arrive la notion de progrès, qui n'a pas réussi à émerger lors du Moyen-Âge.

D'autre part le second problème c'est ce à quoi est particulièrement liée cette forme de périodisation qui propose par exemple le Moyen-Âge comme on propose l'Antiquité ou les Temps Modernes : à un événement essentiel de l'histoire intellectuelle et de l'histoire, je dirai presque, des sociétés : la transformation de l'histoire de simple récit en objet de savoir. J'insiste dans mon dernier petit livre, sur l'extrême importance de la transformation de l'histoire en matière d'enseignement dans les universités et les écoles dont on peut penser — cela a été avancé en particulier par le grand philosophe français Marcel Gauchet — qu'elle est pratiquement sinon achevée au moins imposée, vers 1820. Et, par conséquent, le Moyen-Âge trouve beaucoup plus facilement et significativement sa place dans l'enseignement que dans d'autres secteurs de l'histoire. Enfin, d'autre part, si la périodisation en siècles, qui ne date comme on le sait que du XVI^e siècle, fonctionne très bien depuis à peu près le XVII^e siècle, c'est un autre type de périodisation, qui ne remplace pas la périodisation par périodes comme le Moyen-Âge mais qui vient s'y ajouter pour fournir un outil supplémentaire de maîtrise de l'histoire et, par conséquent, le nombre de siècles que peut avoir une période n'est pas fixé à l'avance. Je pense, comme j'ai essayé de le démontrer dans mon dernier petit livre, que la période doit se définir par un changement profond dans le domaine économique, dans le domaine intellectuel et dans le domaine social et politique ; puisque je reconnaissais la fin de la période médiévale avec la fin des famines dans l'économie rurale et la naissance de l'économie industrielle et l'émergence de la libre pensée face à la religion dans la grande Encyclopédie et le bouleversement social et politique avec la révolution française. Par conséquent le Moyen-Âge peut être un long Moyen-Âge pour des raisons intrinsèques.

D. R.: Quand vous parlez, les questions foisonnent et il est difficile de s'en tenir au plan qu'on avait imaginé ! J'aimerais revenir un moment au thème de la Renaissance, celle au grand R, inventée au XIX^e siècle par Michelet. Quelle est donc la place de Burkhardt et de son *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* ?

J. Le G.: La place donnée à Burkhardt et à son grand livre, dont je souligne l'intérêt, la richesse et la qualité, a été, me semble-t-il, une erreur d'une historiographie mal vulgarisée. La Renaissance ne s'est pas imposée avec Burkhardt, elle s'est imposée avec Michelet, et la renaissance de Burkhardt n'est d'ailleurs pas une Renaissance qui s'oppose au Moyen-Âge comme celle de Michelet, mais une renaissance diverse, riche, tout-à-fait intéressante et qui enrichit la réflexion historique sans apporter rien de décisif sur les frontières Moyen-Âge - Renaissance. Une dernière remarque : pour Burkhardt la Renaissance n'est pas avec un grand R, elle est avec un petit r, c'est la renaissance des arts en Italie, mais pas une grande période (la Renaissance) qui arrive.

D. R.: Encore une question, toujours liée au sens de l'histoire. L'histoire est changement. L'historien peut — ou même, le cas échéant, doit — modifier ses points de vue et ses conclusions : est-ce



le cas de votre pensée à propos de Michelet, dont vous avez parlé et écrit à plusieurs reprises d'une façon tout au moins positive sinon admirative ?

J. Le G.: Je n'ai pas honte de dire que ma pensée sur Michelet a évolué et que, en particulier, cette pensée a évolué depuis la publication relativement récente (1995) de ses cours au Collège de France. J'y ai vu deux aspects qui ont abîmé l'admiration que j'avais pour Michelet. Sa défense à mes yeux impertinente de la Renaissance et son antisémitisme, terrible. Et je suis maintenant persuadé que cela a contribué à la diffusion de l'antisémitisme en France au XIX^e siècle. Je continue à penser que Michelet est un écrivain de tout premier ordre, passionné, original, brillant ; mais je dois dire que du point de vue des valeurs je ne lui fais plus confiance, ni pour le métier d'historien ni pour la considération des sociétés, constituées par ceux — nous tous — que Lucien Febvre a appelé des sang-mêlés¹⁰.

D. R.: Vos derniers trois livres — qui montrent, soit dit en passant, que vos 90 ans n'ont pas connu la paresse — portent sur le temps sacré, l'argent, la périodisation¹¹ : est-ce qu'il s'agit d'un seul parcours ou de réflexions tout à fait indépendantes l'une de l'autre ?

J. Le G.: Je pense qu'un vrai travailleur intellectuel n'a pas une pensée et une recherche partagée. Par conséquent on y retrouve un peu les mêmes thèmes, j'ai presque envie d'avouer : les mêmes obsessions, qui marquent mes travaux depuis longtemps. Il y a là dedans une réflexion sur le temps qui a été excitée, si je peux dire, justement par le Moyen-Âge et son caractère original, je le répète, de période de l'histoire : il n'y a qu'un Moyen-Âge. Ensuite, dans l'espace déjà large auquel j'ai restreint mon investigation, qui est l'Europe, l'Occident, un événement très important, auquel je m'étais intéressé depuis les débuts de ma recherche, puisque j'ai publié un petit livre sur les marchands et les banquiers du Moyen-Âge¹², c'est l'apparition, la diffusion et le développement de l'argent, qui posait des problèmes essentiels depuis le plan économique jusqu'au plan moral et religieux : je m'étais déjà intéressé aussi à ce problème, qui m'a suivi au cours de ma vie intellectuelle, la bourse et la vie¹³ ; et la périodisation se situe aussi dans cette perspective, parce que, d'un point de vue plus particulier, est né en moi le problème des rapports entre Moyen-Âge et renaissance et en même temps je me suis aperçu que c'était un essai pour désigner ce qu'il y avait d'important dans l'histoire. Quels sont les domaines où se produisent les changements essentiels qui permettent de parler du passage d'une période à une autre ? J'ai retrouvé d'ailleurs, bien que je n'aie pas cherché à traiter cet aspect essentiellement historiographique, l'importance qu'avait eu pour moi la pensée de Karl Marx, parce que j'y voyais à la fois le rôle fondamentale de l'économie mais aussi les limites de ce rôle, qui obligent, me semble-t-il, tout historien digne de ce nom à dépasser le domaine de l'économie.

10. Febvre, Lucien ; Crouzet, François. *Nous sommes des sangs-mêlés*. Paris : Albin Michel, 2012.

11. Le Goff, Jacques. *Le Moyen Age et l'argent: essai d'anthropologie historique*. Paris: Perrin, 2010 ; Le Goff, Jacques. *A la recherche du temps sacré. Jacques de Voragine et la Légende dorée*. Paris : Perrin, 2011 ; Le Goff, Jacques. *Faut-il découper l'histoire en tranches?*. Paris : Seuil, 2014.

12. Le Goff, Jacques. *Marchands et banquiers du Moyen Age*. Paris : Publications Université de France, 1956.

13. Le Goff, Jacques. *La bourse et la vie. Economie et religion au Moyen Age*. Paris : Hachette, 1986.

D. R.: Cela me fait penser au fait que le marxisme vulgaire, comme vous l'avez appelé il y a longtemps, appartient à ceux qui n'ont jamais lu le *Capital* de Marx, ouvrage où il se déploie une sensibilité historique évidente, où il n'y a aucune schématisation rigide — par exemple de la succession des modes de production —, où l'on ne rencontre aucune forme de théorie cristallisée. La pensée se dirige aussi vers ce grand historien marxiste qu'a été Witold Kula, et à ses études sur l'économie du système féodal, là où il introduisait dans l'analyse des revenus des seigneuries féodales polonaises un coefficient selon lui essentiel : le coefficient de la patience humaine¹⁴.

J. Le G.: Oui. J'ai d'ailleurs eu la chance de connaître deux grands marxistes très intelligents : Witold Kula, auquel j'ai été lié de profonde amitié, et Pierre Vilar.

D. R.: Nous voici maintenant au deuxième volet de ce dialogue.

« ...un mouvement de progrès et d'espoir, avec ce qu'il faut d'imaginaire pour que vraiment un phénomène historique soit réussi. S'il n'y a pas du cœur, de la passion, du rêve, ce n'est que la petite monnaie de l'histoire... ».

Ainsi vous parliez de vos souvenirs de la formation du Front Populaire en 1936, quand vous n'aviez que 12 ans¹⁵. On trouve ici l'un des principes fondamentaux de votre vie d'historien : la passion civile, la participation à la vie de son temps, le refus d'une improbable tour d'ivoire où l'historien s'isolerait pour atteindre à une objectivité autant mythique que mensongère et opposée à l'exercice de compréhension et transmission de la mémoire collective, qui est au fond le propre du travail de l'historien.

Vous avez donc vécu, non pas en simple spectateur, des décennies d'événements et de changements autant radicaux que rapides. Vous vous êtes d'ailleurs parfois exprimé dans des articles ou interviews dans la presse pas seulement française, sur des problèmes spécifiques mais toujours ayant trait à des questions plus générales.

Je pense qu'on pourrait reprendre la réflexion à partir de l'Europe, en un moment où les pires fantasmes reprennent corps (pensons aux organisations nazies un peu partout) et où il y en a qui pensent que la solution de la crise générale réside dans le refus de l'euro et la sortie de l'union européenne. Qu'en pensez-vous ?

J. Le G.: Je pense que ce serait une catastrophe, parce que dans un monde dont on dit qu'il est en train de se globaliser — ce qu'il ne faut pas, à mon sens, exagérer, parce que s'il est vrai qu'il y a des communications de plus en plus nombreuses et étroites entre les diverses régions du monde et les diverses civilisations, la diversité reste encore la réalité la plus importante — il est certain qu'il se forme des sortes de blocs qui ont sur l'ensemble de l'Europe et du monde un poids plus ou moins grand. C'est toujours vrai des Etats-Unis, c'est vrai de l'Extrême Orient avec spécialement la Chine, l'Afrique est en train d'essayer de se constituer en une sorte d'unité et les pays émergents comme le Brésil ou l'Inde sont également en train de prendre une force internationale. Dans ces conditions, si les Européens restent divisés en nations ils seront de plus en plus dominés et les nations

14. Kula, Witold. *Teoria ekonomiczna ustroju feudalnego. Próba modelu*. Warsaw : Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962.

15. Le Goff, Jacques. *Une vie pour l'histoire. Entretiens avec Marc Heurgon*. Paris : Editions la Découverte, 2010 (1^{er} ed. 1996) : 25.



européennes perdront une grande partie de leur force et de leur influence. Pour moi l'Europe unie est presque une bouée de sauvetage, d'autant plus qu'elle est fondée sur des éléments communs dans le domaine de l'économie, dans le domaine intellectuel, dans le domaine de l'enseignement, dans le domaine de la politique. Je pense donc qu'il faut au contraire accélérer et renforcer l'union européenne, et comme la situation actuelle exige sans doute le maintien des nations, il faut malgré tout que cette Europe des nations ait des institutions politiques communes plus solides et plus efficaces.

D. R.: Vous avez parlé de l'économie : la crise : ne croyez-vous pas qu'elle soit, je ne dis pas voulue, mais au moins profitable aux pouvoir financiers de toutes sortes ? Ou alors, peut-on penser aux soubresauts d'un type de capitalisme qui n'a plus, en tant que tel, de futur et qui devra changer ou périr ?

J. Le G.: Nous sommes d'abord à l'évidence dans une phase particulière du capitalisme, qui est marquée par la domination du caractère financier et je pense que cette financiarisation qui se traduit par la domination des banques est à l'origine de la crise. Nous n'en sommes pas encore, non seulement en Europe mais dans le monde, sortis. Je pense que il faut qu'il y ait une réévaluation du capitalisme et en particulier une mise sous surveillance des banques.

D. R.: A la fin de votre essais d'égo-histoire, auquel il a déjà été fait référence, vous avez écrit que « l'historien ne maîtrisera jamais le futur, même s'il doit s'y préparer et y préparer les autres ». À la lumière de tout ce que vous venez de dire, en êtes-vous toujours convaincu ? Et comment le préparer donc, ce futur ?

J. Le G.: Je suis maintenant plus que jamais persuadé que personne ne connaît l'avenir, y compris les historiens qui, bien qu'on puisse les appeler des spécialistes du temps, ne peuvent pas prédire l'avenir. La futurologie a été brièvement une espèce de fausse science humaine, mais elle n'apporte rien à l'humanité. Je ne crois pas non plus qu'il y ait un sens de l'histoire ; mais il y a des pistes, car l'histoire est faite de créations, de nouveautés, mais s'appuyant sur des héritages. Il faut donc que nous nous apprêtions à remettre aux hommes et aux femmes du futur des héritages qui soient des héritages riches, qui soient des héritages honnêtes, qui soient des héritages aussi égalitaires que possibles. Et, en particulier je crois que l'une de ces activités destinées à préparer un meilleur futur c'est la lutte contre la pauvreté, et je vois avec satisfaction que les dernières statistiques qui ont été données par la presse internationale marquent un progrès dans cette lutte contre la pauvreté.

D. R.: Il y a peut être aussi une réflexion à faire sur la recherche de bases morales et culturelles plus solides pour la société, et par quels moyens et dans quelles directions réorganiser ou améliorer l'organisation scolaire, la formation des jeunes citoyens, car je crois que vous continuez à penser qu'il s'agit là de quelque chose de fondamental.

J. Le G.: Il n'y a aucun doute. L'école est quelque chose de fondamental et on voit bien d'ailleurs que dans les pays disons « relativement arriérés » la création d'écoles, la mise en fonctionnement d'écoles est la base assurée d'un avenir meilleur, comme on le voit par exemple en Afrique. Il faut donc que la scolarisation fasse des progrès dans le monde entier car c'est la principale base, avec

une certaine croissance économique et des progrès de la démocratie, d'un avenir meilleur. Je le redis : les trois bases d'un meilleur avenir me semblent être le progrès de la démocratie, la diffusion de la scolarisation et la croissance économique.

D. R.: La croissance économique pose toutefois peut-être quelques problèmes de principes généraux. Est-ce qu'on peut penser à une société fondée sur une croissance illimitée et qu'on puisse continuer à super-produire et à super-consommer ?

J. Le G.: D'abord, je ne pense pas que nous soyons dans une société où on super-produit et on super-consomme, sauf peut-être dans certaines régions limitées. L'essentiel me paraît être d'égaliser la croissance économique et que celle qui existe dans les pays les plus développés économiquement soit rejointe par celle des pays qui sont en retard. C'est à partir, d'ailleurs, de cette élévation de cette croissance économique que repose l'expression émergeant, pays émergents, et la réalité de la croissance de ces pays. Mais pour cela, l'essentiel c'est une diminution des inégalités. Autant que dans le domaine politique ou scolaire l'égalité dans le domaine de la croissance économique est une nécessité pour le progrès général de l'humanité.

D. R.: On pourrait clore ce colloque là-dessus. Je me permets toutefois de souligner que, du haut de vos 90 ans, et après avoir traversé et activement vécu une longue époque très mouvementée et certainement pas facile, vous êtes malgré tout prêt à conclure sur une note d'espoir.

J. Le G.: Je suis un optimiste, et par conséquent je pense que cela, dirais-je presque, fait partie de la nature, du destin de l'humanité que d'avoir de l'espoir. Je vois d'ailleurs qu'il y a quelques progrès. Un de ces progrès me frappe particulièrement. Ce sont les progrès de l'Europe. Certes, ils sont inférieurs à ce qu'on pouvait souhaiter, mais quand le prix Nobel de la paix est venu récompenser la quasi-certitude de l'éradication des guerres internes en Europe, je crois que la commission Nobel a perçu un progrès réel et capital. Je pense donc que l'espoir est non seulement nécessaire, mais qu'il est fondé sur des réalités. Toutefois, il ne faut pas nous cacher ce qu'il reste encore à faire et qui est considérable. Je rappelle : les problèmes de pauvreté qu'il faut encore réduire ; l'existence parfois presque endémique de la guerre. Quand je regarde soit une situation proprement belliqueuse comme en Syrie, soit une situation que j'appellerai d'affrontement froid, mais inquiétant et injuste, comme par exemple la division entre la Corée du Sud et la Corée du Nord, je pense qu'il y a encore beaucoup à faire et que les hommes et les femmes d'aujourd'hui et de demain, s'ils doivent cultiver, favoriser, améliorer le progrès, doivent être aussi non seulement très attentifs mais prêts à combattre les injustices, les troubles, les violences, qui sont encore trop nombreux et trop graves dans une grande partie du monde.



IL GIRO DEL MONDO DI JACQUES LE GOFF

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SOMMARIO

Questo saggio indaga la diffusione del lavoro di Jacques Le Goff in un orizzonte internazionale, attraverso la presenza delle sue opere nelle biblioteche universitarie e nelle biblioteche nazionali scelte come campioni in tutti i continenti. Oltre e forse più delle edizioni originali, interessano le traduzioni nelle lingue dei vari Paesi, perché testimoniano la capacità di uscire dall'ambito degli "addetti ai lavori" per attingere un pubblico al tempo stesso più vasto e meno specificamente preparato. Un altro aspetto di evidente rilievo è quello dei tempi di diffusione non solo dell'opera di Le Goff, ma anche del pensiero storiografico francese del XX secolo —la cosiddetta "scuola delle Annales"— e il superamento degli steccati tra la storiografia e le altre scienze umane come l'antropologia e l'etnologia; le differenze tra culture diverse sono evidenti e rilevanti.

Il 1° gennaio 2014 Jacques Le Goff ha compiuto novant'anni. Questo contributo vuole essere certo un omaggio al grande medievalista, ma vuole esserlo fuori da ogni spirito puramente celebrativo, con l'intenzione, anzi, di offrire qualche elemento in più per capire il senso e la diffusione dell'opera di uno storico che non si è mai rinchiuso in una presunta torre d'avorio, cioè senza alcun coinvolgimento nella vita del proprio tempo. Solo qualche elemento in più: infatti per un panorama davvero esauriente, sarebbe necessario unire altre competenze e altre appartenenze accademiche e geografiche, anche per ampliare il campo ai temi e ai metodi del lavoro di Le Goff. Che questa sia una proposta? ¹.

Se la presenza delle opere dei grandi storici nelle biblioteche universitarie e nelle biblioteche nazionali di tutto il mondo, nelle loro edizioni originali, non può stupire, soprattutto se si tratta di lingue diffusissime come l'inglese e il francese, fa forse maggiormente riflettere la presenza delle traduzioni nelle lingue dei vari Paesi. Infatti è o dovrebbe essere normale chiedere agli specialisti qualche capacità di letture poliglote, ma non si può pretendere la stessa attitudine da persone dotate di curiosità culturali più che di strumenti per soddisfarle, o anche dagli studenti, non sempre abituati all'uso di una lingua diversa dalla propria. Potrebbe dunque essere utile dare un'idea, pur in modo statisticamente approssimativo, della presenza delle opere di Jacques le Goff, o almeno di alcune di esse, in Paesi (certo non in tutti!) di tutti i continenti. È necessario sottolineare che la scelta degli esempi, pur non casuale, è fatalmente limitata, per ragioni di tempo, di spazio e a volte anche di raggiungibilità dei dati. Lo scopo è soprattutto quello di capire se i risultati possono testi-

1. Queste parole sono state scritte prima che la lunga vita di Jacques Le Goff si concludesse, il 1° aprile di questo stesso 2014. In quello che segue non ci sarà, come ho detto sopra, alcun intento celebrativo, né, tantomeno, commemorativo. Il dialogo col grande storico proseguirà ancora a lungo, almeno finché le sue opere manterranno il valore innovativo che le caratterizza. Ora però si avvicina il tempo dei bilanci, e forse può essere utile riflettere sulla diffusione del suo lavoro nel momento che costituisce ormai lo spartiacque tra un "prima" e un "dopo". Ringrazio Flocel Sabaté per l'attenzione dedicata a questo articolo e per i suoi preziosi suggerimenti.



moniare la capacità di uscire dall'ambito degli "addetti ai lavori" per attingere un pubblico al tempo stesso più vasto e meno specificamente preparato. In linea di principio la risposta è affermativa: non è poi così raro che libri di storia siano letti e amati da lettori non specialisti. Senza dimenticare che molto si deve proprio alla capacità, non disgiunta dalla volontà, di scrivere di storia anche per chi non ne conosca ancora l'interesse e il fascino, con un'attenzione speciale verso i giovani.

Un altro aspetto di evidente rilievo è quello dei tempi di diffusione non solo dell'opera di Le Goff, ma anche —per gli specialisti le due cose non sono facilmente separabili— del pensiero storiografico francese del XX secolo: penso, ovviamente, alla cosiddetta "scuola delle *Annales*" e al superamento degli steccati tra la storiografia e le altre scienze umane (termine oggi non più di moda), come l'antropologia e l'etnologia. In alcuni ambiti culturali, come quello anglosassone, ci sono stati ritardi e resistenze fino alla fine degli anni Settanta e oltre, come del resto è accaduto anche per la Germania, la cui tradizione storiografica ha resistito a lungo all'accoglimento delle nuove tendenze. Un ostacolo è stato anche il marxismo schematico, peraltro lontano dal pensiero marxiano, dei Paesi del "socialismo reale"; non può dunque stupire che, ad esempio, nel mondo balcanico alcune traduzioni delle opere di Le Goff compaiano soltanto agli inizi del XXI secolo. Del resto anche Paesi come Spagna o Portogallo sembrano aver accolto la storiografia più recente solo dopo che la fine delle dittature franchista e salazarista permise un'apertura maggiore alle novità culturali in generale e a quelle storiografiche in particolare.

Proprio nel **Regno Unito**, però, e anche se con notevole ritardo, si è sentito il bisogno di un colpo d'occhio panoramico sul lavoro del grande medievalista, in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno. Nel 1994 infatti si svolse a Cambridge un convegno i cui atti vennero pubblicati tre anni più tardi, a cura di Miri Rubin². In quella occasione diversi studiosi affrontarono alcuni dei temi ricorrenti nel lavoro di Le Goff (il denaro, santi e miracoli, la regalità, il corpo, gli intellettuali...) ma una parte sostanziale del volume fu dedicata a Le Goff, le *Annales* e le tradizioni storiografiche nazionali. Vennero presi in considerazione alcuni Paesi europei (Italia, Germania, Paesi Bassi, Spagna, Ungheria), gli Stati Uniti e la Russia.

A vent'anni esatti da quella iniziativa, è chiaro che la diffusione delle opere di Le Goff ha assunto una dimensione addirittura intercontinentale, come dimostra la sua presenza nelle Americhe (un esempio particolarmente efficace è dato dal Brasile, come vedremo) e in Asia (e vedremo l'esempio del Giappone). Per quanto riguarda l'Europa, qui è stato possibile aggiungere alcune considerazioni relative alla Norvegia e, almeno in parte, al resto della Scandinavia e ad alcuni Paesi dell'Europa centro-orientale. Per questo tentativo però gli atti del convegno di Cambridge costituiscono tuttora una traccia utilissima, dal punto di vista dell'impostazione oltre che da quello del valore storiografico dei saggi ivi raccolti.

Come segnala Miri Rubin nell'introduzione, solo *the later 70s saw Le Goff's work achieve wider recognition and familiarity through translation*, ma certo non in modo uniforme; in particolare per il mondo anglosassone bisogna arrivare agli anni 1980 e 90 per constatare una politica di traduzioni degli storici delle *Annales*, e in generale della medievalistica francese, sempre più aggiornata. Per quanto riguarda il Regno Unito, se guardiamo indietro vediamo che *La société féodale* di Bloch (1939) uscì a Londra nel 1961 e i *Rois Taumathurges* non furono tradotti che nel 1973, sempre a Londra. Gli stessi momenti in cui apparve la *Méditerranée* di Braudel (prima edizione francese 1949). È vero che non sono mancati esempi precoci, ma forse più legati a temi tradizionali che alle proposte della *Nouvelle*

2. Rubin, Miri, ed. *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of medieval History*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997.



Histoire; ad esempio, *L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval*, di Georges Duby (1962), esce a Londra nel 1968, mentre *Le dimanche de Bouvines* (1973) dovrà aspettare fino al 1990. Avranno miglior fortuna *Guillaume le Maréchal* (fr. 1984, ingl. 1985) e *L'histoire de la vie privée* (con Philippe Ariès), che esce contemporaneamente in francese e in inglese (1987-91), ma siamo già avanti negli anni 1980. Quanto a Le Goff, di recente Miri Rubin ha avuto la gentilezza di rispondere a qualche mia domanda, a cominciare dal rapporto, ammesso che esista, tra la diffusione della *Annales* e il peso di Le Goff nella storiografia anglosassone. L'opinione di Rubin è che

while Le Goff is always mentioned as related to the Annales school, he is usually not prominently cited as a main proponent such as Bloch or Braudel. He has much more of a unique voice and is a great synthesizer [...] When I arrived in the UK [from Israel] in the 1980s the influence was very limited. This surprised me because medieval historians in Israel were so aware of the Annales, had contacts with Jacques Le Goff and admired the Annales school in general. I believe I helped make him better known in the UK [questo è certo, D. R.] The translation of Birth of Purgatory was very important and this is much discussed; the study of St. Louis has had some influence; his classic articles are still widely cited —on time, on popular culture and learned culture. It is as if in every niche of scholarship he has written on, he has followers³.

Apro qui una parentesi a proposito di **Israele**, per segnalare la fitta presenza degli storici francesi, e di Le Goff in particolare, nelle biblioteche pubbliche e universitarie come la National and University Library of Israel di Gerusalemme o la Biblioteca Universitaria di Tel Aviv, ma solo in francese o in traduzione inglese.

È vero che il libro sulla nascita del Purgatorio ha effettivamente provocato non poche discussioni, non solo in ambito anglosassone, dove è stato tradotto entro due o tre anni dall'edizione originale sia a Londra che a Chicago; è altrettanto vero, invece, che gli echi suscitati in quell'ambito dal *Saint Louis* sono stati scarsi e tardivi; se ne trovano però numerose recensioni sia negli Stati Uniti che nel Regno Unito, in occasione dell'uscita come e-book (2009): *American Historical Journal* e *New York Review of Books*, 2010; *Heythrop Journal* (Oxford, 2011). E tuttavia, a parte alcune traduzioni degli anni 1980-90, anch'esse clamorosamente tardive (la *Civilisation* appare in Inghilterra e negli USA nel 1988), gli anni 2000 sembrano indicare un'accelerazione: ad esempio, *L'Europe est-elle née au Moyen Âge?* viene tradotto e diventa e-book nel 2005; *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent*, del 2010, esce a Cambridge nel 2012 e *À la recherche du temps sacré*, del 2011, viene tradotto nel 2014; *La civilisation* esce negli USA in una nuova traduzione (2009, University of Notre Dame) e diventa anch'essa un e-book gratuito (2010).

Per quanto riguarda in particolare proprio gli **Stati Uniti**, Lester K. Little ha tracciato una storia della medievalistica statunitense a partire dagli albori, risalenti alla seconda metà del XIX secolo⁴. Si tratta non solo di storia in senso stretto, ma anche di letteratura, paleografia, latino, ispanistica, germanistica, storia dell'arte. Little parla anche del medievalismo americano, figlio di quello che fioriva in Inghilterra già dai secoli XVII e soprattutto XVIII: *That medieval art history was of the greatest interest to American intellectuals is attested to by the nearly universal sprouting of neo-Gothic and neo-Romanesque (generally in that chronological order) churches, libraries, town halls, universities, banks, and, not least, homes of the affluent*⁵. Ma il discorso ci porterebbe troppo lontano; del resto le pubblicazioni sul medievalismo sono ormai numerosissime sia in Europa sia negli USA⁶.

3. Rubin, Miri. "Introduction", *the Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: IX.

4. Little, Lester K. "Mainstream and Margins of Medieval History in the United States", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of medieval History*, Miri Rubin, ed. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997: 85-98.

5. Little, Lester K. "Mainstream and Margins...": 87.

6. Tra le ultime: Pugh, Tison; Weisl, Angela Jane. *Medievalisms. Making the Past in the Present*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

La medievalistica statunitense cresce all'ombra di quella tedesca: gli specialisti che insegnano nelle grandi università —Cornell, Stanford, Hopkins, Harvard, Colombia, Chicago, Princeton— conoscono la scuola tedesca anche attraverso soggiorni di studio in Germania. La prima guerra mondiale attenua di molto il filo-germanesimo culturale: gli studenti universitari interessati alla medievalistica vengono indirizzati in altri paesi europei: Francia, Belgio, Inghilterra. Nel 1925 viene fondata la Medieval Academy of America, nel 1926 esce il primo numero di *Speculum* e si affermano il grande Charles Homer Haskins e i suoi allievi, come Lynn White o Joseph R. Strayer. Gli interessi principali riguardano la storia politica, del diritto e delle istituzioni, focalizzati sul medioevo centrale (High Middle Ages). Gli anni 1930 e 40 vedono le migrazioni degli intellettuali europei in fuga dalle persecuzioni ideologiche e razziali del nazismo e dal fascismo. Storici come Roberto Lopez, Ernst Kantorowitz, Hans Baron e non pochi altri portarono un importante rinnovamento degli oggetti di ricerca, ma non dell'assetto metodologico, che rimase fondamentalmente legato a modelli germanici. A partire dagli anni 1950-60 la grande espansione delle università nordamericane portò all'incremento esponenziale del numero dei medievalisti, e infine l'eredità di Bloch e Febvre suscitò l'attenzione dei circoli intellettuali americani; grazie a Lawrence Stone le scienze sociali (antropologia, psicanalisi, demografia, analisi statistica, sociologia ecc.) entrano a Princeton e cominciano gli inviti ai colleghi francesi dell'*École des Hautes Études* per semestri o interi anni accademici. Ve detto però che, a differenza degli storici del Medioevo, furono gli storici della prima età moderna ad aprire la strada verso le proposte tematiche e metodologiche delle *Annales* e di *Past and Present*: le traduzioni di Braudel sono degli anni 1970 e solo nel 1979, in una recensione a *The Territory of the Historian*,

Stone gave a much needed analysis of the recent developments in French historiography, if only to dislodge the notion that statistics and graphs were all that the Annales were about [...]. Stone's remarks on the attention being given to mental habits, symbols, folklore and such made a timely introduction for the books of Jacques Le Goff, which began to appear in English in 1980'.

Per tutti gli anni 1980, infatti, verranno dedicate recensioni agli storici francesi, compreso Le Goff (*The Birth of Purgatory, Medieval Civilisation, The Medieval Imagination, Your Money or Your Life*; in quest'ultimo caso non è chiara —non lo era neppure per Le Goff— la ragione di quell' *or your life*, quando il titolo originale dice *La bourse et la vie*).

È vero che l'accoglienza riservata negli USA al lavoro di Jacques Le Goff è stata per lo meno disuguale e a volte addirittura molto critica; ne danno conto queste parole di Maurice Keen (definito da Little: *an open-minded historian trained in another school who is at times perplexed by Le Goff but is also willing to hear him out*):

The matters into which Le Goff leads the student of history are those on which there will always be room for debate and very seldom room for proof. He is not interested in problems whose solution can be pinpointed by critical accuracy in the sifting of the records. That, I think, is the reason he can sometimes give the impression of being one who starts more hares than he can hunt to the finish. It is also, I suspect, part of the reason why his interests have tended to concentrate on what makes the past, and especially the mentality of the past, different and foreign from that of the present, rather than on similarities of outlook on and reaction to the perennial problems with which the human condition confronts men. He likes the seas that are hardest to chart, and that is why a historian trained in a more positivist school, like myself, will as a reader find himself hankering from time to time after the markers that narrative history, and the debates over it, used to put down in order to make

7. Little, Lester K. "Mainstream and Margins...": 94.



*the past more understandable. The reader will be amply compensated nonetheless by the excitement and mental stimulus of voyaging, with Le Goff as his pilot, into some of the stranger waters of time gone by*⁸.

Ormai da qualche decennio la storia medievale negli USA non si limita più a una ristretta cerchia di adepti. Basti pensare ai colossali convegni di Kalamazoo (biennali dal 1962 al 1968, annuali dal 1970), che Le Goff, invitato a tenere una lezione introduttiva nel 1987⁹, definì “le fiere di Champagne delle medievalistica”.

Molte università statunitensi dispongono di invidiabili e invidiate biblioteche e soprattutto di collezioni di fonti (riprodotte e, negli anni più recenti, digitalizzate) che permettono una buona formazione, anche se il contatto con gli originali rimane insostituibile; come insostituibile è la conoscenza del latino, purtroppo sempre più rara anche in Europa; ma è anche grazie al latino e alla frequentazione degli archivi francesi che proprio una studiosa statunitense, Elizabeth A.R. Brown, ha potuto essere giudicata da Le Goff la maggiore specialista della regalità francese medievale. Quanto alla storia delle mentalità (il termine, per quanto “ambiguo” —definizione di Le Goff— anzi, proprio perché ambiguo, ha continuato ad essere comodo), tra i pionieri delle emozioni come oggetto di ricerca c'è un'altra statunitense, Barbara H. Rosenwein. Del resto già Little nel 1994 elencava alcuni lettori ed emuli della visione della storia di Le Goff, tra cui lo stesso Lynn White, o Teo Ruiz e non pochi altri.

Non è ovviamente il caso di cercare traduzioni in un paese bilingue com'è il **Canada**, dove infatti Le Goff è presente con numerosi titoli in francese e in inglese.

L'**Australia** è paese anglofono, con importanti università, tra cui le due principali sono quelle di Sidney e Melbourne. Le Goff è presente, sia pure con pochi titoli, nelle biblioteche pubbliche come la National Library (Canberra), ma nelle biblioteche universitarie i titoli sono molti (qualche diecina) e molte anche le edizioni originali francesi; inoltre le acquisizioni sono aggiornatissime: a Melbourne è già in catalogo la traduzione (Princeton 2014) di *À la recherche du temps sacré*. Un altro aspetto importante delle università australiane è la presenza sia delle *Annales* come rivista, sia degli storici *annalistes*, dalla prima generazione (Bloch, Febvre) in poi. Sono invece assenti, salvo auspicabile errore mio, i testi destinati ai giovani.

Pure in inglese sono presenti opere di Le Goff in **Nuova Zelanda** (Victoria University of Wellington; University of Otago): oltre una ventina di titoli tra monografie e opere collettive, tra cui la traduzione del 2011 di *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent*. E anche qui le *Annales* sono vivacemente presenti (una ventina di titoli di Lucien Febvre, ad esempio).

Nelle poche ma dense pagine dedicate alla presenza di Le Goff in **Germania**¹⁰, Otto Gerhardt Oexle lamentava che *only in the early 1990s, German medievalists have, in fact, come to recognise in Jacques Le Goff's oeuvre an innovative body of work whose future is assured*¹¹. Il ritardo non poteva stupire, se si pensa che la traduzione tedesca della *Société féodale* di Marc Bloch apparve in Germania quarant'anni dopo la morte dell'Autore. Al tempo stesso, però, venne finalmente riconosciuto che opere tra le prime di Le Goff, come *Marchands et banquiers du Moyen Âge* (1956) e *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge* (1957) erano nel frattempo divenute dei classici.

Vale la pena di sottolineare anche due altre considerazioni di Oexle. La prima riguarda l'atteggiamento autocritico che ogni storico dovrebbe avere nei confronti della propria ricerca:

8. This quotation comes from a 1989 review by Maurice Keen and it was cited by Little: Little, Lester K. “Mainstream and Margins...”: 95 (note 22).

9. “Why and How to Write the Biography of a Medieval Character: Saint Louis?”.

10. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. “Jacques Le Goff in Germany”, *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 79-84.

11. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. “Jacques Le Goff in Germany...”: 80.

*The historian must take note of the subjective determination of his work, of its epistemological foundations, and of the historical traditions, personal, regional and National, that underlie everything he writes [...] the point is [...] to understand more clearly both the significance and the limits of his research*¹².

Ciò che Le Goff non ha mancato di mettere in atto: *This type of reflection is exemplified, in my view uniquely, by Jacques Le Goff's essay on "Ego-History" and his book Histoire et Mémoire*. La seconda considerazione credo sia stata molto apprezzata e condivisa dallo stesso Le Goff, e malgrado siano passati vent'anni da quando Oexle la formulò, mantiene una sua innegabile e forse addirittura rafforzata validità: *there are too few historians studying our continent as a whole, as Jacques Le Goff has recently shown*¹³.

Una rapida occhiata ai cataloghi delle principali biblioteche tedesche —tra cui quella della Humboldt Universität— scopre la presenza del lavoro di Le Goff nella sua totalità, con un'attività di traduzioni che a partire dagli anni 1990 non si è più fermata; numerose opere anzi vengono ristampate a più riprese (tra cui quelle dedicate all'Europa e ai giovani), mentre la distanza dall'originale si è venuta drasticamente riducendo: *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent*, del 2010, è uscito in tedesco già nel 2011.

Un saggio acuto e dettagliato di Walter Simmons rendeva conto delle resistenze incontrate dalla nuova storiografia francese in un'area tutt'alto che uniforme, anche dal punto di vista culturale, divisa com'era e com'è tra **Belgio e Olanda**, tra nord e sud, tra fiamminghi e valloni¹⁴. Non è il caso di ripercorrere qui tutte le tappe dell'analisi di Simmons, che rende conto di quella che sarebbe potuta essere un'apertura indiscussa verso le *Annales* di Lucien Febvre e Marc Bloch, in particolare attraverso la disponibilità e l'appoggio, anche se esterno, offerto da Henri Pirenne ai due fondatori della rivista. Allo stesso modo può stupire la mancanza di conseguenze storiografiche immediate alla pubblicazione del libro, certamente innovativo anche se discutibile e discusso, di Johan Huizinga *L'autunno del Medioevo*¹⁵. La seconda edizione tedesca (1928) ebbe una recensione entusiasta (*glowing*, dice Simmons) di Marc Bloch. Più tardi, prima Fernand Braudel, poi Jacques Le Goff vi trovarono anticipazioni delle linee di ricerca delle *Annales*, sia dal punto di vista dell'uso delle fonti diverse da quelle documentarie tradizionali (sempre prioritarie nella storiografia dei Paesi Bassi), come cronache e letteratura narrativa, per non parlare delle immagini, sia dal punto di vista dello studio di quella che venne definita psicologia collettiva. Ci vorranno decenni perché la storia delle emozioni abbia cittadinanza, non sempre ben accetta, nella storiografia medievalistica.

Non so se sia mai stato fatto un accostamento tra uno dei primi lavori di Le Goff e l'opera di Huizinga per quanto attiene all'uso delle immagini come fonti vere e proprie per lo storico. Penso alla *Civilisation de l'Occident médiéval*, dove le immagini non sono illustrazioni al testo ma parte integrante del racconto storiografico¹⁶. Penso anche al lavoro pionieristico di Emilio Sereni, *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano*¹⁷, prima tappa, per immagini, di una ricerca destinata a completarsi con l'apparato documentario; nei decenni successivi l'uso delle immagini come fonti per la storia divenne pratica diffusa, suscitando però perplessità da parte degli storici dell'arte: uno dei non pochi casi di difficile dialogo interdisciplinare.

12. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. "Jacques Le Goff in Germany...": 79.

13. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. "Jacques Le Goff in Germany...": 79.

14. Simmons, Walter. "The *Annales* and Medieval Studies in the Low Countries", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 99-120.

15. Huizinga, Johan. *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1919.

16. Le Goff, Jacques. *La Civilisation de l'Occident Médiéval*. Paris: Arthaud, 1964.

17. Sereni, Emilio. *Storia del Paesaggio Agrario Italiano*. Bari: Laterza, 1961.



Come Simmons sottolinea, i medievalisti belgi e olandesi finiranno per restare nell'ambito della storia istituzionale e dell'edizione di fonti accantonando l'*histoire globale*, la storia comparativa e la storia delle mentalità fino a ben oltre la seconda guerra mondiale, di fatto fino agli anni Settanta.

Certo non ha gran senso cercare traduzioni in Paesi dove il francese è lingua nazionale (anche se non da sola) e l'inglese è di uso corrente; infatti le opere di Le Goff sono massicciamente presenti nelle biblioteche dei Paesi Bassi e scarsissime sono le traduzioni in olandese (per esempio *Les intellectuels*, 1989; *La civilisation*, 2006).

In **Spagna** la durissima repressione scatenata dalla dittatura franchista dopo la guerra civile (1936-1939) esclude la ricerca spagnola dalle posizioni di punta e l'allontanò dal resto d'Europa¹⁸. La storiografia da un lato si attardò a discutere sul feudalesimo, la "Reconquista" e le relazioni tra ciò che veniva considerato identità spagnola e la alterità musulmana ed ebraica, seguendo il dibattito tra due storici conservatori esiliati, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz e Américo Castro. Dall'altro lato, alla fine del franchismo (tra la metà degli anni 60 e la metà dei 70 del secolo XX) si produsse in ambito universitario una reazione contro la dittatura, reazione segnata da una propensione generale per il metodo marxista¹⁹. Da questa posizione si sviluppò una critica virulenta da parte di autori come Josep Fontana Lázaro contro le *Annales*, contro le studio delle mentalità e contro lo stesso Le Goff²⁰, seguita più tardi da quella di Américo Castro contro Fernand Braudel e il suo *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. Tutto questo finì per riorientare gli storici spagnoli verso la storiografia anglosassone e l'erudizione di stampo germanico e per concentrare la ricerca, soprattutto medievalistica, sul terreno privilegiato del feudalesimo²¹.

Sicché, sempre come segnala Adeline Rucquoi, le prime opere di Le Goff tradotte in spagnolo —a una decina d'anni dall'edizione originale— non ebbero comunque particolare influenza. Va detto che fu l'Argentina ad aprire la strada, con *Les intellectuels*, Buenos Aires 1965 (prima edizione francese 1957), *Marchands et banquiers*, Buenos Aires 1969 (prima edizione francese 1956); nello stesso anno, a breve distanza dalla prima edizione francese (1964) esce *La civilisation* (Barcellona 1969) e infine *Le Bas Moyen Âge*, Madrid, 1971), lavoro di taglio generale, pubblicato in tedesco nel 1965 col titolo *Das Hochmittelalter* nella serie della *Fischer Weltgeschichte*. Dalla fine degli anni 1970 ma soprattutto dagli anni 1980 si moltiplicano le aperture verso la *Nouvelle histoire* (tradotta nel 1988, a dieci anni dall'originale francese) e le traduzioni di opere non solo, ma anche, di Le Goff: *Tiempo trabajo y cultura*, 1983 (ed. fr. 1977), *Il meraviglioso e il quotidiano nell'Occidente medievale*, 1986 (edizione originale italiana 1983) e di nuovo *Les intellectuels*, ma questa volta in Spagna (Barcellona 1986). Poi le cose sembrano cambiare: se restiamo nell'ambito del lavoro di Le Goff le traduzioni si susseguono negli anni 1990 e nel nuovo secolo, mentre la distanza dalle edizioni originali si riduce

18. Claret, Jaume. *El atroz desmoche. La destrucción de la universidad española por el franquismo*. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 2006. Nel suo contributo al più volte citato convegno di Cambridge, Adeline Rucquoi illustra come i rapporti tra la storiografia spagnola e la "nuova storia" francese siano stati studiati da alcuni studiosi spagnoli tra i primi anni 1980 e la metà degli anni 1990 come Carlos Barros. Rucquoi, Adeline. "Spanish Medieval History and the *Annales*: Between Franco and Marx", *The work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 123-141.

19. Riera, Antoni. "El temps i l'espai del feudalisme a Catalunya", *El temps i l'espai del feudalisme*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2004: 561.

20. Roura, Lluís; Fontana, Josep; García-Cárcel, Ricardo; Martínez, Carlos; Salrach, Josep Maria. "La història de les Mentalitats: una polèmica oberta". *Manuscrits. Revista d'història moderna*, 2 (1985): 31-54.

21. Nella collana e nello spirito di *Crítica/historia y teoría*, diretta da Fontana, segnalo di: Aróstegui, Julio. *La investigación histórica: teoría y método*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1995.

sempre più; una semplice ricerca nel catalogo della Biblioteca Nacional de España ne rivela la presenza, insieme a alle molte opere in lingua originale.

Del resto, pur senza entrare nel merito degli sviluppi della medievalistica spagnola —meglio: di lingua spagnola, per non dimenticare la presenza attiva dell'America latina— basta pensare alla enorme cassa di risonanza costituita da internet e alle possibilità di discussione offerta, ad esempio, dall'iniziativa ormai pluridecennale di Carlo Barros, con la fondazione di *Historia a Debate*.

Per restare in ambito "hispano-hablante", troviamo in tutta l'America latina opere di Le Goff tradotte e pubblicate dalla casa editrice Paidós, nata in Argentina nel 1945, poi con altre sedi (Barcellona, Messico) e infine confluita (2003) nella Editorial Planeta, che ha la sede principale a Barcellona ma opera in Spagna, Portogallo, America. **L'Argentina** ebbe però un rilievo particolare da quando vi emigrò Claudio Sánchez Albornoz dopo la guerra civile spagnola. Basti pensare che qui le traduzioni di opere di Le Goff cominciano già negli anni 1960: il primo esempio è quello di *Marchands et banquiers*, che dal 1962 al 1984 ha ben 10 ristampe a Buenos Aires. Naturalmente nelle biblioteche (Nazionale, universitarie) sono presenti anche le traduzioni spagnole.

È anche il caso di segnalare la presenza di traduzioni in **Messico**, come *Il meraviglioso e il quotidiano* e *Les intellectuels* (entrambi già in 2ª ed. nel 1986). Appunto in Messico, la presenza della medievalistica francese e di non poche opere di Le Goff deve molto all'attività costante di Jérôme Baschet, uno degli allievi più vicini e stimati dal maestro, con l'appoggio convinto di Jean Claude Schmitt. Sullo stato della storia del Medioevo in Messico ha reso conto ampiamente Martín F. Ríos Saloma, in un articolo che analizza quattro ambiti: insegnamento, diffusione, organizzazione di mostre e editoria²². Secondo l'Autore, malgrado i progressi compiuti, *Mexican medieval studies are still in their infancy*, soprattutto se paragonati al ben diverso sviluppo in Argentina e Brasile. È il caso anche di altri Paesi latino-americani, per esempio il **Perù**, dove prevale l'interesse per la storia nazionale, malgrado gli sforzi pionieristici di Gloria Cristina Flórez Dávila²³.

Come accennato all'inizio, sia per la Spagna che per il **Portogallo** la fine dei regimi dittatoriali nella prima metà degli anni 1970 ebbe una evidente influenza sulla ricostruzione dei sistemi di insegnamento e sull'evoluzione della storiografia in generale e della medievalistica in particolare.

Per il Portogallo è di grande utilità un'indagine presentata nel 2004 (ma pubblicata due anni dopo) a un seminario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo sulla storiografia portoghese del Medio Evo e del Rinascimento²⁴. L'Autrice si occupa degli studi medievali in Portogallo nell'ultimo quarto del secolo XX e della loro riorganizzazione, che va di pari passo con la riorganizzazione dell'insegnamento, in particolare di quello universitario, che vede la moltiplicazione dei temi e dei tagli cronologici affrontati, insieme all'aumento numerico degli storici e al bisogno di nuovi contatti con altre realtà accademiche; è poi interessante notare come si sia sentito il bisogno di sottolineare l'incremento della presenza femminile nel mondo della ricerca storica. Nasce la Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Medievais (1984), con l'omonima rivista specialistica. Le università più coinvolte sembrano essere quelle di O Porto (in collegamento con analoghe realtà di Spagna,

22. Ríos, Martín F. "The State of the Discipline of Medieval History in Mexico". *Imago Temporis Medium Aevum*, 4 (2010): 93-116. Questa nuova ma altamente attiva rivista ha pubblicato un gran numero di recensioni su storiografia che completano le visioni supra le opere di Le Goff.

23. Autrice tra l'altro di: Flórez, Gloria. *Derechos Humanos y Medioevo: un hito en la evolución de una idea*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2010.

24. Pinto, Paula Maria de Carvalho. "Os estudos medievais em Portugal (1975-2000). Organização dos estudos e principais linhas de orientação". *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 106/2 (2006): 247-271.



Italia e Brasile), Lisbona, Coimbra. Ma se da un lato *apesar do esforço que se fez no ultimo quartel do sec. XX, há ainda muito a fazer no domínio da Idade Media portuguesa*, dall'altro l'apertura alle *Annales* e alla *Nouvelle Histoire* non può non esercitare un'influenza sulla storiografia generale e medievale, *que tem procurado acompanhar as tendências européias, embora com algum atraso em relação à certos temas*²⁵. Di fatto, l'impressione è che nei rapporti con l'esterno un po' di ritardo ci ci sia stato e non sia stato recuperato del tutto, mentre lo studio di Pinto Costa fornisce una massa impressionante di dati sulla produzione di storia portoghese in numerosi settori di ricerca, proprio in quei venticinque anni seguiti al rinnovamento politico e culturale del Paese. Se cerchiamo, com'è il nostro scopo qui, la presenza di opere di Le Goff, in originale o in traduzione, ne troviamo pochissime in francese e qualcuna di più in spagnolo, ma la maggioranza è in portoghese, a cominciare appunto dagli anni 1970, con evidente accelerazione nei tre decenni successivi, per un totale, ovviamente non definitivo, di poco più di una ventina. Va detto però che alcune di queste opere incontrano un evidente successo, testimoniato da successive riedizioni. È il caso di *La bourse et la vie, Faire de l'histoire, La naissance du Purgatoire, L'Europe racontée aux jeunes*; il primato spetta però a *Les intellectuels, Le merveilleux et le quotidien* (ripubblicato dal 1985 al 2010) e soprattutto a *La nouvelle histoire*, con almeno cinque riedizioni entro il 1990.

La traduzioni fatte in Portogallo sono ovviamente presenti anche nelle biblioteche **brasiliane** (la Nazionale di Rio de Janeiro, o biblioteche universitarie come quella di Campinas SP), dove però sono presenti molte edizioni originali e alcune traduzioni in spagnolo e in inglese. Le traduzioni in brasiliano (che a volte doppiano quelle portoghesi, come *Pour un autre Moyen Âge*, uscito a Lisbona nel 1980 e a Petropolis nel 2013) cominciano e sono già numerose negli anni 1980, ma si moltiplicano nei decenni seguenti. Parecchie opere sono presenti in più copie (segno di numerosi lettori) e in più edizioni, come *Les intellectuels* (5 tra il 1988 e il 2007), *Storia e memoria* (5 tra il 1990 e il 2003), *La nouvelle histoire* (5 tra il 1990 e il 2005). Non sembrano ancora acquisiti, né in originale né in traduzione i libri usciti in Francia dal 2010.

Per quanto riguarda gli studi di storia medievale, oltre alla politica delle traduzioni, quella delle acquisizioni sia di studi sia di fonti edite o riprodotte ha avuto impulso negli anni 2000 anche da consistenti finanziamenti governativi, in particolare dello Stato di São Paulo. Del resto proprio con la creazione della USP (Universidade de São Paulo) nel 1934, si formò il primo e più importante centro di studi medievali in Brasile, dopo che dal terzo decennio del XIX secolo e fino alla prima metà del XX i principali interessi della storiografia brasiliana furono di tipo nazionale. Tuttavia, dagli anni 1980 altri centri hanno preso piede, come le due università di Rio de Janeiro, la Federal e la Fluminense. Al 1996 risale la costituzione della Associação Brasileira de Estudos Medievais, che oltre a promuovere incontri e convegni pubblica dal 1999 *Signum. Revista da ABREM*. Il corposo numero 5 (436 pagine), del 2003, fu interamente dedicato a un *Homenagem a Jacques Le Goff*, con articoli originali su temi cari al Maestro, ripubblicazione del suo saggio sul Limbo, rassegna critica di alcune sue opere di recente traduzione e altro ancora. Nel 2005, inoltre, è nata la rivista online *Medievalista*. Va detto che, se la medievalistica brasiliana è molto giovane, ha dato e sta dando luogo a studi e dibattiti anche di taglio metodologico, come un recente incontro internazionale su

25. *apesar do esforço que se fez no ultimo quartel do sec. XX, há ainda muito a fazer no domínio da Idade Media portuguesa; que tem procurado acompanhar as tendências européias, embora com algum atraso em relação à certos temas* (Pinto, Paula Maria de Carvalho. "Os estudos medievais...": 252).

*Pourquoi étudier le Moyen Âge?*²⁶. Pure di taglio metodologico e critico è un ampio saggio di Néri de Barros Almeida dedicato proprio a Le Goff; in questo lavoro l'Autrice si propone non di mettere in evidenza il valore —giudicato inestimabile— del lavoro di Le Goff, ma di individuarne motivi e implicazioni sul piano teorico, metodologico e politico. Non ci possiamo soffermare qui sui vari aspetti di questa indagine, ma bisogna sottolineare come ripensare alle opere di Le Goff equivalga, per molti storici brasiliani, a ripercorrere gli inizi della loro formazione. Come dice l'Autrice, nell'ambito della storia culturale

*poucos historiadores foram lidos com tanta atenção como Jacques Le Goff. Dotado de um talento ímpar, viu seus escritos projetados para além do domínio do estudo da Idade Média, exercendo influência sobre diversas gerações de historiadores de todo o mundo. Ascendência em particular sensível em regiões fora da Europa, como o Brasil, onde seus resultados de pesquisa não raro se impuseram como modelo teórico e metodológico dos estudos medievais. É pois através de alguns de seus textos mais conhecidos que pretendemos desenvolver nossa reflexão, tomando-o não apenas como expoente da “terceira geração” dos Annales mas figura influente em especial na conformação da ainda jovem tradição dos estudos de História Medieval no Brasil*²⁷.

In parole di Sverre Bagge²⁸:

Jacques Le Goff's works are certainly well known in Scandinavia, particularly among the younger generation. The journal Annales does not seem to be very much used, as Scandinavians are mostly reluctant to read French, but works by Annales historians are often read in English. The history of mentality and historical anthropology have been in vogue since the 1990s, and Le Goff's words about what is common to Caesar and the least of his legionary is frequently quoted and discussed. Of his works his article in La nouvelle histoire, Pour une autre Moyen-âge and the book about purgatory are the best known. By contrast, there have been less use of his book about St. Louis, perhaps because kingship has been less in the centre of interest in recent years. As a matter of fact, there is a considerable interest in history in Norway, but mostly with focus on Norwegian and local history, notably the Second World War, and books written in norwegian. The same applies possibly to the other Scandinavian countries, although not the same extent.

Fino ad anni recentissimi, si contavano solo due traduzioni di opere di Le Goff, entrambe in svedese: la prima, *Att skriva historia* del 1978, è una selezione di testi tratti da *Faire de l'histoire* (1974), divenuta audio-libro nel 2004; la seconda, *Ockraren och döden*, (l'usuraio e la morte, ma il titolo originale è *La bourse et la vie*) uscita nel 1990, è divenuta audio-libro nel 2002. Nel 2011 si è aggiunta *Kroppens historia under medeltiden*, traduzione di *Une histoire du corps au Moyen Âge* (con Nicolas Truong, 2003), anche questa divenuta audiolibro nel 2012.

Vale la pena di segnalare che tanto in Svezia come in Norvegia e Danimarca —e mi permetto di aggiungere, arbitrariamente, la Finlandia— non ci sono altre traduzioni nelle lingue locali, ma sono già presenti in originale o in inglese le ultime tre opere di Le Goff: *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent* (2010), *A la recherche du temps sacré* (2011, tradotto in inglese nel 2014), *Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches?* (2014).

26. Méhu, Didier; Almeida, Néri de Barros; Silva, Marcelo Cândido da, eds. *Pourquoi étudier le Moyen Âge? Les médiévistes face aux usages sociaux du passé. Actes du colloque tenu à l'université de São Paulo du 7 au 9 mai 2008*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2012.

27. Almeida, Néri de Barros. “Por uma ‘Europa cultural’: cultura e política na obra de Jacques Le Goff”, *A Idade Média entre os séculos XIX e XX. Estudos de historiografia*, Néri de Barros Almeida, ed. Campinas: Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2008: 1, 74-102, specialmente, 74.

28. Devo queste informazioni alla cortesia del prof. Sverre Bagge, dell'università di Bergen, studioso di cultura e società medievali in Norvegia e in Europa, cui ha dedicato una vasta messe di pubblicazioni.



Quanto alle **repubbliche baltiche**, mentre la biblioteca nazionale lettone è in costruzione, in omaggio al fatto che Riga è la capitale europea della cultura per il 2014, la Biblioteca Nazionale Lituana, a parte la traduzione francese di *Storia e memoria*, sembra contenere prevalentemente opere di Le Goff in traduzione russa, alcune delle quali sono però doppiate in lituano (*L'Europe racontée au jeunes*, *L'imaginaire médiéval*, *La naissance du Purgatoire*), quasi tutte comunque a partire dagli anni 2000. Molto più ricche le biblioteche Nazionale e Universitaria dell'Estonia, con edizioni originali francesi, traduzioni in inglese e alcune traduzioni in estone, anch'esse degli anni 2000. Non si possono naturalmente dimenticare gli effetti delle occupazioni subite dai tre Stati baltici dalla Germania (alle cui tradizioni culturali era peraltro in parte legata l'Estonia) e soprattutto dall'Unione Sovietica (1944-1991).

Dei rapporti tra la storiografia **rusa** e quella francese della seconda metà del XX secolo, si è occupato al convegno di Cambridge Aaron Gurevich, a partire dall'osservatorio moscovita e seguendo il filo conduttore della sua vicenda di storico medievalista:

The path of the Soviet Russian historians to the Annales has been long and tortuous. For many years our historians have had not enough information about the contemporary Western historiography, and especially about the Annales school. In the second half of the 1940s, as students and then as postgraduates, we heard nothing from our professors about Marc Bloch or Lucien Febvre; they may or may not have known Feudal Society and other publications. The prevailing trend in Marxist Soviet medieval studies was that of the agrarian history of the Middle Ages²⁹.

Le cose cambiano a partire dagli anni 1960, quando i lavori degli storici francesi delle *Annales* compaiono nelle biblioteche russe. E tuttavia,

during the second part of the 1960s and 1970s the ideological situation in my country was such that historians who tried to use these new approaches to the historical investigation were rather cautious in proclaiming their interest in the Annales school, since the official historians, supported by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the chiefs of the Russian Academy and universities, were not inclined to cooperate with French historical thought, but instead saw in the Annales their most dangerous enemy. They understood somehow that the Annales school of contemporary historiography could be a very dangerous competitor to the so-called Marxist-historical school.

I was lucky to have published the Russian translation of Marc Bloch already in 1973, but I remember that some of the most influential historians in my country were greatly dissatisfied by it and, according to one of them at least, its publication was "a great political mistake". Other official historians tried to dismiss and minimise the influence of the French historians, saying, for example, that their ideas were not original, and the only trait which differentiated them from other trends in historiography was their good literary style³⁰.

I rapporti, anche personali, con gli storici francesi (tra i medievalisti: Le Roy Ladurie, Duby, Le Goff) cominciano verso la fine degli anni 1980, e intanto si compiono traduzioni di opere di Bloch, Febvre, Le Goff, Ariès. Se si guardano i cataloghi delle biblioteche nazionali di Mosca e Pietroburgo, peraltro non sempre facilmente consultabili, per limitarci a Le Goff, risaltano due aspetti: la distanza cronologica a volte davvero impressionante dalle edizioni originali e il recupero accelerato dalla seconda metà degli anni 1990 fino ad oggi.

29. Gurevich, Aaron. "Annales in Moscow", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 239-248, specialmente, 239.

30. Gurevich, Aaron. "Annales in Moscow...": 242.

Il saggio di Gurevich riveste un notevole interesse anche per le riflessioni critiche su alcuni temi cari a Le Goff storico francese: il Purgatorio, la definizione di antropologia storica, il carnevale, la morte (qui chiamando in campo anche Philippe Ariès). Bisogna aggiungere che a Cambridge vennero affrontati vari aspetti del lavoro di Le Goff, a prescindere dalle riflessioni di tipo nazionale: il tempo e il denaro, la religione e la cultura popolare, gli intellettuali, la regalità, il corpo. Ma sono temi che non possono trovare posto in questo “giro del mondo” di Le Goff e che comunque andrebbero rivisti con lo sguardo di vent’anni dopo.

Sempre al convegno di Cambridge, Gábor Klaniczay, pur occupandosi del peso di Le Goff e delle *Annales* nella medievalistica **ungherese**, ha potuto qua e là gettare uno sguardo anche su altre realtà culturali e nazionali.

È particolarmente significativo l’inizio del suo testo, che vale la pena di citare:

In 1993, the first class of the recently-founded Medieval Studies Department of the Central European University started its work in Budapest with forty graduate students from sixteen countries mostly —though not exclusively— from the former socialist countries. We began with a questionnaire in which we asked students to name three historians who had been influential in shaping their interest in the Middle Ages. Counting the scores, with no small satisfaction we found Jacques Le Goff far ahead at the top of the list, followed by Georges Duby and by two East European friends of Le Goff, Aron Jakovlevich Gurevich and Bronislaw Geremek. Distinguished historians of the Slavic and Byzantine Middle Ages like Francis Dvornik and Dmitri Obolenski, or celebrities from neighbouring scholarly disciplines like Ernst Robert Curtius or Erwin Panofsky, took up the rear. Even though this cannot be taken as representative proof of Le Goff's impact on scholarly circles, his flattering popularity among students has an indicative value. Translations of his works into a large number of East European languages have certainly played an important role in making him well-known. Personal and institutional contacts with him and with other historians of the Annales circle must have been even more important. But the principal factor of his popularity must have been above all his ideas and attitudes as expressed in his writings or in stimulating discussions and debates³¹.

Klaniczay traccia una storia tanto completa quanto sintetica della storiografia magiara, prima del 1945 legata all’influenza tedesca e senza echi francesi (restarono sconosciuti Bloch, Febvre e le *Annales*), poi con l’avvento del comunismo passata sotto l’influenza del marxismo russo, che tuttavia, anche se dogmatico, favorì l’avvio di nuovi studi di storia economica.

La prima opera di Le Goff tradotta nelle lingue dell’Europa Centro-Orientale è *Les intellectuels* (sempre in prima fila nella classifica delle sue opere tradotte in giro per il mondo): in ungherese, Budapest 1979; croato, Zagabria 1982, bulgaro, Sofia 1993; la più sollecita è però la Polonia: Varsavia 1966, e qui poco dopo, nel 1970, viene tradotta la *Civilisation*³². Negli stessi anni compaiono anche traduzioni di opere dell’ambito delle *Annales*, ma in numero limitato e con lacune gravi; bisogna tuttavia pensare che si tratta di Paesi dove leggere il francese era normale per persone di buona cultura oltre che per gli studiosi. Hanno però grandissimo rilievo, come appunto segnala Klaniczay, i rapporti interpersonali e inter-istituzionali, per i quali Le Goff si è sempre e precocemente adoperato. L’*École* des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales ha mandato delegazioni di storici in Ungheria a partire del 1966, in Polonia dopo il 1956, in Cecoslovacchia prima del 1968 (date con valenza politica evidente). Dal 1969, quando Le Goff succede a Braudel alla presidenza dell’*École*, si stabilisce un accordo bilaterale per regolari scambi tra l’*École* e l’Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Si tratta di rapporti che comportano anche scambi di studenti,

31. Klaniczay, Gábor. “Le Goff, the *Annales* and Medieval Studies in Hungary”, *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 223-237, specialmente, 223.

32. Klaniczay, Gábor. “Le Goff, the *Annales*...”: 224 (note 2 and 3).



riguardanti non pochi paesi di quell'area europea, tanto che analoghe joint ventures si istituirono a Praga, Varsavia, Bucarest, Sofia, cioè nei Paesi ex-satelliti dell'Unione Sovietica, e a Mosca negli anni 1990. Ne vennero pubblicazioni come *Paysannerie française, paysannerie hongroise: XVIe-XXe siècles*, Budapest, 1973; *Noblesse française, noblesse hongroise: XVIe-XVIIIe siècles*, Budapest-Paris, 1981, *Intellectuels français, intellectuels hongrois XIIIe-XXe siècles*, quest'ultima sotto la direzione di Jacques Le Goff e Bela Köpeczi, Budapest-Paris, 1985.

The visiting Annales historians deliberately tried to ease the intellectual hostilities between East and West by proposing themselves as interlocutors. Not blinded by ideological prejudices, they saw very well that under the veil of Marxist dogmas, a number of interesting historiographic achievements were being accomplished.

These French-Hungarian discussions in the 1970s drew upon a similar Polish experience which had started earlier. By this time, many studies and monographs of leading Polish historians were available in French translations³³, and their results came to be absorbed by international scholarship as the fruits of an autonomous school of history-writing. The innovative tendencies of Polish historiography had a stimulating effect in Hungary, too³⁴.

Va detto che la **Polonia** rappresenta un caso particolare, perché è il Paese col quale Le Goff ha avuto una precoce e lunga frequentazione, prima da borsista poi per motivi sia famigliari sia politici, come ha più volte ricordato, in particolare nel libro dedicato alla memoria della moglie, appunto polacca³⁵. Ma gli stretti rapporti tra la storiografia polacca e quella francese, in particolare, anche se non solo, per quanto attiene alla medievalistica, sono troppo noti perché sia necessario ripercorrerli; basterebbero le co-produzioni nel campo dell'archeologia medievale, o il nome di Bronislaw Geremek, autore tre l'altro di studi ormai classici sul mondo del lavoro e sulla marginalità a Parigi, e personalità europea di spicco³⁶. Quindi è ovvia la presenza, tra gli altri, proprio di Le Goff nelle biblioteche polacche, sia nelle edizioni originali sia in traduzione; nemmeno può stupire, però, che le traduzioni si moltiplichino a partire dalla seconda metà degli anni 1980, (gli anni del movimento di *solidarnosc*, a cui Le Goff diede il suo caloroso sostegno), con evidente accelerazione nei due decenni successivi e a tutt'oggi. e con riduzione del distacco cronologico dalle edizioni originali: *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent* esce in francese nel 2010 e in polacco nel 2011. Vale poi forse la pena di sottolineare che *L'Europe racontée au jeunes*, uscita in polacco nel 1996, è stata poi più volte ripubblicata (2004, 2006).

Del resto il peso dei problemi ideologici e politici sembra trovare un altro esempio convincente nelle vicende jugoslave. La disgregazione della Repubblica Socialista Federale di Jugoslavia inizia nel 1991 con la dichiarazione di indipendenza dalla **Serbia** di **Slovenia** e **Croazia**. Le drammatiche vicende successive sono note. A parte poche eccezioni: *Les intellectuels* a Lubiana e Zagabria, *Pour un autre Moyen-âge* a Lubiana, *La Civilisation* a Belgrado, e oltre la presenza di pochi testi in edizione originale a Lubiana e Belgrado, i titoli di Le Goff nelle rispettive lingue delle tre repubbliche prende consistenza e si infittisce dalla seconda metà degli anni 1990 e nel nuovo secolo, con un

33. Gieysztor, Alexander; Manteuffel, Tadeusz. *L'Europe aux IX^e-XI^e siècles. Aux origines des États nationaux*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1968; Manteuffel, Tadeusz. *La naissance d'une hérésie. Les adeptes de la pauvreté volontaire au moyen âge*. Paris: Mouton, 1970; Kula, Witold. *Théorie économique du système féodal. Pour un modèle de l'économie polonaise XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Mouton, 1970; Geremek, Bronislaw. *Le Salariat dans l'artisanat parisien aux XIIIe-XVe siècles*. Paris: Mouton, 1968; Geremek, Bronislaw. *Les Marginaux parisiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles*. Paris: Flammarion, 1976.

34. Klaniczay, Gábor, Le Goff, the *Annales*...": 230-231.

35. Ne parla lo stesso Le Goff nelle *Réflexions*...

36. Un esempio: Geremek, Bronislaw. *Les Marginaux parisiens*...

ricupero delle distanze, ormai molto marcate, dagli originali. E anche qui, come un po' dovunque, sono presenti i temi europei, ma solo dagli anni 2000.

Si potrebbe ripetere lo stesso discorso per le repubbliche nate dalla divisione della Cecoslovacchia (1993), ma con qualche differenza evidente. Due esempi: nella Biblioteca Nazionale **Ceca** sono presenti molte opere di Le Goff in edizione originale, ma anche numerose traduzioni in ceco, soprattutto a partire dal nuovo secolo (però *La civilisation* uscì a Praga nel 1991, poi ripresa nel 2005): tra queste gli immancabili *Intellectuels*, *La naissance du Purgatoire*, *Storia e memoria*, *L'Europe racontée aux jeunes*. È anche evidente l'accelerazione dell'aggiornamento: *Le Moyen-âge et l'argent*, uscito nel 2010, viene pubblicato a Praga nel 2012. Sono invece pochissime le traduzioni in slovacco e neppure delle opere principali, ma la Biblioteca Nazionale **Slovacca** e la Biblioteca Universitaria di Bratislava contengono tutte le traduzioni apparse a Praga.

I am certain that it is around the problem of the definition of Europe, in particular in its concept whose roots go back to the Middle Ages and which renders history a living force to explain and shape the present, that we can find the clues for Le Goff's attraction to Eastern Europe and the attraction of Eastern Europeans to his personality and works³⁷.

Per chiudere questo panorama breve e incompleto, possiamo aggiungere che la **Grecia** produce una decina di traduzioni dalla fine degli anni 1980 al 2009, mentre nella Biblioteca Nazionale di **Albania** troviamo due traduzioni: *La civilisation* nel 1998 e *Il medioevo. Alle origini dell'identità europea* (2002, uscito in italiano nel 1996); Le Goff è peraltro preceduto da Braudel, con due titoli tradotti e ben due copie della *Méditerranée* in italiano; qui, come più avanti, mi è utile leggere la presenza di Braudel come indicatore della presenza delle *Annales*.

Anche nel continente asiatico la presenza di Le Goff è rintracciabile nelle grandi biblioteche nazionali o universitarie. In queste ultime solitamente si trovano opere in lingua originale ma soprattutto in traduzione inglese, mentre in alcuni casi sono presenti traduzioni nelle lingue locali. Un'indagine esauriente sarebbe abbastanza complessa e rimane ancora da compiere, ma almeno qualche esempio è possibile, oltre al caso veramente particolare del Giappone. Va detto anche che non sempre i cataloghi online delle biblioteche sono raggiungibili o aggiornati.

Troviamo dunque opere di Le Goff in **Cina**, dove le traduzioni iniziano nel 1988 con *La naissance du purgatoire*, e si susseguono con *La bourse et la vie*, che ha addirittura due edizioni: 1989 e 2007, anno in cui vengono tradotti anche *L'imaginaire médiéval*, *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* e *La nouvelle histoire*, mentre compaiono nel 2002 *Saint Louis* e nel 2010 *Saint François d'Assise*. Ma nella Biblioteca Nazionale della Cina (Pechino) sono presenti anche molte opere in francese, inglese e —in misura molto minore— tedesco. Abbastanza sorprendentemente, a **Macao** nel 1997 viene tradotto dal portoghese *L'Europe racontée aux jeunes*; altrettanto sorprendentemente troviamo la traduzione di *Le Moyen Âge expliqué aux enfants* (2008); mentre nelle **Filippine** (Biblioteca Universitaria di Manila) compare solo qualche opera in inglese.

Un altro caso particolare è quello della **Corea del Sud**. Si sa bene che si tratta di un Paese estremamente dinamico e competitivo, perché ha scelto di investire nell'istruzione in tutti i campi (un fenomeno particolarmente visibile in Italia è la presenza di giovani coreani nell'ambito dell'istruzione musicale: cantanti, strumentisti, aspiranti direttori d'orchestra). Per quello che ci riguarda qui, basta dare uno sguardo ai cataloghi della Biblioteca Nazionale Coreana e soprattutto

37. Klaniczay, Gábor. "Le Goff, the *Annales*...": 237.



della biblioteca dell'Università di Seul, dove delle dieci opere di Le Goff tradotte in coreano alcune sono presenti in più esemplari, come *La Civilisation*, con ben undici copie, o *La naissance du Purgatoire* con 4 copie e due edizioni (2000, 2010); è poi evidente l'aggiornamento, testimoniato dalla traduzione di *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent*, uscito nel 2010 e tradotto nel 2011. Come in altre realtà lontane dall'Europa può sorprendere *Le Moyen Âge expliqué aux enfants*, tradotto nel 2008. Numerosi titoli sono inoltre presenti in inglese, francese, tedesco. E di nuovo, l'atmosfera delle *Annales* è simbolicamente anticipata da vari titoli di Braudel sia in coreano (tra cui i tre volumi di *Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme*) sia in lingue europee.

Per quanto riguarda il **Giappone**, Shunichi Ikegami ha avuto la gentilezza di collaborare a questa ricerca con una sintetica quanto ricca pagina storiografica che credo indispensabile proporre qui³⁸. Egli ha dichiarato a me:

Jacques Le Goff venne per la prima volta in Giappone nel settembre 1976, quando tenne alla Maison franco-japonaise a Tokyo una conferenza piena di conseguenze, intitolata *Histoire et ethnologie aujourd'hui*. Si è trattato di un vero e proprio "Manifesto" dell'antropologia storica, ed ha avuto tutto l'uditorio. Gradualmente gli effetti si andarono infiltrando nel mondo accademico giapponese grazie ai tenaci sforzi dei suoi sostenitori —in specie quello del professore Hiroyuki Ninomiya—, suscitando sia la simpatia (di molti), sia l'antipatia (di pochi). Alcuni hanno battezzato questo fenomeno "Le Goff's shock". Il discorso di Le Goff verteva su tre argomenti: 1. Quali furono i rapporti fra la storia, l'etnologia e l'antropologia in passato, e come sono adesso? 2. Quali caratteristiche ha la 'nuova storia' nata in tale dialogo interdisciplinare? (temi specifici: la storia e lo scritto; la storia e il tempo; la storia e lo spazio; la storia della coscienza storica). 3. Quali nuovi oggetti affiorano nel Medioevo, se ci si colloca nella prospettiva aperta dall'etnologia e dall'antropologia? (temi trattati: il corpo e il gesto; le leggende di Melusina; la nascita dell'idea di purgatorio; come gli uomini medievali si rapportavano al sogno). Attraverso questa conferenza, gli storici giapponesi hanno appreso l'essenza della nouvelle histoire, allora in piena fioritura in Francia sotto l'impulso della terza generazione degli storici della cosiddetta scuola delle *Annales*.

In Giappone tuttavia, la parola d'ordine diffusa successivamente fu la storia sociale e non l'antropologia storica, perché alla metà degli anni Settanta o anche un po' prima, la nuova corrente di ricerca della storiografia giapponese, formatasi autonomamente, professava appunto la storia sociale e cominciava a reinterpretare la struttura della società medievale e la sua trasformazione attraverso lo studio della marginalità, il racconto folcloristico, la cultura giuridica etc. (i protagonisti ne sono Yoshihiko Amino per la storia giapponese e Kinya Abe per la storia tedesca). Questa storia sociale "alla giapponese", che ha trovato un aiuto vigoroso proprio nella conferenza di Jacques Le Goff, si è sviluppata per circa dieci anni. Meritano una menzione speciale il numero speciale (settembre 1979) della rivista *Shiso* (Pensiero), dedicato alla storia sociale, come pure la fondazione della rivista *Shakaishi-kenkyu* (Ricerche sulla storia sociale) nell'ottobre 1982 (fino al n. 8 del marzo 1988). Quest'ultima è in tanto notevole in quanto è stata edita congiuntamente da storici e antropologi sotto una marcata influenza della scuola delle *Annales*.

D'altra parte, la conferenza di Le Goff ha dato a Masao Yamaguchi, importante antropologo, le armi teoriche per attaccare gli storici conservatori giapponesi. Yamaguchi ha infatti energicamente criticato, in nome dell'antropologia storica e della storia "in profondità", gli storici giapponesi seguaci di un positivismo ingenuo o della storia economica con riferimento alla "Grand Theory". Critica severa, che ha suscitato grande interesse nella comunità scientifica di quell'epoca.

D'allora in poi, molti libri legati alla scuola delle *Annales* sono stati tradotti in giapponese uno dietro l'altro. Non è un'esagerazione affermare che Le Goff è il più popolare storico europeo in Giappone: infatti quasi tutti i suoi lavori sono stati tradotti in giapponese (libri, articoli, volumi di altri Autori con sue prefazioni). Soprattutto *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge* (pubblicato in giapponese nel 1977, come *Pour un autre Moyen Âge*) ha avuto un gran numero di lettori. Questo libro e *Histoire*

38. Shunichi Ikegami, che ringrazio, ha studiato a Parigi con Le Goff dal 1986 al 1988 ed è professore di Storia Medievale all'Università di Tokio. Ha pubblicato numerosi libri ed articoli su mentalità, immaginario, spiritualità nel Medioevo europeo, tra cui *Ricerche sul mondo mentale nell'epoca romanica*, scritto in giapponese.

et mémoire sono stati accolti a braccia aperte non solo da chi si interessava alla storia europea, ma anche da coloro che amavano la letteratura o la filosofia.

Credo che fra i suoi libri il più famoso in Giappone sia *La naissance du purgatoire*. Ma ci sono due testi particolarmente famosi presso gli storici giapponesi: il primo è *Au Moyen Âge: Temps de l'Eglise et temps du marchand*. Oltre i medievalisti, ne parlano spesso anche gli studiosi di storia moderna. Il secondo è *Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale*. Tradizionalmente la ricerca di storia urbana è molto sviluppata in Giappone, ma è stata influenzata considerevolmente dalla storiografia tedesca, in specie dai lavori di H. Planitz e di E. Ennen. L'impostazione di Le Goff è stata accolta per cambiare il punto di vista dei ricercatori giapponesi circa le origini della città europea.

Recentemente l'influenza di Le Goff è visibile nel campo della ricerca sull'immaginario medievale. Per esempio, una serie di pubblicazioni di fonti medievali tradotte in giapponese, *Meraviglie medievali* (curate da me), che Le Goff ha voluto appoggiare nel pieghevole pubblicitario di questo progetto. Cinque volumi sono pubblicati fino a oggi: I *Otia imperialia*, II *Le Roman de Mélusine*, III *Topographia Hibernica*, IV *La Lettera di Prete Gianni* e *La Lettera di Alessandro Magno ad Aristotele*, V *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* e *Visio Tungdali*. Questa serie, che proseguirà fino al decimo tomo, farà conoscere ai lettori giapponesi l'universo ricchissimo e affascinante nascosto dietro il "Medioevo feudale" o "Medioevo cristiano" che imparano a scuola.

Per finire, vorrei ricordare alcuni storici che sono stati diretti personalmente oppure influenzati notevolmente da Le Goff, a cominciare da Koichi Kabayama, professore emerito dell'Università di Tokyo, che ha trattato l'argomento degli intellettuali medievali occidentali confutando le tesi di *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge*. I suoi studi hanno dato i libri *Universo ideologico dell'epoca gotica* (1976) e *Parigi ed Avignone: Sapere e politica nel Medioevo occidentale* (1990). Poi, Mineo Tanaka, che ha studiato sotto la direzione di Le Goff a Parigi, ha sostenuto una tesi di dottorato su *La nation Anglo-Allemande de l'Université de Paris à la fin du Moyen Âge*, pubblicata in Francia nel 1991. Io stesso ho studiato sotto la direzione di Le Goff per due anni (1986-88), e dopo il ritorno in Giappone continuo senza sosta a pubblicare libri ed articoli su mentalità, immaginario, spiritualità nel Medioevo europeo (il mio libro principale è *Ricerche sul mondo mentale nell'epoca romanica*).

Nell'aprile 2009 è stata creata la "Japan Society for Medieval European Studies", che ha ormai diverse centinaia di membri. La caratteristica cospicua di questa società accademica consiste nel fatto che i membri aspirano alla ricerca interdisciplinare. Anche qui, l'influenza della scuola delle *Annales*, oltre a quella di Le Goff, è evidente.

Devo a Ikegami anche la segnalazione della numerose traduzioni di opere di Le Goff, a partire da quel 1976 che con lui ha visto l'ingresso in Giappone, per così dire, della medievalistica francese. Nei tre decenni successivi i titoli in giapponese si sono andati susseguendo costantemente, con una scansione quasi annuale nell'ultimo decennio; anche qui, come in altri casi dove non è ovvio aspettarselo, troviamo *L'Europe racontée aux jeunes* (Chicuma shobou, 2009).

Non mi è stato possibile svolgere un'indagine approfondita per quanto riguarda l'**India**, ma per non trascurare del tutto un grande Paese emergente, segnalo la presenza di sette titoli in inglese nella National e nella University Library of Delhi, dove compaiono anche tre titoli di Braudel, in più copie (cinque per *La Méditerranée*, ad esempio), con esemplari anche dell'originale francese.

Nell'impossibilità di dar conto di tutti i Paesi asiatici, come del resto di quelli degli altri continenti, usciamo dall'Asia attraverso il ponte della **Turchia**, dove *La civilisation* viene tradotta nel 1999, purtroppo senza le immagini, che sono parte integrante e non semplice illustrazione del testo; l'opera è peraltro presente in francese, con alcuni altri lavori di Le Goff, nella Biblioteca Nazionale Turca ad Ankara e nelle biblioteche delle Università di Ankara e Istanbul; nel 2005 si traducono gli *Essais d'égo-histoire* (Le Goff è tra gli autori) e nel 1994, poi nel 2006, *Les Intellectuels*, presenti a Istanbul in due copie, più tre in francese, oltre a *Le Moyen Âge expliqué aux enfants*, tradotto nel 2011 e di nuovo nel 2012. Va detto anche che non mancano opere della storiografia francese, in particolare dell'ambito delle *Annales*: l'esempio è ancora quello di Braudel, presente con molti titoli sia in originale sia in traduzione. Non è stata poi forse casuale la traduzione di *L'Europe racontée*



aux jeunes (1997) e *L'Europe est-elle née au moyen âge?* (2008), ma molto sembra cambiare oggi e a maggior ragione si può sottolineare come Le Goff abbia più volte espresso la sua contrarietà, per ragioni culturali e storiche, all'ingresso della Turchia nell'Unione Europea.

In un articolo intitolato "giro del mondo" è impossibile dimenticare un intero continente, ma è evidentemente difficile parlare di una realtà tanto multiforme e difficile quale è l'**Africa**. Posso quindi solo segnalare qualche dato, del resto abbastanza ovvio. La cultura francese, a livelli diversi, è presente nei Paesi sui quali la Francia ha esercitato il dominio coloniale: così, troviamo alcune opere di Le Goff in edizione originale in Algeria, Tunisia, Senegal (ma non in Costa d'Avorio).

Un paio di titoli si trovano all'Università del Cairo, che ha però i cataloghi prevalentemente in arabo. Una realtà a parte è quella del **Sud Africa**, dove la vita universitaria si è enormemente ampliata dopo la fine dell'apartheid, ma dove nelle università storiche (Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Western Cape, Witswatersrand di Johannesburg...) la conoscenza della storiografia francese dalla prima generazione delle *Annales* ha accompagnato l'arrivo dei molti titoli di Le Goff in prevalenza nelle traduzioni sia inglesi sia americane.

Lascio per ultima l'**Italia**, perché è un caso particolare, per non dire unico. Le Goff stesso parla dell'Italia come di una seconda patria, per i legami nati durante i soggiorni di studio, tra l'altro, a Padova, Firenze, Siena, o all'École Française de Rome già al tempo dei suoi primi lavori, e un po' anche per la remota ascendenza ligure, segnalata dal cognome della madre (Ansaldi), il cui nonno era emigrato in Francia dalla natia Porto Maurizio ben prima che in epoca fascista venisse unita a Oneglia sotto il nome unificato di Imperia. Durante uno dei suoi soggiorni italiani (nell'anno colombiano, 1992) da Genova volle andare a vedere quei luoghi, in una specie di pellegrinaggio, gradito anche perché marino, su quel Mediterraneo che aveva visto la sua nascita e la prima giovinezza. Ma le ragioni di un legame davvero eccezionale sono anche di tipo storico e culturale e bene lo segnalava André Vauchez a Cambridge, in un saggio del quale mi servirò a più riprese:

he has been especially sensitive, above all, to the importance and continuity of city life in Italy, and in particular to the fundamental role played by Italy as a privileged observatory of the Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world. Impassioned by the contacts between civilizations, by change and exchanges, and an attentive observer of existence in all its guises, Le Goff was, perhaps, more able than others to enthuse about a world where rural life was confined to a subaltern role early on, and where the feudal lords played a lesser part than merchants and jurists: a dynamic, conquering Middle Ages³⁹.

Un Medioevo per il quale, nelle *Réflexions...* che precedono, Le Goff conia una definizione originale e al tempo stesso problematica, capace di suscitare discussioni e approfondimenti: "un'epoca di progresso che non osa pronunciare il suo nome".

La presenza di Le Goff in Italia segue alla tardiva scoperta della storiografia francese della prima metà del Novecento, bloccata a lungo dal provincialismo culturale dell'epoca fascista e dal peso della riforma della scuola, dovuta a Giovanni Gentile (nome dichiaratamente invisibile a Le Goff, per motivi culturali e politici), che associava nell'insegnamento medio superiore la storia alla filosofia, con risultati didattici per lo più disastrosi, come potrebbero testimoniare i liceali della mia generazione. Nella storiografia e nell'insegnamento francese, invece, il binomio era piuttosto storia e geografia, ma in Italia la geografia umana (connessa in vario modo alle scienze umane: storia,

39. Vauchez, André. "Jacques Le Goff and Italy", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 71-77 e 76-77.

antropologia, etnologia...) prende piede solo a partire dagli anni 1960, grazie alle ricerche e all'insegnamento di Lucio Gambi.

Del resto basta pensare che le opere di Marc Bloch vengono tradotte a partire dal dopoguerra, e pazienza per la *Società feudale*, che appare nel 1949, dieci anni dopo l'uscita in Francia (1939), ma un libro della forza innovativa dei *Re taumaturghi* dovrà aspettare dal 1924 al 1977, mentre per Le Goff, ormai, il problema di ritardi nelle traduzioni non si pose più; ci sono anzi state sia co-edizioni Francia-Italia, sia opere uscite in Italia prima che in Francia, o addirittura pubblicazioni soltanto italiane; tra queste un'*Intervista sulla storia* (a cura di F. Maiello, 1983), la scelta di saggi intitolata *Il meraviglioso e il quotidiano nell'Occidente medievale* (1983), *L'Italia nello specchio del Medioevo* (2000; che raccoglie i saggi apparsi nella *Storia d'Italia Einaudi* del 1974), o il volume *Il medioevo europeo* di Jacques Le Goff, che sarebbe troppo riduttivo etichettare come catalogo dell'omonima mostra realizzata a Parma (28 settembre 2003-6 gennaio 2004), che ebbe nell'arco di tre mesi ottantamila visitatori; Le Goff scelse personalmente gli oggetti da esporre e gli Autori dei ventitré saggi inerenti i temi trattati in mostra, ancora attuali⁴⁰. Senza dimenticare i suoi numerosi contributi all'*Enciclopedia Einaudi*: "Antico-moderno", "Passato-presente", "Progresso-reazione", "Documento-monumento"... poi riuniti nelle cinquecento pagine di *Storia e memoria* (1982) e divenuti dei classici del suo pensiero, tradotti in più lingue.

Merita però in commento a parte l'unica, a mia conoscenza, traduzione in un dialetto regionale: è *L'Europe expliquée aux jeunes*, pubblicata nel 1999 in Friuli (regione nel nord-est italiano) come *L'Europe contada ai zovins*.

Le Goff ha avuto anche una parte importante nell'approfondimento e consolidamento dei rapporti tra storici francesi e italiani, anche attraverso i legami di amicizia e stima con molti colleghi tanto più o meno coetanei quanto decisamente *juniores*: Giuseppe Galasso, Girolamo Arnaldi, Ovidio Capitani, Claudio Leonardi, Cesare De Seta, Franco Alessio, Umberto Eco, Chiara Frugoni; ricordo il suo incontro alla Settimana di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo a Spoleto del 1970 con un gruppo di giovani e giovanissimi —alcuni ancora studenti— destinati a entrare anch'essi nel novero dei colleghi-amici, come Massimo Montanari o Chiara Crisciani, cui si aggiunsero presto Giuseppe Gatto, Carla Casagrande, Silvana Vecchio, Giuseppe Sergi. E mi scuso per le omissioni tanto certe quanto involontarie. Con le parole di Vauchez:

Maturity, and the publication of now classic works, broadened the fame of Jacques Le Goff in Italy, and it could be said that since the mid-1970s he has evolved from an esteemed foreign author to a public figure in the cultural life of the nation. His growing reputation beyond the restricted circles of historians has to be seen in the more general context of the impact of French historiography, which has become a veritable craze in Italy, to the benefit of authors like Fernand Braudel, Georges Duby and Jean Delumeau. But in Jacques Le Goff's case one can speak without exaggeration of a sort of cultural naturalisation⁴¹.

A Le Goff sono stati dedicati seminari e discussioni, a volte anche molto critiche, come nel caso del problema del denaro e della funzione degli Ordini mendicanti nelle innovazioni dell'economia medievale, tema sul quale in Italia si sono viste posizioni differenti⁴². Molti echi hanno avuto i suoi interventi

40. Romagnoli, Daniela. *Il Medioevo europeo di Jacques Le Goff*. Milano: Silvana Editorial, 2003.

41. Vauchez, André. "Jacques Le Goff and Italy..." : 74.

42. Si vedano i lavori di Renato Bordone e del Centro studi sui Lombardi (Asti) o di Giacomo Todeschini sul circolo della ricchezza fra cristiani ed ebrei, di Marcia Giussepina Muzzarelli Sui Monti di Pietà.



sui problemi della scuola e dell'insegnamento⁴³, e si sono susseguite negli anni, fino a pochi giorni dalla sua morte, le interviste concesse ai principali quotidiani su temi tanto di storia quanto di attualità.

La sua straordinaria capacità di comunicare gli è valsa nel 2008 il premio Portico d'oro, del quale è diventato eponimo (Premio Portico d'oro-Jacques Le Goff), per la diffusione della storia al di là della cerchia degli accademici⁴⁴. Del resto, chi ha assistito alle sue numerose lezioni e conferenze italiane ha avuto modo di vedere un successo di pubblico che è stato definito "da rock star", e dimostrazioni di autentico affetto. Basti un episodio, particolarmente significativo. Il 21 ottobre 2000, con una cerimonia solenne nello storico teatro Magnani di Fidenza, gli venne conferita la cittadinanza onoraria in segno di gratitudine per l'attenzione riservata a quella cattedrale romanica —uno straordinario libro per immagini, come egli la definì— e alla Via Francigena, uno dei percorsi che conducevano i pellegrini dal nord europeo a Roma⁴⁵. In quella occasione chiese pubblicamente che la città abbandonasse il nome impostole dal fascismo sull'onda della passione imperiale (era stata la romana *Fidentia*) per riassumere la denominazione medievale di Borgo San Donnino. Non fu possibile, ma da allora il cartello che segna l'ingresso nella città recita: "Fidenza - Borgo san Donnino". Del resto quello fu il suo ultimo viaggio fuori dalla Francia, prima che problemi fisici ne riducessero la possibilità di movimento, e fu causato dal conferimento di tre lauree *ad honorem* (a coronamento di un memorabile *palmarès*): alle università di Roma La Sapienza, Parma e Pavia. In quest'ultima sede, a conclusione della tradizionale *laudatio*, lo storico della filosofia antica Mario Vegetti segnalava l'importanza del lavoro di Le Goff per l'ampliamento tematico e metodologico del discorso storico e per il superamento degli steccati interdisciplinari:

Come per gli storici delle Annales, anche per Le Goff la storia è infatti storia della società nel suo complesso, storia totale che tiene conto di tutti gli aspetti della vita degli uomini: economia, tecnica, alimentazione, organizzazione sociale, mentalità, sensibilità [...]. [Le Goff] ha insistito sull'importanza di livelli intermedi tra teorie teologiche e pratica pastorale, tra cultura folk lorica e cultura dotta, tra stili di ricerca e forme di insegnamento, attento ogni volta a individuare le condizioni, i linguaggi e gli attori che rendono possibile il passaggio da un livello all'altro. Jacques Le Goff, insomma, è stato ed è un maestro per gli storici del pensiero medievale. Le sue opere, e ormai da lungo tempo, sono parte essenziale del patrimonio critico degli studi di storia della filosofia, della teologia e della scienza, a conferma che quel dialogo tra discipline diverse, che egli ha sempre auspicato, si è di fatto realizzato⁴⁶.

Forse non è proprio vero, forse non poco resta ancora da fare, ma l'ottimista Jacques Le Goff guarderebbe al futuro con fiducia e speranza, come ha sempre fatto.

43. Le Goff, Jacques. *Ricerca e insegnamento della storia*. Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1991; Romagnoli, Daniela. "Intervista a Jacques Le Goff sullo studio e l'insegnamento della storia medievale (ma non solo)". *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 108 (2006), excerpt: 1-8; the educational journal *Parliamo di Medioevo. Riflessioni sui secoli delle cattedrali*. Milano: Silvana, 2007.

44. Il premio "Portico d'oro - Jacques le Goff", viene assegnato ogni anno a Bologna (dal 2008) durante *La festa internazionale della Storia*, giunta quest'anno alla XI edizione: una grande manifestazione che vede numerose iniziative rivolte anche grande pubblico e soprattutto ai giovani e giovanissimi.

45. Mazzieri, Luca; Mazzieri, Marco, dirs. *Strade, santi, pellegrini*. Parma: Set22 (video), 2000 (cast: Jacques Le Goff; Daniela Romagnoli).

46. Vigitti, Mario. *Laudatio*. Parma: Università degli Studi di Parma, inedito.

LA EDAD MEDIA EN CUATRO ILUSTRADOS FRANCESES

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RESUMEN

A continuación, el siguiente trabajo da cuenta del paradigma “civilización-barbarie” que la historiografía francesa del siglo XVIII referida al “Estado” de la sociedad alto-medieval, asoció a la situación de las leyes y su cumplimiento por la autoridad. Consideramos que en estos intelectuales se consolidó la imagen peyorativa de la Edad Media, convirtiéndose en un axioma en la cultura de Occidente. Utilizamos la venganza y el menosprecio al medievo como centro del análisis.

1. Introducción

El siglo XIX llevó a su máxima expresión la dialéctica conflictiva entre civilización y barbarie, reflexión que ya había sido iniciada por los filósofos ilustrados del siglo XVIII. Esta radical oposición no era inocente ni neutra sino que tenía una intensa carga moral, y así habría de influir poderosamente sobre la visión que el siglo decimonono tendría del pasado lejano y reciente. En esta antinomia había una visión integral de la realidad, es decir, una perspectiva ideológica que minusvaloraba cualquier cultura extraeuropea. Renegar la barbarie y llegar a constituirse en una sociedad civilizada, era la gran aspiración de las naciones europeas de aquella centuria. Para lograrlo, se debía disponer de un conjunto de ideales de unidad y de costumbres virtuosas, todo lo cual no podía llegar a instituirse sin un grupo de leyes sabias administradas con rigor por un Estado fuerte y centralizado, único garante del orden. Absorbidos por este ambiente, los historiadores pusieron la mirada en la Antigüedad, particularmente en el mundo romano, en el que, a través del estudio de las leyes, descubrieron una sociedad que ellos consideraron “ordenada” por un “Estado” que hacía cumplir la ley.

Con el imperio de tales ideas, era de esperar que la historiografía decimonónica tuviera ya formado un juicio de valor —en realidad un juicio moral— sobre el sistema judicial medieval, ya que el “Estado romano”, diluido en el último siglo imperial, dejaría al Occidente en una suerte de “estado natural”, según la expresión de ciertos historiadores.

Preocupada de la correcta aplicación de las leyes, la tradicional historia del derecho intentaba descubrir y estudiar en los primeros siglos de la Edad Media un “Estado de derecho”, una institucionalidad constituida, como la que —se decía— había existido antes de la ruina del mundo romano occidental, y también después en el mundo moderno. Sin embargo, la época medieval conoció formas muy variadas de resolución de conflictos, entre las que destacan las ordalías, los arbitrajes, las composiciones y la venganza o *faida*.

A continuación damos cuenta del paradigma de la civilización y la barbarie que la historiografía del siglo XIX, interesada en el “Estado” de la sociedad alto-medieval, asoció a la situación de las



leyes y su cumplimiento por la autoridad. Sólo así se entiende que las ordalías y la venganza pudieron ser un tema de estudio entre los historiadores.

2. El “estado natural” de la Alta Edad Media

Se trata de una teoría interpretativa, un paradigma, un conjunto de ideas ordenadas a través de una lógica o, si se quiere, un marco previo de referencias para analizar los hechos del pasado. Tal como suele suceder con el pasado mismo, la teoría mediante la cual se interpreta ese pretérito responde también al condicionante entorno histórico del historiador.

Con respecto a nuestro tema, el contexto es el debate intelectual —típicamente decimonónico, cargado de nacionalismo— que entrabó a los grandes historiadores alemanes que intentaban destacar el peculiar sentido de justicia —y no barbarie— de los germanos, y los también grandes historiadores franceses que buscaban demostrar la fuerte romanización que ya tenía la población galo-romana en la época de las invasiones germánicas, frente a las costumbres “primitivas” que estos pueblos tenían y que introdujeron en la Galia. Ello había de tener evidentes consecuencias en la historiografía francesa dedicada a la historia de la justicia, puesto que los historiadores del derecho sintieron muy poco atractivo por el período medieval. Estando vigente en el sistema jurídico costumbrista de los germanos el derecho a la venganza, esa institución común de dichos pueblos (*eine gemeingermanische Institution*), consideraban que no solamente no existía sistema judicial, sino todavía más, afirmaban la ausencia de un auténtico estado de derecho. Ello permite comprender la razón por la cual los franceses hayan dejado a sus colegas alemanes la tarea de explicar la época del supuesto “orden feudal” heredado de sus ancestros, los francos, período al que consideraban una “anarquía” judicial.

Planteadas así las cosas, la historiografía francesa concentró su mirada en la época posterior al siglo XIII, momento en que las instituciones judiciales comenzaron a tener una cierta forma de organización a nivel eclesiástico, pero también en el ámbito municipal junto a la creación de los tribunales reales. En este ambiente histórico, el progreso que es posible apreciar en los procedimientos usados ante los juzgados alcanzó varios aspectos: mejoras en el sistema de pruebas, avances en la forma de llevar la investigación que pasó del procedimiento acusatorio al inquisitorio, y el surgimiento de los procesos extraordinarios basados en el secreto y, con frecuencia, la aplicación de la tortura para evitar el perjurio y extraer, finalmente, la confesión. Por último, en el siglo XIII aparecen ediciones de textos legales acompañados de eruditos comentarios del derecho de costumbres, y se difunde el derecho comentado por los juristas, es decir, un derecho sabio elaborado por peritos.

Era, pues, más digno entrar en la Edad Media clásica, momento en que, se decía, habría nacido el derecho. Justamente, en esta época el sistema judicial se impone sobre el cuerpo social, dándole al juez una herramienta fundamental a la hora de juzgar, esto es, que su convicción se formará, desde ahora, en base a una investigación racional. Por eso, en los procedimientos judiciales se perseguirán tres objetivos esenciales: establecer la verdad del crimen, determinar su autor y, por último, aplicarle la sanción que merece con referencia a un código vigente, todo ello fundado en la convicción del juez.

El paradigma historiográfico que se impuso en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX fue este: la época germánica, momento moral del ser humano todavía próximo al *estado natural* y gobernado por el instinto, se prolonga en la siguiente sociedad feudal, caracterizada por la incapacidad que tuvo el derecho objetivo —las leyes escritas— de ganarle a la preponderancia del derecho subjetivo

—costumbres—. De tal situación se deducía que durante la Edad Media no pudo existir un orden jurídico propiamente tal.

3. Ilustración

El siglo XVIII no fue favorable a la Edad Media. El pensamiento dominante de ese siglo recibe el nombre de *Ilustración* o Iluminismo, debido a que el espíritu racional, representado por la razón misma, se identificó con la luz o “las luces” —*les lumières*—, como acostumbraban a señalar sus representantes. La Francia previa al estallido revolucionario de 1789 fue la patria de este ambiente racional, cuyas amplias directrices, a veces algo confusas, se orientaban a la libertad política y religiosa como fundamentos de la felicidad cívicamente entendida.

Ni qué decir, la *Ilustración* no escaparía a los prejuicios. Éstos se debieron a la toma de posición de los revolucionarios frente a los cambios que impulsaban, y que desembocaron en la revuelta del año 89 con el reguero de sangre y cambios profundos que le siguió. Para ellos, el rechazo a los cambios implicaba en realidad muchas cosas: aceptar la monarquía sin ajustes, reconocer a la Iglesia y su papel omnipresente en la sociedad, rechazar el pensamiento racional, reconocer la jerarquía de las personas, identificarse con el pasado, en fin, mantener el orden y la institucionalidad reinantes.

Por el contrario, propender a los cambios llevaba implícito, necesariamente, una fuerte crítica a un pasado que se identificaba con la monarquía y la Iglesia. En otros términos, había que rechazar la Edad Media. En esa línea, abrirse a la crítica y al pensamiento racional, la apertura a conocer y entender el mundo a través de la razón se representó con la “luz”, y a causa de esta imagen, el pasado aferrado a la fe habría de identificarse con las tinieblas. Por eso los filósofos ilustrados reclamaban las reformas al denunciar los abusos que se habían cometido en el pasado, pasado que analizaban proclamando toda clase de afirmaciones con tono rotundo en un francés elegante. Al hacerlo, se remitían frecuentemente a la Edad Media, donde encontraban informaciones que corroboraban su pensamiento. Una buena parte del folclore medieval, la imagen que de él se tiene todavía —dice Jacques Heers—, nació de esta manera, en el contexto de la preparación de la Revolución¹.

Aun con todos los prejuicios arriba destacados, y probablemente como consecuencia de esta misma actitud crítica, está la otra cara de la Ilustración: propuso ella un modelo diferente de plan-
tear el estudio de la historia al introducir dos elementos muy importantes: en primer lugar, se abrió a nuevos enfoques sobre temas también diversos, y en segundo lugar, empleó un método crítico para interpretar los hechos primeramente reconstituídos a partir del apego irrestricto de las fuentes documentales. La historia denominada “científica” estaba entonces naciendo, y con ella la introducción de la idea de progreso desarrollada por Condorcet. Entendían que el relato de la historia se presentaba como un proceso de progreso ininterrumpido del género humano hacia lo mejor. Aquí parece encontrar explicación la dramática crítica al “oscurantismo medieval”, ya que los ilustrados, al interesarse en el feudalismo como una poderosa estructura opresiva e injusta, evidentemente la Edad Media se les presentaba como un retroceso desde la época clásica. La explicación que surgía espontánea a esta suerte de regresión de la civilización europea, era la presencia del factor religioso

1. Heers, Jack. *La invención de la Edad Media*. Madrid: Crítica, 1995: 115; Mayos, Gonçal. *La Il·lustració*. Barcelona: Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, 2006.



que impedía la comprensión racional del universo. He aquí, pues, la Iglesia católica y su control de las conciencias.

Existe una literatura dieciochesca francamente inmensa, de valor variado, que no es posible abordarla totalmente aquí. Sin embargo, a continuación, he escogido algunos representantes del pensamiento ilustrado —con excepción de Charles du Fresne Du Cange— que se inscriben dentro de esta corriente anti-medieval, y cito aquellos pasajes de sus obras que me han parecido más representativos.

4. Charles du Fresne du Cange

Du Cange no es propiamente un ilustrado, sino que habría que considerarlo un precedente de esa corriente que comienza a estudiar el pasado basado en los documentos y en el riguroso establecimiento de los hechos. Sin embargo, he querido traerlo aquí debido a su mirada del pasado medieval. Nacido en 1610 y muerto en 1688, se trata de un eruditísimo intelectual francés que compuso un impresionante diccionario de la lengua latina medieval y moderna conocido como *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitas*², cuyo uso por los medievalistas resulta todavía indispensable cuando se trata de precisar las palabras y descubrir sus conexiones semánticas. En el tomo X, al comentar la historia del rey de Francia San Luis escrita por Jean de Joinville, inserta una disertación titulada “Acerca de las guerras privadas y del derecho de guerra por costumbre” (*Des Guerres privées et du droit de guerres par coutume*) basada en la crónica de Philippe de Beaumanoir, entonces todavía no editada, la cual dedicaba un capítulo a estas guerras que se hacían por costumbre.

Comienza el autor precisando que ha decidido comentar esta costumbre detestable (*détestable coutume*) dado que tiene una presencia universal en la historia de Francia y de otros países. El *derecho de hacer y declarar la guerra* era un hábito social muy extendido, que se convirtió en una práctica corriente entre los vasallos de los príncipes, y cuyo origen debía hallarse en las costumbres germánicas:

*Ç'a esté un usage observé et reçu de tout temps parmi les nations germaniques, de tirer la vengeance des injures particulières par la voie des armes, et d'y intéresser toute une parenté*³.

En algunos pasajes, el autor explicita su pésima opinión de esta costumbre “detestable”, resaltando su primitivismo de raigambre germana:

L'on voit assez par ce que je viens de remarquer, que l'usage de la guerre par coutume avoit esté non seulement en pratique sous nos premiers Gaulois, mais encore avoit esté retenu par les François, que leur succédèrent, et généralement par tous les peuples septentrionaux, qui avec le temps s'établirent si puissamment dans les provinces et les terres qu'ils conquièrent dans l'empire d'Occident, qu'on a eu bien de la peine à y donner atteinte, et à l'abolir entièrement. Cependant cette faculté de se faire ainsi la guerre est contraire au droit des

2. Cange, Charles du Fresne du. *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitas*. Paris: Editions de Nior-Favre, 1883-1887: 10 vols. El autor reedita en 1668 la obra del cronista Jean de Joinville, concluida en 1307, agregando algunos comentarios que se incluyeron en el *Glossarium* bajo el título *Des guerres privées et du droit de guerre par coutume*, y que corresponden a la disertación XXIX contenida en el tomo X de la edición citada, p.100-108. Citando las fuentes, primero trata acerca de quiénes pueden hacer la guerra y las describe (p. 100-103). Enseguida se ocupa de cuatro maneras de ponerles fin (p. 103-107).

3. “Era esta una costumbre observada y recibida hace mucho tiempo entre las naciones germánicas, de hacer venganza de las injurias particulares a través de las armas, y de hacer participar a toda la parentela” (Cange, Charles du Fresne du. *Glossarium mediae...*: 100).

*gens, qui ne souffre pas qu'aucun autre ait le pouvoir de déclarer et se faire la guerre, que les princes et les souverains, qui ne reconnoissent personne au dessus d'eux. Qu'il est même entièrement opposé aux maximes chrétiennes, qui veulent qu'on laisse la vengeance des injures à Dieu seul, ou aux juges qui sont établis pour les punir*⁴.

Además, al final de su comentario, pretendía demostrar que San Luis había intentado frenar las guerras privadas —la venganza misma o *faida*— que la sociedad francesa todavía, en el siglo XIII, tenía arraigada a causa de sus raíces germánicas, digamos, primitivas.

5. Montesquieu

Charles Louis de Secondat, Señor de la Brède y Barón de Montesquieu (1689-1755), fue un intelectual multifacético, más conocido por su teoría de la separación de poderes que por su aporte como historiador. En sus obras más importantes hay referencias históricas que nos interesan para nuestro tema.

En 1734, Montesquieu escribió una obra destacada, erudita y de gran penetración intelectual que tituló *Consideraciones sobre la grandeza de los romanos y de su decadencia*⁵ en la que se aprecian interpretaciones comparativas como la siguiente:

*L'histoire moderne nous fournit un exemple de ce qui arriva pour lors à Rome, et ceci est bien remarquable: car, comme les hommes ont eu dans tous les temps les mêmes passions, les occasions qui produisent les grands changements sont différentes, mais les causes sont toujours les mêmes*⁶.

Cuando trata la decadencia del Imperio romano de Oriente, al referirse a la Guerra de las imágenes, desliza una larga reflexión anti eclesiástica propia de su tiempo acerca del excesivo poder que a su juicio habían adquirido los eclesiásticos:

Voici un étrange contradiction de l'esprit humain. Les ministres de la Religion chez les premiers Romains, n'étant pas exclu des charges et de la société civile, s'embarassèrent peu de ses affaires. Lorsque la Religion chrétienne fut établie, les ecclésiastiques, qui étaient plus séparés des affaires du monde, s'en mêlèrent avec modération. Mais, lorsque, dans la décadence de l'Empire, les moines furent le seul clergé, ces gens, destinés par une profession plus particulière à fuir et à craindre les affaires, embrassèrent toutes les occasions qui purent leur y donner part: ils ne cessèrent de faire du bruit partout et d'agiter ce monde qu'ils avaient quitté [...]. Aucune affaire d'État, aucune paix, aucune guerre, aucune trêve, aucune négociation, aucun mariage ne se traita que par le ministère des moines: les conseils du Prince en furent remplis, et les assemblées de la Nation, presque toutes composées [...]. On se saurait croire quel mal il en resulta: ils affaiblirent l'esprit des Princes et leur firent faire imprudemment même les choses bonnes. Pendant que Basile occupait les soldats de son armée

4. “Por lo que acabo de destacar, es notorio que el uso de la guerra por costumbre, había sido no solamente puesta en práctica por nuestros primeros galos, sino que había sido establecida por los francos que les sucedieron, y generalmente por los pueblos septentrionales, que con el tiempo se establecieron con violencia en las provincias y tierras que conquistaron al Imperio de Occidente; hubo dificultades para detenerla y abolirla enteramente. Sin embargo, esta facultad de hacer así la guerra es contraria al derecho de gentes, que no consiente que ninguna persona tenga el poder de declarar y hacer la guerra, como no sean los príncipes y los soberanos que no reconocen a nadie sobre ellos; también se opone completamente a las máximas cristianas, que desean que se deje la venganza de las injurias sólo a Dios, o a los jueces que han sido establecidos para castigarlas” (Cange, Charles du Fresne du. *Glossarium*... : 105).

5. Montesquieu, Charle Louis de Secondat. *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des romains et de leur décadence*, ed. Henri Barckhausen. Paris: Impression Nationale, 1900.

6. “La historia moderna nos ofrece un ejemplo de lo que en Roma ocurrió, y esto es destacable, dado que, como los hombres han tenido en todo tiempo las mismas pasiones, las ocasiones que provocan los grandes cambios son diferentes, sin embargo las causas son siempre las mismas” (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Considérations sur les causes*... : 3).



*de mer à bâtir une église à saint Michel, il laissa piller la Sicile par les Sarrasins et prendre Syracuse, et Léon, son successeur, qui employa sa flotte au même usage, leur laissa occuper Tauroménie et l'île de Lemnos*⁷.

La lección que se deduce es que, preocupados de ser gratos a Dios por influencia de los monjes, los emperadores bizantinos descuidaron sus tareas políticas a las que estaban obligados. Este fue, digamos, el gran retraso acaecido durante la Edad Media, y supuso el colapso de la sociedad bizantina por no haber puesto límites a la excesiva intromisión del poder eclesiástico. Por cierto, Montesquieu aplicaba el criterio moderno de la separación entre Estado e Iglesia para juzgar la evolución de la sociedad bizantina, criterio que el Occidente ha conocido hace apenas dos siglos:

*La source la plus empoisonnée de tous les malheurs des Grecs, c'est qu'ils ne connurent jamais la nature ni les bornes de la puissance ecclésiastique et de la séculière [...] cette grande distinction, qui est la base sur laquelle pose la tranquillité des peuples, est fondée non seulement sur la Religion, mais encore sur la raison et la nature, qui veulent que des choses réellement séparées, et qui ne peuvent subsister que séparées, ne soient jamais confondues*⁸.

Asimismo, la tolerancia, tan querida por los ilustrados, se había perdido con las continuas disputas teológicas. Sumida la población en controversias desgastantes e inútiles, éstas habrían finalmente debilitado al gobierno imperial. El tono moralista del comentario de Montesquieu es dieciochesco:

*Dans les disputes ordinaires, comme chacun sent qu'il peut se tromper, l'opiniâtreté et l'obstination ne sont pas extrêmes. Mais, dans celles que nous avons sur la Religion, comme, par la nature de la chose, chacun croit être sûr que son opinion est vraie, nous nous indignons contre ceux qui, au lieu de changer eux-mêmes, s'obstinent à nous faire changer*⁹.

Montesquieu escribió en 1754 un "Ensayo sobre el gusto" donde analiza el concepto de belleza e ideas afines. Cuando se refiere a los placeres de la verdad, dice que el alma requiere de un cierto orden y también de una cierta variedad. En este contexto, para aclarar estas ideas, toma un ejemplo que revela el prejuicio negativo para la Edad Media y el prejuicio positivo para la Antigüedad:

7. "He aquí una extraña contradicción del espíritu humano. Los ministros de la religión entre los primeros romanos, no estando excluidos de los cargos y de la sociedad civil, se desvinculaban poco de sus asuntos. Cuando la religión cristiana fue establecida, los eclesiásticos, que estaban separados de los asuntos del mundo, se mezclaron con moderación. Pero, en medio de la decadencia del Imperio, los monjes fueron el único clero que, destinados por una profesión muy particular a huir y temer de los asuntos mundanos, tomaron todas las ocasiones que pudieron darles participación en ellos; no cesaron de hacer ruido por todos lados y agitar el mundo que habían quitado [...]. Ningún asunto de Estado, ninguna paz, ninguna guerra, ni una tregua ni negociación, ningún matrimonio se realizó sin el concurso de los monjes: llenaron casi completamente tanto los consejos del Príncipe como las asambleas de la Nación [...]. Era posible pensar en el mal que sobrevendría: debilitaron el espíritu de los príncipes y les hicieron hacer imprudentemente incluso las cosas buenas. Mientras Basilio ocupaba los soldados de su armada de mar en construir una iglesia en Saint Michel, dejaba que los sarracenos saquearan Sicilia, tomaran Siracusa; y León, su sucesor, que empleó su flota en lo mismo, dejaba que ocuparan Tauromenia y la isla de Lemnos" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Considérations sur les causes...*: 150).

8. "La fuente más envenenada de todos los males de los griegos, es que jamás conocieron la naturaleza ni los límites del poder eclesiástico y del poder secular [...] esta gran distinción, que es la base sobre la que reposa la tranquilidad de los pueblos, no está fundada solamente sobre la religión, sino también sobre la razón y la naturaleza, que desean que aquellas cosas separadas realmente, y que no pueden subsistir sino separadas, no sean jamás confundidas" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Considérations sur les causes...*: 154).

9. "En las disputas cotidianas, donde cada uno siente que puede equivocarse, la testarudez y la obstinación no son tan extremas. Pero, en aquellas conversaciones que tenemos acerca de la religión, por la naturaleza misma del asunto, cada uno cree estar seguro de que su opinión es verdadera, y nos indignamos con aquellos que, en lugar de modificar su opinión, se obstinan en hacernos cambiar la nuestra" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Considérations sur les causes...*: 152).

L'architecture gothique paraît très variée; mais la confusion des ornements fatigue par leur petitesse; ce qui fait qu'il n'y en a aucun que nous puissions distinguer d'un autre, et leur nombre fait qu'il n'y en a aucun, sur lequel l'œil puisse s'arrêter; de manière qu'elle déplaît par les endroits mêmes qu'on a choisis pour la rendre agréable [...]. Un bâtiment d'ordre gothique est une espèce d'énigme pour l'œil qui le voit; et l'âme est embarrassée comme quand on lui présente un poème obscur [...]. L'architecture grecque, au contraire, paraît uniforme; mais, comme elle a des divisions qu'il faut, et autant qu'il en faut pour que l'âme voie précisément ce qu'elle peut voir sans se fatiguer, mais qu'elle en voie assez pour s'occuper, elle a cette variété qui la fait regarder avec plaisir¹⁰.

Al hablar de los contrastes, dice que el alma ama la simetría. Nuevamente hace la comparación entre el arte medieval y el griego:

si la nature demande des peintres et des sculpteurs qu'ils mettent de la symétrie dans les parties de leurs figures, elle veut au contraire qu'ils mettent des contrastes dans les attitudes. Un pied rangé comme un autre, un membre qui va comme un autre, sont insupportables: la raison en est que cette symétrie fait que les attitudes sont presque toujours les mêmes, comme on le voit dans les figures gothiques, qui se ressemblent toutes par là. Ainsi il n'y a plus de variété dans les productions de l'art¹¹.

Como la variedad que se buscó en el arte gótico le dio la uniformidad, fue frecuente que la variedad que se buscaba a costa de poner contrastes, resultó una simetría y una viciosa uniformidad. Incluso no solamente en la escultura y la pintura, sino también en el estilo de la escritura:

dans chaque phrase, mettant toujours le commencement en contraste avec la fin par des antithèses continuelles, tels que saint Augustin et autres auteurs de la base latinité [...] lorsque vous avez vu une partie de la phrase, vous devinez toujours l'autre; vous voyez des mots opposés, mais opposés de la même manière; vous voyez un tour de phrase, mais c'est toujours le même¹².

En su obra más conocida, “El espíritu de las leyes”, publicada en 1748, Montesquieu se interesa por la formación de Francia durante la alta Edad Media con la llegada de los germanos, a los que llama también *bárbaros*, en oposición a los galos romanizados que habitaban el territorio francés. Realiza un retrato de ellos en los primeros capítulos del libro XXX, especialmente en capítulo XIX titulado “De las composiciones entre los pueblos bárbaros” (*Des compositions chez les peuples barbares*).

Dice Montesquieu que antes de su ingreso al interior del Imperio romano, los germanos en general, pero los francos en particular, vivían en ese *estado de naturaleza* descrito por Tácito, instancia

10. “La arquitectura gótica parece muy variada, pero la confusión de los ornamentos fatiga por su pequeñez; lo cual hace que no podamos distinguir uno del otro, y su número hace que no haya ninguno sobre el cual el ojo pueda detenerse; de manera que disgusta por las mismas partes que han sido escogidas para hacerla agradable [...] un edificio de orden gótico es una especie de enigma para el ojo que lo ve, y el alma se confunde, como cuando se le presenta un poema oscuro [...] la arquitectura griega, por el contrario, parece uniforme, pero como tiene las divisiones que se requiere y tantas como es necesario para que el alma vea precisamente aquello que puede apreciar sin fatigarse, viendo al mismo tiempo lo bastante para tener de qué ocuparse; esa arquitectura tiene una variedad que permite mirar con placer” (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Essai sur le goût*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1993: 41-42).

11. “Si la naturaleza reclama de las pinturas y las esculturas que éstas introduzcan simetría en las partes de sus figuras, también pretende, por el contrario, que introduzcan contrastes en las actitudes. Un pie alineado igual que el otro, un miembro que va en la misma dirección que otro son insoportables; la razón para ello es que tal simetría hace que las actitudes sean casi siempre las mismas, como se ve en las figuras góticas, que se parecen todas en ese sentido. Así ya no hay variedad en las producciones del arte” (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Essai sur le goût*...: 45).

12. “En cada frase ponen siempre el comienzo en contraste con el final, por medio de continuas antítesis, a la manera de San Agustín y otros autores de la baja latinidad [...] cuando uno ha visto una parte de la frase, siempre puede adivinar la otra: uno ve las palabras opuestas, pero opuestas de la misma manera; uno ve un giro en la frase, pero es siempre el mismo” (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Essai sur le goût*...: 46).



previa a la civilización, y que abandonaron al entrar en la Galia con el establecimiento de leyes en tiempos de los monarcas merovingios¹³. La costumbre de vengar las ofensas habría sido introducida en el Occidente medieval por los germanos, y en particular en la Galia por los francos. Señala que los sabios de las diversas naciones bárbaras, morigerando esta costumbre tan peligrosa, pusieron precio al daño causado, el que sería pagado por el ofensor. Y en ello las leyes pusieron mucha pulcritud, distinguiendo admirablemente los casos, las circunstancias:

la loi se met à la place de celui que est offensé, et demande pour lui la satisfaction que dans un moment de sang-froid il aurait demandée lui¹⁴.

Las disposiciones convirtieron al derecho germánico en un estatuto jurídico que procuraba proteger al criminal de las acciones de venganza que pudiera emprender el individuo ofendido y su familia:

Chez les nations violentes, rendre la justice n'étoit autre chose qu'accorder à celui qu'avoit fait une offense sa protection contre la vengeance de celui qui l'avoit reçue, et obliger ce dernier à recevoir la satisfaction qui lui étoit due; de sorte que, chez le Germains, à la différence de tous les autres peuples, la justice se rendoit pour protéger le criminel contre celui qu'il avoit offensé¹⁵.

Por último, podemos intentar resumir su argumentación de la siguiente manera: en los tiempos primitivos, la venganza individual entre los germanos habría sido un derecho común. Sin embargo, no tardó el legislador en reconocer los peligros que para la sociedad implicaban esas guerras privadas que cada día convertían al país en un campo de guerra civil. Se promulgó, pues, con mucha minuciosidad y precaución, una tarifa pecuniaria para todas las composiciones a que dieran lugar las ofensas, desde la más pequeña injuria hasta el crimen más alevoso. De esta manera, se tomaba la sabia decisión de que el único derecho del ofendido sería exigir por la vía judicial el pago de la composición fijada por la ley. De ello resultaba que la sociedad intervenía en los procesos criminales de una manera muy diferente a como se hace en las legislaciones modernas. Mientras en éstas la sociedad se arma contra el culpable, así el arrepentido como también aquel dispuesto a reparar al más alto precio el daño causado, los francos en cambio actuaron conteniendo la furia del ofendido para que canalizara, a través de los tribunales, su derecho a exigir la composición establecida en la ley. Pero si quería ejercer su venganza por la vía de hecho, sería considerado culpable y perturbador.

13. *Ce fut par l'établissement de ces lois que les peuples germains sortirent de cet état de nature où il semble qu'ils étoient encore du temps de Tacite* (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. "L'esprit des lois", *Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu*. Paris: Pierre Pourrat, 1834: 494).

14. "la ley se pone en el lugar de aquel que ha sido ofendido, y pide por él la satisfacción que en un momento de sangre fría la habría reparado él mismo" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. "L'esprit des lois...": 494).

15. "Entre las naciones violentas, hacer justicia no era otra cosa que acordar con el que había hecho una ofensa, la protección contra la venganza de aquel que la había recibido, y obligar a este último a recibir la satisfacción que le era debida; de suerte que, entre los germanos, a diferencia de todos los otros pueblos, la justicia se preocupaba de proteger al criminal de aquel que había sido ofendido" (Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. "L'esprit des lois...": cap. XX: 498).

6. Jean le Rond d'Alembert

A mediados del siglo XVIII, este sabio francés, junto a Denis Diderot, prepararon la publicación de la impresionante *Encyclopédie* como un auténtico *dictionnaire raisonné des sciences et des arts*. Es d'Alambert (1717-1783) el encargado de presentar el famoso *discurso preliminar* donde pone mucha preocupación en definir bien qué es aquello que se proponen los editores con esta monumental obra.

D'Alembert quiere dar cuenta del estado en que se encuentran las ciencias y las artes, especialmente de la Filosofía, que es la ciencia llamada a crear cambios significativos en la medida en que pueda apartarse de los influjos retrógrados de la escolástica. Durante muchos siglos, asegura, el espíritu humano ha estado soterrado por la sombra de las llamadas “autoridades” —se refiere a los grandes autores cristianos medievales—, las cuales no debían ser cuestionadas. En un ambiente así, el saber antiguo quedó oculto durante doce siglos:

Les chefs-d'œuvre que les anciens nous avaient laissés dans presque tous les genres, avaient été oubliés pendant douze siècles. Les principes des sciences et des arts étaient perdus, parce que le beau et le vrai qui semblent se montrer de toutes parts aux hommes, ne les frappent guère à moins qu'ils n'en soient avertis. Ce n'est pas que ces temps malheureux aient été stériles que d'autres en génies rares; la nature est toujours la même; mais que pouvaient faire ces grands hommes, semés de loin à loin comme ils le sont toujours, occupés d'objets différents, et abandonnés sans culture à leurs seules lumières? Les idées qu'on acquiert par la lecture et par la société, sont le germe de presque toutes les découvertes. C'est un air que l'on respire sans y penser, et auquel on doit la vie; et les hommes [p.54] dont nous parlons étaient privés d'un tel secours. Ils ressemblaient aux premiers créateurs des sciences et des arts, que leurs illustres successeurs ont fait oublier, et qui, précédés par ceux-ci, les auraient fait oublier de même. Celui qui trouva le premier les roués et les pignons, eût inventé les montres dans un autre siècle, et Gerbert placé au temps d'Archimède l'aurait peut-être égalé¹⁶.

Después de finalizada la Antigüedad, Europa se sumió en una larga etapa de retroceso, en la que el mal gusto y la grosería afectaron la cultura y la intelectualidad europea. La imagen desarrollada merece tenerla en cuenta en este examen historiográfico:

Cependant la plupart des beaux esprits de ces temps ténébreux se faisaient appeler poètes ou philosophes. Que leur en coûtait-il en effet pour usurper deux titres dont on se pare à si peu de frais, et qu'on se flatte toujours de ne guère devoir à des lumières empruntées? Ils croyaient qu'il était inutile de chercher les modèles de la poésie dans les ouvrages des Grecs et des Romains, dont la langue ne se parlait plus; et ils prenaient pour la véritable philosophie des anciens une tradition barbare qui la défigurait. La poésie se réduisait pour eux à un mécanisme puéril: l'examen approfondi de la nature, et la grande étude de l'homme, étaient remplacés par mille questions frivoles sur des être abstraits et métaphysiques; questions dont la solution, bonne ou mauvaise, demandait souvent beaucoup de subtilité, et par conséquent un grand abus de l'esprit. Qu'on joigne à ce désordre l'état d'esclavage où presque toute l'Europe était plongée, les ravages de la superstition qui naît de l'ignorance, et que la reproduit à son tour, et on verra que rien ne manquait aux obstacles qui éloignaient le retour de la raison

16. “Las obras maestras que los antiguos nos dejaron en casi todos los géneros habían sido olvidadas durante doce siglos. Se habían perdido los principios de las letras y de las artes, porque lo bello y lo verdadero que parecen ofrecerse por doquier a los hombres, no les impresiona casi nunca si no se les llaman la atención sobre ello. No es que esos desdichados tiempos hayan sido más estériles que otros en genios raros; la Naturaleza es siempre la misma, pero, ¿Qué podían hacer aquellos grandes hombres dispersos a gran distancia unos de otros como lo están siempre, ocupados en cosas diferentes y abandonados sin cultivo a sus propias luces? Las ideas que se adquieren en la lectura y en la sociedad son el germen de casi todos los descubrimientos. Es un aire que se respira sin pensarlo y al que se debe la vida, y los hombres de que hablamos estaban privados de tal socorro. Se encontraban en situación parecida a la de los primeros creadores de las ciencias y de las artes, que sus ilustres sucesores han hecho olvidar y que, precedidos por éstos, los hubieran hecho olvidar de la misma manera. El primero que encontró la rueda y el piñón hubiera inventado el reloj en otro siglo, y Gerberto, de haber vivido en el tiempo de Arquímedes, lo hubiera quizá igualado” (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. “Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie”, *Oeuvres complètes de d'Alembert*. Paris: E.A. Lequien, 1821: I, 1^{ère} partie, 54).



et du goût; car il n'y a que la liberté d'agir et de penser qui soit capable de produire des grandes choses, et elle n'a besoin que des lumières pour se préserver des excès. [...] Aussi fallut-il au genre humain, pour sortir de la barbarie, une de ces révolutions qui font prendre à la terre une face nouvelle: l'Empire grec est détruit, sa ruine fait refluer en Europe le peu de connaissances qui restaient encore au monde: l'invention de l'imprimerie, la protection des Médicis et de François I^{er}, ranimèrent les esprits; et la lumière renaît de toutes parts [...]. L'étude des langues et de l'histoire abandonnée par nécessité durant les siècles d'ignorance, fut la première à laquelle on se libéra. L'esprit humain se trouvait, au sortir de la barbarie, dans une espèce d'enfance, avide d'accumuler des idées, et incapable pourtant d'en acquérir d'abord d'un certain ordre par l'espèce d'engourdissement où les facultés de l'âme avaient été si longtemps¹⁷.

Se habrá notado cómo el espectro de epítetos descalificatorios para el pasado medieval se amplía hasta el colmo: *tenebroso, barbarie, frivolidad, desorden, esclavitud, superstición, ignorancia, entumecimiento*, en tan sólo un pequeño párrafo. D'Alambert se muestra un digno representante del pensamiento ilustrado.

Cuando se refiere al renacimiento de la pintura y de la escultura, señala que la razón de este renacer estriba en que los maestros escaparon de la superstición y la barbarie:

La scholastique qui composait toute la science prétendue des siècles d'ignorance, nuisait encore aux progrès de la vraie philosophie dans ce premier siècle de lumière. On était persuadé depuis un temps, pour ainsi dire, immémorial, qu'on possédait dans toute sa pureté la doctrine d'Aristote, commentée par les Arabes, et altérée par mille additions absurdes ou puériles; et on ne pensait pas même à s'assurer si cette philosophie barbare était réellement celle de ce grand homme, tant on avait conçu de respect pour les anciens¹⁸.

Hay un pasaje notable en que se opone al dogmatismo y a la intolerancia que todavía apreciaba en su tiempo. Es del todo interesante presentarlo, porque revela que d'Alembert, como muchos otros "filósofos" ilustrados, no eran ateos, sino que se oponían, muchas veces con virulencia, a los intentos de la Iglesia por contener el uso de la razón en las explicaciones científicas sobre el mundo material:

17. "No obstante, la mayor parte de los espíritus creadores de aquellos tiempos tenebrosos tomaban el nombre de poetas o filósofos. Porque ¿Qué les costaba usurpar títulos que con tanta facilidad se abrogan y que, quienes lo hacen, se jactan siempre de no deber apenas luces prestadas? Creían que era inútil buscar los modelos de la poesía en las obras de los griegos y de los romanos, cuya lengua no se hablaba ya, y confundían con la verdadera filosofía de los antiguos una tradición bárbara que la desfiguraba. La poesía se reducía para ellos a un mecanismo pueril: el examen profundo de la Naturaleza y el gran estudio del hombre eran reemplazados por mil cuestiones frívolas sobre seres abstractos y metafísicos; cuestiones cuya solución, buena o mala, exigía muchas veces una gran sutileza y, por consiguiente, un gran abuso del entendimiento. Únase a este desorden el estado de esclavitud en que estaba sumida casi toda Europa, los estragos de la superstición que nace de la ignorancia y que la reproduce a su vez, y se verá que nada faltaba a los obstáculos que se oponían al retorno de la razón y del gusto, pues solamente la libertad de obrar y de pensar es capaz de producir grandes cosas, y la libertad sólo luces necesita para preservarse de los excesos [...]. Por eso el género humano, para salir de la barbarie, necesitó una de esas revoluciones que hacen tomar a la Tierra un aspecto nuevo: el Imperio griego es destruido, su ruina hace refluir a Europa los pocos conocimientos que aún quedaban en el mundo: el invento de la imprenta, la protección de los Medici y de Francisco I reaniman los espíritus, y la luz renace por doquier [...]. El estudio de las lenguas y de la historia, abandonado por necesidad durante los siglos de ignorancia, fue el primero que se cultivó. El espíritu humano se encontraba, al salir de la barbarie, en una especie de infancia, ávido de acumular ideas, pero incapaz de adquirirlas de pronto en un cierto orden, debido a la especie de entumecimiento en que habían permanecido durante tanto tiempo las facultades del alma" (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 57).

18. "La escolástica, que componía toda la pretendida ciencia de los siglos de ignorancia, interfería también en los progresos de la verdadera filosofía en ese primer siglo de luz. Se estaba persuadido después de un tiempo, digamos, inmemorial, que se poseía en toda su pureza la doctrina de Aristóteles, comentada por los árabes, y alterada por mil adiciones absurdas o pueriles; y ni siquiera se pensaba en asegurarse de si esta filosofía bárbara era realmente la de este gran hombre; tal era el respeto que se tenía por los antiguos" (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 61).

quelque absurde qu'une religion puisse être (reproche que l'impiété seule peut faire à la nôtre), ce ne sont jamais les philosophes qui la détruisent: lors même qu'ils enseignent la vérité, ils se contentent de la montrer sans forcer personne à la connaître; un tel pouvoir n'appartient qu'à l'Être tout-puissant: ce sont les hommes inspirés qui éclairent le peuple, et les enthousiastes de ces derniers qui l'égarent. Le frein qu'on est obligé de mettre à la licence de ces philosophes, et dont la religion peut tirer les plus grands avantages. Si le christianisme ajoute à la philosophie les lumières qui lui manquent, s'il n'appartient qu'à la grâce de soumettre les incrédules, c'est à la philosophie qu'il est réservé de les réduire au silence; et pour assurer le triomphe de la foi, les théologiens dont nous parlons n'avaient qu'à faire usage des armes qu'on aurait voulu employer contre elle [...]. Mais parmi ces mêmes hommes, quelques uns avaient un intérêt beaucoup plus réel de s'opposer à l'avancement de la philosophie. Faussement persuadés que la croyance des peuples est d'autant plus ferme, qu'on l'exerce sur plus d'objets différents, ils ne se contentaient pas d'exiger pour nos mystères la soumission qu'ils méritent, ils cherchaient à ériger en dogmes leurs opinions particulières; et c'étaient ces opinions mêmes, bien plus que les dogmes, qu'ils voulaient mettre en sûreté. Par là ils auraient porté à la religion le coup le plus terrible, si elle eût été l'ouvrage des hommes; car il était à craindre que leurs opinions étant une fois reconnues pour fausses, le peuple qui ne discerne rien, ne traitât de la même manière les vérités avec lesquelles on avait voulu les confondre [...]. D'autres théologiens de meilleure foi, mais aussi dangereux, se joignaient à ces premiers par d'autres motifs. Quoique la religion soit uniquement destinée à régler nos mœurs et notre foi, ils la croyaient faite pour nous éclairer aussi sur le système du monde, c'est-à-dire, sur ces matières que le Tout-Puissant a expressément abandonnées à nos disputes. Ils ne faisaient pas réflexion que les livres sacrés et les ouvrages des Pères, faits pour montrer au peuple comme aux philosophes ce qu'il faut pratiquer et croire, ne devaient point sur les questions indifférentes parler un autre langage que le peuple. Cependant le despotisme théologique ou le préjugé l'emporta. Un tribunal devenu puissant dans le midi de l'Europe, dans les Indes, dans le Nouveau-Monde, mais que la foi n'ordonne point de croire, ni la charité d'approuver, ou plutôt que la religion réprouve quoiqu'occupé par ses ministres, et dont la France n'a pu s'accoutumer encore à prononcer le nom sans effroi, condamna un célèbre astronome pour avoir soutenu le mouvement de la terre, et le déclara hérétique; à peu près comme le pape Zacharie avait condamné quelques siècles auparavant un évêque, pour n'avoir pas pensé comme S. Augustin sur les antipodes, et pour avoir deviné leur existence six cents ans avant que Christophe Colomb les découvrit. C'est ainsi que l'abus de l'autorité spirituelle réunie à la temporelle forçait la raison au silence; et peu s'en fallut qu'on ne défendît au genre humain de penser¹⁹.

19. "por absurda que pueda ser una religión (reproche que sólo la impiedad puede hacer a la nuestra), no son nunca los filósofos quienes la destruyen: incluso cuando enseñan la verdad, se limitan a mostrarla sin obligar a nadie a conocerla; semejante poder corresponde únicamente al Ser Todopoderoso; son los hombres inspirados los que iluminan al pueblo y los entusiastas quienes lo extravián. El freno que necesariamente hay que poner a la licencia de estos últimos, no debe perjudicar a esa libertad tan necesaria a la verdadera filosofía, y de la cual la religión puede sacar las mayores ventajas. Si el cristianismo da a la filosofía las luces que le faltan, sólo a la gracia corresponde someter a los incrédulos, y a la filosofía le está reservado el derecho de reducirlos al silencio; y para asegurar el triunfo de la fe, los teólogos de que hablamos no tenían más que recurrir a las armas que se hubiera querido emplear contra ella [...]. Pero entre estos mismos hombres, algunos tenían un interés mucho más real en oponerse al avance de la filosofía. Falsamente persuadidos de que las creencias de los pueblos son mucho más seguras si se ejercen sobre objetos diferentes, no se contentaban con exigir para nuestros misterios la sumisión que merecen, sino que trataban de erigir en dogmas sus opiniones particulares; y eran estas opiniones mismas, más que los dogmas, las que querían poner a seguro. Con ello habrían dado a la religión el golpe más terrible si ésta fuera obra de los hombres, porque era de temer que, una vez reconocidas como falsas sus opiniones, el pueblo, que no discernía nada, tratase de la misma manera las verdades con las que habían tratado de mezclarlas [...]. Otros teólogos de menor fe, pero también peligrosos, se sumaban a los primeros por otros motivos. Aunque la religión esté únicamente destinada a regular nuestras costumbres y nuestra fe, la creían hecha para explicarnos también el sistema del mundo, es decir, lo que el Todopoderoso ha dejado expresamente a nuestra discusión. No se hacían la reflexión de que los libros sagrados y las obras de los Santos Padres, hechos para mostrar al pueblo y a los filósofos lo que hay que practicar y creer, no debían hablar otra lengua que la del pueblo sobre cuestiones indiferentes. Sin embargo, venció el despotismo teológico o el prejuicio. Un tribunal que llegó a ser poderoso en el sur de Europa, en las Indias, en el Nuevo Mundo, y en el que la fe no le ordena creer, ni la caridad aprobarlo, y que más bien la religión reprueba, aunque esté formado por ministros suyos, y cuyo nombre no ha podido Francia acostumbrarse a pronunciar sin terror, condenó a un célebre astrónomo por haber sostenido el movimiento de la Tierra y lo declaró hereje; casi lo mismo que, varios siglos antes, la condenación por el Papa Zacarías de un obispo por no haber pensado como San Agustín sobre las Antípodas, y por haber adivinado su existencia seiscientos años antes de que Cristóbal Colón los descubriera. Así, el abuso de la autoridad espiritual, unida a la temporal, obligaba a la razón al silencio, y poco faltó para que se prohibiera pensar al género humano" (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 62-63).



Ciertamente, nuestro autor se refiere al abuso que debe interpretarse como “medieval”, extendido a los tiempos modernos, que la autoridad espiritual ejercía sobre el poder temporal. Sin el apoyo —o colusión— de éste, no se hubiese logrado controlar las conciencias al punto de silenciar las opiniones. En este anticlericalismo, la imagen del Medievo invadido por la Iglesia iba decayendo.

D’Alembert dedica elogiosos comentarios a Francis Bacon, a quien considera “el más grande, el más universal y el más elocuente” de los filósofos (*le plus grand, le plus universel et le plus éloquent*). Lo más destacable en este intelectual, es que llegó a ser tal habiendo nacido *en el seno de la noche más oscura*, es decir, a fines del siglo XVI que para d’Alembert significaba todavía la Edad Media, época en que *la filosofía aún no existía* y había que comenzar todo, aunque había quienes se jactaban de dominarla²⁰.

Cuando habla de Descartes, su pluma se extiende gustosa en elogios mayúsculos, especialmente porque tuvo que enfrentarse a la barbarie. Como se ha podido advertir, la dialéctica barbarie-civilización domina todo el texto:

*Descartes a osé du moins montrer aux bons esprits à secouer le joug de la scholastique, de l’opinion, de l’autorité, en un mot, des préjugés et de la barbarie; et par cette révolte dont nous recueillons aujourd’hui les fruits, il a rendu à la philosophie un service plus essentiel peut-être que tous ceux qu’elle doit à ses illustres successeurs. On peut le regarder comme un chef de conjurés qui a eu le courage de s’élever le premier contre une puissance despotique et arbitraire, et qui, en préparant une révolution éclatante, a jeté les fondements d’un gouvernement plus juste et plus heureux qu’il n’a pu voir établi. S’il a fini par croire tout expliquer, il y a du moins commencé par douter de tout*²¹.

Dice que el genio de Descartes es haber buscado en la noche más oscura una nueva ruta: *génie qu’il a montré en cherchant dans la nuit la plus sombre une route nouvelle*²². Como en muchos lugares del texto, la noche está representada por la escolástica, que es la manifestación del imperio de una Iglesia sectaria e intolerante. Por el contrario, la luz (*lumière*) representa el imperio de la razón, la inteligencia humana, la capacidad para comprender el mundo y las cosas, el entendimiento humano:

*La philosophie, qui forme le gout dominant de notre siècle, semble, par les progrès qu’elle fait parmi nous, vouloir réparer le temps qu’elle a perdu, et se venger de l’espèce de mépris que lui avaient marqué nos pères*²³.

20. *on serait tenté de le regarder comme le plus grand, le plus universel, et le plus éloquent des philosophes. Bacon, né dans le sein de la nuit la plus profonde, sentit que la philosophie n’était pas encore, quoique bien des gens sans doute se flattassent d’y exceller; car plus un siècle est grossier, plus il se croit instruit de tout ce qu’il peut savoir* (Alembert, Jean le Rond d’. “Discours préliminaire...”: 63).

21. “Descartes ha tenido la osadía de al menos enseñar a los buenos espíritus la necesidad de sacudirse el yugo de la escolástica, de la opinión, de la autoridad, en una palabra, de los prejuicios y de la barbarie; y por esta revuelta, cuyos frutos recogemos hoy, ha prestado a la filosofía un servicio más esencial, quizás todo lo que ella le debe a sus ilustres sucesores. Puede considerársele como un jefe de conjurados que tuvo el coraje de ser el primero en levantarse contra un poder despótico y arbitrario; y que preparando una revolución brillante, ha puesto los fundamentos de un gobierno más justo y más feliz que no pudo ver instaurado. Si, finalmente, creyó haber explicado todo, al menos comenzó por dudar todo” (Alembert, Jean le Rond d’. “Discours préliminaire...”: 67).

22. Alembert, Jean le Rond d’. “Discours préliminaire...”: 74.

23. “La filosofía, que constituye el gusto dominante de nuestro siglo, por los progresos que ella hace entre nosotros, parece querer recuperar el tiempo que ha perdido, y vengarse de una especie de menosprecio que le mostraron nuestros padres” (Alembert, Jean le Rond d’. “Discours préliminaire...”: 75).

Reitera que la filosofía ha renacido después haber salido de ese *long intervalle d'ignorance* ("largo intervalo de ignorancia") precisamente porque ha venido la luz de la razón a iluminarla. Claramente, la Edad Media es la oscuridad:

*L'obscurité se terminera par un nouveau siècle de lumière. Nous serons plus frappés du grand jour après avoir été quelque temps dans les ténèbres. Elles seront comme une espèce d'anarchie très-funeste par elle-même, mais quelques fois utile par ses suites*²⁴.

Pero también la Edad Media es el período de la irracionalidad y del mal gusto, como puede deducirse del contraste que d'Alembert presenta aquí y en otros lugares:

*Gardons-nous pourtant de souhaiter une révolution si redoutable; la barbarie dure des siècles, il semble que ce soit notre élément: la raison et le bon goût ne font que passer*²⁵.

7. Voltaire

François-Marie Arouet (1694-1778), más conocido como *Voltaire*, era un hombre de su tiempo, anticlerical y libre-pensador, de palabra audaz, muy sutil. Los intelectuales del siglo XVIII, que se presentaban a sí mismos como "filósofos", identificaron la Edad Media con la religión cristiana y el imperio de la Iglesia. En el vocablo "religión" encerraron una serie de prácticas más o menos heterogéneas, ciertamente consideradas irracionales, entre las cuales se incluían las adivinaciones, ciertos encantamientos, abandonos de inculpados en el mar y diversas pruebas corporales. Prodigaron sin reserva toda clase de calificativos en contra de estas costumbres *crueles e irracionales*, decían.

Voltaire las emprendió contra esos siglos violentos del Medievo en su *Ensayo sobre las costumbres y el espíritu de las naciones*, escrito en 1756, donde los asesinatos perpetrados por los príncipes —sostiene— quedaban impunes de parte de la Iglesia:

*La religion chrétienne, qui devait humaniser les hommes, n'empêche point le roi Clovis de faire assassiner les petits régas, ses voisins et ses parents. Les deux enfants de Clodomir sont massacrés dans Paris, en 533, par un Childeberrt et un Clotaire, ses oncles, qu'on appelle rois de France; et Clodoald, le frère de ces innocents égorgés, est invoqué sous le nom de saint Cloud, parce qu'on l'a fait moine [...]. Le père fait brûler son fils avec tous ses amis prisonniers, en 559*²⁶.

24. "la oscuridad habrá terminado por un nuevo siglo de luz. La claridad nos impresionará más después de haber permanecido algún tiempo en las tinieblas. Será como una especie de anarquía muy funesta en sí, pero útil en sus consecuencias" (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 81-82).

25. "Librémonos, sin embargo, de desear una revolución tan temible; la barbarie dura siglos, y parece que es nuestro elemento; la razón y el buen gusto son pasajeros" (Alembert, Jean le Rond d'. "Discours préliminaire...": 82).

26. "La religión cristiana, que debía humanizar a los hombres, no impide que el rey Clodoveo haga asesinar a los pequeños regas, sus vecinos y sus parientes. Los dos hijos de Clodimir son asesinados en París, en 533, por un Childeberrt y un Clotaire, sus tíos, que llamamos reyes de Francia; y Clodoaldo, el hermano de esos inocentes degollados, es llamado bajo el nombre de Saint Cloud, en razón de que se le hizo monje [...]. El padre hace quemar a su hijo con todos sus amigos prisioneros, en 559" (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. "Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations", *Œuvres Complètes*. Paris: Garnier, 1878, chap. XXII: "usages du temps de Charlemagne. De la justice, des lois. Coutumes singulières. Épreuves").



El pasaje es desolador, y el retrato de una época que no puede volver a repetirse:

Sous un Chilpéric, roi de Soissons, en 562, les sujets esclaves désertent ce prétendu royaume, lassés de la tyrannie de leur maître, qui prenait leur pain et leur vin, ne pouvant prendre l'argent qu'ils n'avaient pas. Un Sigebert, un autre Chilpéric, sont assassinés. Brunehaut, d'arienne devenue catholique, est accusée de mille meurtres; et un Clotaire II, non moins barbare qu'elle, la fait traîner, dit-on, à la queue d'un cheval dans son camp, et la fait mourir par ce nouveau genre de supplice, en 616. Si cette aventure n'est pas vraie, il est du moins prouvé qu'elle a été crue comme une chose ordinaire, et cette opinion même atteste la barbarie du temps. Il ne reste de monuments de ces âges affreux que des fondations de monastères, et un confus souvenir de misère et de brigandages. Figurez-vous des déserts où les loups, les tigres, et les renards, égorgent un bétail épars et timide: c'est le portrait de l'Europe pendant tant de siècles²⁷.

Imposible dejar de citar el impresionante retrato que Voltaire hace de la barbarie medieval, la portada de Europa durante tantos siglos, que son los siglos medievales. El poder de los mayordomos francos se fundó en el uso que hicieron con los grandes de la Iglesia, esto es, los obispos y los abades, una especie de solidaridad culposa:

Mais quand les majordomes ou maires de cette milice usurpèrent insensiblement le pouvoir, ils voulurent cimenter leur autorité par le crédit des prélats et des abbés, en les appelant aux assemblées du champ de mai²⁸.

Cuando describe las costumbres de los germanos, refiriéndose en particular a los sajones, asalta el prejuicio de la barbarie intrínseca fundada especialmente en la religión:

Les Germains septentrionaux étaient alors appelés Saxons. On connaissait sous ce nom tous les peuples qui habitaient les bords du Vésèr et ceux de l'Elbe, de Hambourg à la Moravie, et du bas Rhin à la mer Baltique. Ils étaient païens ainsi que tout le septentrion. Leurs mœurs et leurs lois étaient les mêmes que du temps des Romains. Chaque canton se gouvernait en république, mais ils élisaient un chef pour la guerre. Leurs lois étaient simples comme leurs mœurs, leur religion grossière: ils sacrifiaient, dans les grands dangers, des hommes à la Divinité, ainsi que tant d'autres nations; car c'est le caractère des barbares de croire la Divinité malfaisante: les hommes font Dieu à leur image²⁹.

27. “Bajo un Childerico, rey de Soissons, en 562, sujetos esclavos desertan este pretendido reino, hartos de la tiranía de su señor, que tomaba su pan y su vino, no pudiendo tomar el dinero que ellos no tenían. Un Sigeberto, otro Childerico son asesinados. Brunehaut, que se hizo católica, es acusada de mil muertes; y un Clotario II, no menos bárbaro que ella, la hizo llevar, se dice, atada a la cola de un caballo en su campo, y la mató mediante este nuevo método de suplicio en 616. Si esta noticia no es verdadera, al menos fue creída como una cosa normal, y esta misma opinión revela la barbarie de los tiempos. No quedan más monumentos de esta época espantosa, que las fundaciones de monasterios y el recuerdo de miserias y bandidajes. Figúrense desiertos y lobos, tigres y zorros, degüellan un ganado disperso y tímido. Es la portada de Europa durante tantos años” (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Essai sur les mœurs...”: cap. XVII).

28. “Pero cuando los mayordomos o los jefes de esta milicia usurparon insensiblemente el poder, quisieron cimentar su autoridad por el crédito de los prelados y los abades, llamándolos a las asambleas del campo de Marte” (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Essai sur les mœurs...”: cap. XVII).

29. “Los germanos septentrionales eran llamados entonces sajones. Se conocía con este nombre a todos los pueblos que habitaban los bordes del Weser y del Elba, de Hamburgo a la Moravia, y del bajo Rhin al Mar Báltico. Eran paganos como lo era todo el Norte. Sus costumbres y sus leyes eran las mismas que en tiempos de los romanos. Cada cantón se gobernaba como una república, pero elegían un jefe para la guerra. Sus leyes eran simples como sus costumbres, su religión grosera; en los grandes peligros, sacrificaban personas a la divinidad, tal como lo hacían tantas otras naciones, porque es del carácter de los bárbaros creer que hay dioses que hacen daño: los hombres hacen a Dios a su imagen” (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Essai sur les mœurs...”: cap. XV).

La Iglesia aparece siempre responsable de haber sido cómplice de la barbarie:

*L'Église a mis au nombre des saints cet homme qui répandit tant de sang, qui dépouilla ses neveux, et qui fut soupçonné d'inceste! [...] La rouille de la barbarie était trop forte, et les âges suivants l'épaissirent encore*³⁰.

La costumbre popular del *wergeld* o el precio de cada persona en la sociedad, constituía una re-gresión cultural, porque dejaba en la impunidad a los ricos o terratenientes: *Leur jurisprudence, qui paraît humaine, était peut-être en effet plus cruelle que la nôtre: elle laissait la liberté de mal faire à quiconque pouvait la payer*³¹. Y parece que debía ser así, pues los francos se diferenciaron de los galos.

Y respecto de los llamados “juicios de Dios”, en ellos veía unas *déplorables folies de ce gouvernement barbare* (“deplorables locuras de aquél bárbaro gobierno”, se refiere a Carlomagno), entendiendo por tales, especialmente, el duelo judicial, pero incluyendo también otras pruebas, las del agua hirviendo y el fierro candente. Hablando para su tiempo y sus adherentes, Voltaire abandonaba cualquier posibilidad de entender estas prácticas en su particular experiencia, al arrebatarles todo el envoltorio sobrenatural que las hacía comprensibles en la conciencia popular. Sin duda, porque al excluir cualquier intervención divina o algún “milagro”, todo lo relativo a estas arraigadas costumbres del pueblo, parece, obviamente, absurdo y bárbaro, y de paso —afirma Dominique Barthélemy— presenta a los hombres del siglo IX como imbéciles³².

Voltaire se había hecho de un parámetro distorsionador para apreciar el pasado: distinguir en la experiencia humana la *civilización* de la *barbarie*. Esta dicotomía implacable conducía, necesariamente, a una división entre *pasión* y *razón*. Con ello, una parte de la historia de los hombres quedaba arrojada a la irracionalidad como ha destacado Blandine Barret-Kriegel, al citar un pasaje de su *Remarques sur l'Histoire* que aquí transcribo:

*Me parece que si quisiéramos sacar provecho del tiempo presente, no nos pasaríamos la vida ensalzando las fábulas antiguas. Aconsejaría a un joven que adquiriera unas ligeras nociones de aquellos tiempos pasados, pero me gustaría que comenzase un estudio serio de la historia del tiempo en que ésta se vuelve verdaderamente interesante para nosotros: creo que este momento se puede situar a finales del siglo XV [a continuación justifica ofreciendo datos sobre procesos de comienzos del mundo moderno, y concluye] Esta es la historia que todo el mundo debe saber. Es en ella donde no encontrará ni predicciones quiméricas, ni oráculos mentirosos, ni falsos milagros, ni fábulas insensatas: todo allí es verdadero*³³.

De esto modo, la Ilustración proclamaba el triunfo de la burguesía, concibiendo el progreso como el resultado de la superación de la anarquía y el estancamiento. Los fundamentos del proyecto racionalista de la nueva sociedad contemporánea establecidos durante el siglo XVIII, se con-

30. “La Iglesia ha puesto a nombre de los santos, este hombre [Clodoveo] que repartió tanta sangre, que despojara a sus nietos, y que fue sospechoso de incesto. La herrumbre de la barbarie era demasiado fuerte, y en los años que siguieron se extendió todavía” (Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Essai sur les mœurs...”: cap. XVI).

31. «su jurisprudencia, que parecía humana, era más cruel que la nuestra, porque dejaba la libertad de delinquir a cualquiera que pudiera pagarla», Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Essai sur les mœurs...”: cap. XXII.

32. Barthélemy, Dominique. *L'an mil et la paix de Dieu. La France chrétienne et féodale 980-1060*. Paris: Fayard, 1999. Utilizo la edición española: *El año mil y la paz de Dios. La Iglesia y la sociedad feudal*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2005: 660.

33. Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. “Remarques sur l'Histoire”, *Œuvres Complètes*. Paris: Garnier, 1878: XVI, 137; Barret-Kriegel, Blandine. *Les historiens et la Monarchie*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1988: II, 294-306; Guerreau, Alain. *El futuro de un Pasado. La Edad Media en el siglo XXI*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2002: 28.



virtieron en un obstáculo para el historiador, haciendo imposible comprender la sociedad medieval que, hay que repetirlo, había ignorado tales principios.

Con todo, contrariamente a lo que la historiografía católica pretendió de él, Voltaire trabajó con seriedad utilizando los mejores métodos disponibles de su tiempo, intentando realizar un esfuerzo de síntesis, como ha demostrado Ludovico Gatto³⁴; y no es menos meritorio recordarle por haber dado un paso importante en la comprensión racional del pasado, maestro de la historia moderna según Georges Lefebvre³⁵.

8. Conclusión

Creemos haber comprobado que la visión negativa de la Edad Media, teniendo como punto de entrada la existencia de un derecho a la venganza, se consolidó a fines del mundo moderno debido a la contaminación introducida por las ideas ilustradas en la apreciación del pasado medieval. Envuelta en los ideales revolucionarios, la Ilustración francesa vio a la sociedad medieval sumida en un “estado natural”, producto de la introducción de las tradiciones germánicas en el Occidente europeo y por la influencia que sobre dicha sociedad tuvo la Iglesia y el cristianismo.

Sumida en un ambiente de fuerte racionalismo, la Francia pre-revolucionaria orientaba sus expectativas a la libertad política y religiosa como fundamentos de la felicidad. Para ello, era necesario dejar atrás ese largo pasado monárquico y religioso, medieval al fin de cuentas. Con tal bagaje de ideas, era de esperar que la Ilustración no escapara a los prejuicios. Éstos se deben a la toma de posición de los revolucionarios frente a los cambios que impulsaban y que desembocaron en el estallido de 1789. Para ellos, el rechazo a los cambios implicaba en realidad muchas cosas: aceptar la monarquía sin ajustes, reconocer a la Iglesia y su papel omnipresente en la sociedad, rechazar el pensamiento racional, reconocer la jerarquía de las personas, identificarse con el pasado, en fin, mantener el orden y la institucionalidad reinantes.

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34. Gatto, Ludovico. *Medioevo voltairiano*. Roma: Bulzoni, 1972

35. *Maître de l'histoire rationaliste, à nos yeux le fondateur de l'histoire vraiment moderne* (Lefebvre, Georges. *La naissance de l'historiographie moderne*. Paris: Flammarion, 1971: 125).



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LA ARQUETA DE LAS BIENAVENTURANZAS. NUEVA HIPÓTESIS RECONSTRUCTIVA

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RESUMEN

La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas es un relicario que perteneció al Tesoro de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León aunque desde 1869 se encuentra en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Fue realizado en el siglo XI pero en un momento indeterminado sufrió daños por lo que se reconstruyó a base de fragmentos de marfil, algunos procedentes de talleres de eboraria taifas y otros, con el tema que da nombre a la pieza, del taller ebúrneo leonés de Fernando I y Sancha. El estado original es un enigma que pretende descifrarse, al menos en parte, con este trabajo¹.

La denominada “Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas” es una pieza que tradicionalmente se ha identificado con una de las preseas citadas en el documento de donación del monarca Fernando I y su esposa Sancha a San Isidoro de León datado en el año 1063². El arca, por lo tanto, ha sido fechada en torno a mediados del siglo XI. Presenta un alma de madera en la que se han incrustado placas de marfil. Siete de ellas son de tema evangélico con la representación iconográfica de las Bienaventuranzas, que dan nombre a la pieza. Estilísticamente, pertenecen al ámbito del arte románico y, de manera más específica, al taller que parece que se situaba en la ciudad de León (figuras 1, 3 y 4). La cara posterior del arca se configura a partir del ensamblaje de otros siete fragmentos ebúrneos que, por sus motivos decorativos e inscripciones, se han adscrito a talleres musulmanes del siglo XI (figura 2). Con bastante probabilidad, pertenecerían o al taller taifa de Cuenca o a los trabajos realizados en Sevilla bajo el mandato de al-Mu’tadid (1042-1069).

El conjunto de los relieves marfileños configura una especie de rompecabezas difícil de desen- trañar debido a que, en una misma pieza, se aúnan dos tradiciones ebúrneas distintas pero prácticamente coetáneas en la Península Ibérica. El aspecto que muestra, actualmente, dista mucho del que debía presentar en el momento de su gestación, más acorde, seguramente, con la tipología del arca de San Juan Bautista y San Pelayo de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro (figura 5). En ella, junto al trabajo de marfil que aún se conserva en nuestros días, habría existido un complemento de orfebrería que acrecentaría la suntuosidad de la obra. En el siglo XIX, los franceses, atraídos por dicha riqueza, habrían despojado los objetos del tesoro isidoriano de la guarnición metálica, causándoles graves destrozos. En el caso de la arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas fue indispensable una

1. Este artículo se engloba dentro del Proyecto de Investigación *El patronazgo artístico regio en el territorio castellano-leonés. El papel del clero (1055-1200)* (HAR2010-19480), dirigido por María Victoria Herráez y financiado por el Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación. Además ha sido realizado en el marco del desarrollo de la beca de Formación del Profesorado Universitario (FPU) del Ministerio de Educación. Abreviatura utilizada: ASIL, Archivo de San Isidoro de León.

2. Martín, M^a Encarnación. *Patrimonio cultural de San Isidoro de León, Documentos de los siglos X-XIII*. León: Universidad de León, 1995: 16-19 (doc. n^o 6).

recomposición cuyo resultado es el curioso objeto que se alberga, desde el año 1869, en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid³.

La arqueta está realizada con uno de los materiales más exóticos, ricos y difíciles de conseguir empleados en obras artísticas y que ha atraído ya desde la prehistoria a promotores y mecenas por su textura, su dureza y la minuciosidad de su trabajo: el marfil⁴.

El marfil es un tejido del hueso formado por componentes químicos que forman los dientes, los cuernos y los colmillos de animales como morsas, narvales, cachalotes, rinocerontes y, muy desafortunadamente, elefantes⁵. Actualmente el comercio del marfil está sujeto a tratados internacionales para prevenir prácticas ilegales que van contra los derechos de los animales⁶.

En la Península Ibérica de finales del siglo X y durante el siglo XI, surgen y se desarrollan diversos talleres y tradiciones marfileñas. En el sur, se encuentran vinculados con el mundo musulmán y, sobre todo, con el esplendor cordobés y su continuación en Cuenca⁷. En el Norte, se relacionan con el reinado de Fernando I en León y con el monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla en la Rioja⁸.

3. Rada y Delgado, Juan de Dios; de Malibrán, Juan. *Memoria que presentan al Exmo. Sr. Ministro de Fomento, dando cuenta de los trabajos practicados y adquisiciones hechas por el Museo Arqueológico Nacional*. Madrid: Imprenta nacional del Colegio de Sordo-Mudos y Ciegos, 1871: 35.

4. Ya en época medieval el monje Teófilo recogió la manera de trabajar dicho material su: *Theophilus: On divers arts. The foremost medieval treatise on painting, glassmaking and metalwork*, John G. Hawthorne, Stanley Smith, eds. Nueva York: Dover Publications, 1979: 187. Durante el siglo XX el marfil fue objeto de varias investigaciones. Cabe destacar un texto de 1916 en el que se analizan minuciosamente diferentes aspectos sobre el material: Kunz, George Frederick. *Ivory and the elephant in art, in archaeology, and in science*. Nueva York: Doubleday-Page and Company, 1916 y otro un poco anterior, de 1902, en el que se profundiza en el asunto de los tallistas: Cust, Ann M. *The ivory workers of Middle Age*. Londres: George Bell and Sons Nueva York, 1902. En época más reciente destaca la figura de Anthony Cutler quien aborda el estudio del material en varios de sus trabajos siendo quizá el más completo: Cutler, Anthony. *The Hand of the Master. Craftsmanship, Ivory and Society in Byzantium (9th-11th centuries)*. Nueva Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994; Cristoferi, Elena. *Gli avori, problema de restauro*. Florencia: Nardini, 1992, recoge cuestiones vinculadas al modo de conservación más apropiado de las piezas realizadas con marfil y: Clark Grahame. *Symbols of Excellence, Precious materials as expressions of status*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1986; se centra en los aspectos simbólicos del mismo. El marfil tiene cabida también en diferentes manuales de técnicas artísticas como: Barnett, Richard. "Arte dell'avorio", *Storia della tecnologia. Dai tempi primitivi alla caduta degli antichi imperi, fino al 500 a.C circa*, Charles Singer, Eric Holymard, Allastair Hall, Trevor Williams, eds. Turin: P. Boringhieri, 1981 (1^a ed. 1961): I, cap. 14; Hodges, Henry. *Artifacts. An introduction to early materials and technology*. Londres: John Baker, 1964: 153, cap. XII; Maltese, Corrado, coord. *Las técnicas artísticas*. Madrid: Electa, 1999.

5. Ahora, el propio marfil, está hecho de la cornamenta de elefante pero a través de la historia, los artistas han tenido que usar diferentes materiales con características similares para sus trabajos. Algunas de las cuestiones anatómicas relacionadas con las ventajas de la cornamenta del elefante con respecto a otros materiales son recogidas en: Maskell, William. *Ivories, ancient and mediaeval*. Londres: Published by the Committee of Council on Education by Scribner, Wel-ford and Armstrong, 1875.

6. Para más información: CITES, *The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora*. 18 de agosto de 2011. Internacional Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) <<http://www.cites.org>>.

7. Sobre los marfiles islámicos véase, entre otros: Ferrandis, José. *Marfiles árabes de Occidente*. Madrid: Estanislao Maestre, 1935: I y Madrid: Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos, 1940: II y el catálogo de 1971: Küh-nel, Bearbeitet Von Ernst. *Die islamischen elfenbeinskulpturen, VIII-XIII Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1971: n° 41. Del año 2008 es: Galán, Ángel. *Marfiles Medievales del Islam*. Córdoba: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural Cajasur, 2005: I, 394; II, 81.

8. Con el corpus Goldschmidt, Adolph. *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit, XI-XIII*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1972 (1^a ed. 1926): IV, 94 se sentaron las bases para el estudio de los marfiles románicos. Posteriormente: Kingsley, Arthur. *Romanesque sculpture of the pilgrimage roads*. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1923 y más adelante con Kingsley Porter, Arthur. *Spanish Romanesque sculpture*. Nueva York: Hacker Art Books, 1969 incide sobre el trabajo de eboraria hispano. En el panorama nacional destaca la labor de: Ferrandis, José. *Marfiles y azabaches españoles*. Barcelona: Labor, 1928 a quien sigue: Martínez, Ricardo. *Marfiles españoles*. Barcelona: Argos, 1951. A partir de los años ochenta trabajan el tema: Estella, Margarita M. *La escultura de marfil en España*. Madrid: Editora Nacional 1984; Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles. Talleres de León y San Millán de la Cogolla en el siglo XI". *Códex Aquilarensis*, 22 (2006): 97-144; Franco, Ángela. "La eboraria de los reinos hispánicos durante los siglos XI y XII". *Códex Aquilarensis*, 13 (1998): 145-166 y Gallego, Raquel. *La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I. La perspectiva de unas artes suntuarias europeas* (Tesis



La Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas pertenece al taller leonés. Los monarcas Fernando I y Sancha juegan un relevante papel en la conformación del centro productor de eboraria de la urbe regia. Las piezas principales adscritas al mismo son el Crucifijo de Fernando I y doña Sancha hoy en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional⁹, el Arca de San Juan Bautista y San Pelayo en San Isidoro de León¹⁰, el Cristo de Carrizo que se expone en el Museo de León, el Portapaz conservado en San Isidoro y una Placa con el tema de la *Traditio Legis*¹¹ hoy en el Louvre.

Ha sido objeto de interés para varios investigadores que le han dedicado una atención individualizada. No obstante, se trata de escasos ejemplos ya que, por regla general, el estudio de la misma suele aparecer asociado a los talleres de León y San Millán de la Cogolla¹², al mundo islámico¹³ o al Museo Arqueológico Nacional¹⁴. Suelen enumerarse una serie de rasgos genéricos del arca sin ahondar en ciertos aspectos que podrían resultar muy esclarecedores en relación con su estado originario y su función.

La primera noticia documental de la pieza se remonta al año 1063 en que se fecha el privilegio otorgado por Fernando I y Sancha para la consagración de la iglesia de San Isidoro¹⁵. Posteriormente, no hay datos sobre la misma hasta la descripción del altar isidoriano, por parte de Ambrosio de Morales, en 1572¹⁶. Se trata de un texto muy parco en detalles que no permite determinar definitivamente si alguno de los objetos que describe podría asimilarse con la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas o no. La publicación de José M^a Quadrado interesa especialmente ya que presenta un dibujo del objeto realizado por Xavier Parcerisa¹⁷.

Amador de los Ríos será el pionero en la elaboración de una monografía centrada exclusivamente en la Arqueta¹⁸. Realiza una minuciosa descripción de cada una de las placas con sus inscripciones y medidas correspondientes y hace hincapié en la donación real de 1063. Considera que

Doctoral Inédita), 2010. También se tratan en diferentes manuales como los de: Lasko, Peter. *Arte Sacro 800-1200*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1999; de Lozoya, Marqués. *Historia del arte hispánico*. Barcelona: Salvat, 1931: I; Yarza, Joaquín. *Historia del Arte Hispánico. La Edad Media*. Madrid: Alhambra, 1982: II; en compilaciones como: Cook, Walter William; Gudiol, José. "Pintura e imaginaria románicas", *Ars Hispaniae*. Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1950: VI, 281-294 o en catálogos de exposición como: Bango, Isidro, coord. *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro sagrado y monarquía*. León: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001 y D. Dodds, Jerrilynn, coord. *Art of Medieval Spain A. D. 500-120*. Nueva York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

9. Para consultar una lista de bibliografía amplia y actualizada sobre esta pieza acúdase Gallego, Raquel. *La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I...*: 65-66.

10. Véase la bibliografía recogida páginas más adelante en la nota a pie de página número 61.

11. Existen fichas catalográficas de estas piezas tanto en *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*, como en *Art of Medieval Spain...*, en las que se recoge una abundante bibliografía sobre las mismas.

12. Véase nota número 8.

13. Galán, Ángel. *Marfiles Medievales del Islam...*; Kühnel, Ernst. *Die islamischen elfenbeinskulpturen...*; de Leguina, Enrique. *Arquetas hispano-árabes*. Madrid: Librero Fernando Fé, 1912: 46-76; Migeon, Gaston. *Manuel d'art musulman, Les Arts plastiques et industriels*. París: Auguste Picard, 1907.

14. Álvarez-Osorio, Francisco. *Una visita al Museo arqueológico Nacional*. Madrid: Imprenta Artística Española, 1910 y Franco, Ángela. "Eboraria en los reinos hispánicos en los siglos XI y XII y su reflejo en el museo arqueológico nacional", *Enciclopedia del Románico, Madrid*. Aguilar de Campoo: Centro de Estudios del Románico, 2008: 197-228.

15. ASIL. Archivo de San Isidoro de León, 125.

16. Morales, Ambrosio de. *Viage a los reynos de León, y Galicia, y Principado de Asturias para reconocer las reliquias de santos, sepulcros reales y libros manuscritos de las catedrales y monasterios*. Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1765 (Ed. Facsímil, Oviedo, 1977): 47-48.

17. Quadrado, José M^a; Parcerisa, Xavier. *España, sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza e historia. Asturias y León*. Barcelona: Ed. de Daniel Cortez y Cia, 1885: 498.

18. Ríos, José Amador de los. "Arqueta de marfil de la Colegiata de San Isidoro de León hoy existente en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional". *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, 2 (1872): 545-559.

podría identificarse con aquella que tenía otras tres cajitas más pequeñas en su interior y que cita el documento fernandino. Le interesa conocer su función originaria y, para ello, pretende llevar a cabo un estudio “arqueológico” del objeto que, según su parecer, podría ser muy relevante para aportar más datos en relación al vínculo establecido entre Fernando I y el Toledo de al-Mamún.

No será hasta el siglo XX cuando se tome el testigo ofrecido por Amador de los Ríos para profundizar en el análisis de la arqueta. Sin embargo, quienes la trabajan dan un paso al frente dejando a un lado la mera descripción formal. Julie Ann Harris se centra en el mundo de la iconografía buscando otros ejemplos similares¹⁹. Además, vincula el arca con la liturgia hispana y, concretamente, con el *Antiphonarium mozarabicum* de la Catedral de León, llegando a considerar que la pieza se empleaba en el oficio dedicado a santos específicos que podrían identificarse, tal vez, con los personajes representados en ella. Esta idea será retomada, poco después, por Ángela Franco²⁰. Concepción Cosmen se adentra en las fuentes de las que pudo beber el mentor del programa iconográfico, un teólogo seguramente, para plasmar un tema tan poco común en un relicario como las Bienaventuranzas, pero que, en realidad, se convierte en un asunto muy apropiado para los fieles que acudirían a rezar ante los restos de los santos²¹.

Por último, hay que destacar la labor de Ángela Franco Mata quien estudia la pieza en varios de sus trabajos siendo de especial interés un artículo publicado en 2007 en el que, además de recoger un estado de la cuestión del objeto, plantea una interesante reconstrucción del mismo a partir de la cual hemos podido desarrollar este trabajo²². Nuestro objetivo fundamental es la propuesta de una nueva hipótesis reconstructiva del Arca de las Bienaventuranzas siguiendo el camino marcado por la Dra. Franco, pero añadiendo algunos detalles que consideramos que pueden aportar nueva luz sobre el estado original de la obra.

1. La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas en su estado actual

Se hace difícil describir la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas ya que se compone, hoy en día, de una amalgama de fragmentos de índole cristiana y musulmana que no se corresponde con la estructura que habría presentado originariamente. Si así fuere, se trataría de un *unicum*, de un elemento extraño dentro de un conjunto de objetos con cierta homogeneidad como son las arcas de los talleres de León y San Millán de la Cogolla. Gracias a este principio básico de similitud, se pueden proponer ciertas hipótesis reconstructivas.

Los distintos autores que han estudiado la pieza no llegan a un acuerdo sobre el momento en que se llevó a cabo el ensamblaje de las distintas placas que configuran su estado. Algunos, como Amador de los Ríos o José Ferrandis, defienden que se habría realizado en el siglo XVIII, atendiendo a la tipología de herrajes que presenta²³. Otros, como Concepción Cosmen, son más partidarios de su recomposición en el siglo XIX tras el ataque de las tropas francesas a la Real Colegiata isidoriana²⁴.

19. Harris, Julie. “The Beatitudes Casket in Madrid’s Museo Arqueológico: its iconography in context”. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 53 (1990): 134-139.

20. Franco, Ángela. “Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...”: 97-144.

21. Cosmen, María Concepción. “La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas: fuentes iconográficas”. *De Arte*, 1 (2002): 21-30.

22. Franco, Ángela. “La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas”. *Diario de León*, 12 de julio de 2009.

23. Ríos, José Amador de los. “Arqueta de marfil...”: 549; Ferrandis, José. *Marfiles y azabaches...*: 151.

24. Cosmen, María Concepción. “La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...”: 21.



A estas dos ideas preponderantes podría añadirse, quizá, una nueva posibilidad. Manzano, en su libro sobre San Isidoro, narra un episodio de la época de don Enrique de Borgoña, conde de Portugal (1069-1112), quien invadió León al haber muerto Alfonso VI. Uno de sus soldados fue testigo de un milagro. Cuando quiso robar el Cristo donado por la infanta doña Urraca, hoy desaparecido²⁵, la efigie levantó la cabeza atemorizando al ladrón que “desistió de su depravado intento”²⁶. Tal vez, fuese durante dicho ataque cuando la arqueta sufrió los daños que hicieron que tuviese que reconstruirse, ya a finales del siglo XI o principios del XII. Esta misma posibilidad puede extrapolarse a la época de Alfonso I de Aragón el Batallador, casado con la infanta Urraca en 1109 y que también actuó violentamente contra San Isidoro. Es probable que en la basílica leonesa, tal y como ocurrió en Sahagún, Alfonso se llevase algunas piezas de valor y causase ciertos destrozos²⁷. ¿Cabría la posibilidad de que la arqueta se encontrase entre esos bienes dañados? Debido a que no hay documentación para avalar estas teorías, la duda se mantiene en el aire²⁸.

El Arca de las Bienaventuranzas se ha identificado en varias ocasiones con una de las arquetas que recoge el documento de donación de Fernando I y Sancha de diciembre de 1063 a la iglesia de San Isidoro, concretamente con una de las dos de marfil chapadas en plata, que llevaba en su interior tres cajitas de menores dimensiones pero del mismo material²⁹. Dicha identificación no es fortuita sino que se hace en función del aspecto actual de la arqueta. En la cara posterior, presenta fragmentos de marfil que podrían pertenecer a dos pequeños cofres de origen musulmán asociados a dos de las *tres alie capselle in eodem opere facte* citadas en el documento³⁰.

El objeto presenta una estructura prismática rectangular y tiene una cubierta troncopiramidal a cuatro vertientes con una plataforma superior. Primitivamente, la caja habría tenido unas dimensiones distintas y la tapa sería proporcional a las mismas. Atendiendo a las similitudes con las láminas de marfil en las que se representan los Apóstoles y que configuran el Arca de San Juan Bautista y San Pelayo (figura 5), perteneciente también al taller leonés, se puede deducir que la estructura de ambas podría haber sido semejante. La cubierta actual se adecuaba a las piezas reunificadas posteriormente.

Sobre un alma de madera se sitúan las placas ebúrneas. Como se dijo previamente, siete son de tema cristiano y representan las Bienaventuranzas. Ocupan el frente anterior y los dos laterales arca. Los otros siete fragmentos, de procedencia musulmana, se ubican en la parte posterior (figura 2).

25. Para más información sobre la pieza véase nota número 85 de este trabajo.

26. Manzano, Joseph. *Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidoro, arzobispo de Sevilla*. Salamanca: Imprenta Real-Por Eugenio García de Honorato y San Miguel, 1732: 385.

27. Estos sucesos se narran en: Pérez, Maurilio, ed. *Chronica Adephonsi Imperatoris*. León: Universidad de León, 1997: 79. Además son comentados y analizados en el siglo XVII: Escalona, Fray Romualdo. *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*. Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1782: II, 311 y en el año 2000 por: Herráez, María Victoria, coord. *El patrimonio artístico de San Benito de Sahagún. Esplendor y decadencia de un monasterio medieval*. León: Universidad de León, 2000: 83.

28. Hemos revisado las Actas Capitulares del Cabildo de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León (ASIL. Serie I, Caja 74. I, a-n) pero no se han encontrado referencias a una posible reconstrucción. Tampoco la documentación referida al pillaje de la francesada ha aportado luz sobre este asunto.

29. ASIL. 125 y 126: *et alias duas ebúrneas argento laboratas: in unna ex eis sedent intus tres alie capselle in eodem opere facte*.

30. Galán, Ángel. “Marfiles Medievales...”: II, 84 y siguientes, ha señalado que la tercera arquilla podría haber sido la denominada “de las liebres” del Museo de San Isidoro. Sin embargo, Estella, Margarita M. “La escultura de marfil...”: 29, plantea la posibilidad de que fuera el pequeño idolillo escandinavo que se custodia también en la citada institución.

Las medidas del objeto son 18 cm de largo aproximadamente y entre 15 y 16 cm de alto sin contar con la cubierta³¹. El ancho está entre los 10 y los 12 cm. Las placas de las Bienaventuranzas miden 15 cm de alto por 6 de largo. Ya se ha señalado que no difieren demasiado de las planchas del Arca de los marfiles de San Isidoro de León cuyas dimensiones son 14x6 cm³². Además del tamaño, entre ambas piezas existen otros parangones en relación a las expresiones y vestiduras de los personajes. Sin embargo, a pesar del espíritu común que se palpa en las representaciones, no se trataría de un mismo autor.

Solamente se han conservado siete tabletas con las Bienaventuranzas, cuando en principio deberían haber existido ocho (figuras 1, 3 y 4). En ocasiones, se ha considerado que la última Bienaventuranza engloba las demás y sería por lo tanto una reiteración³³. En base a esta idea podría pensarse que tal vez no hubiese existido una octava. No obstante, como es la número cuatro *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam quoniam ipsi saturabuntur* la que no ha llegado hasta nuestros días, dicha hipótesis carece de fundamento³⁴.

Cada uno de los diseños de las placas presenta una composición basada en un mismo esquema: dos personajes conversan bajo unas arcuaciones sustentadas por finas columnas helicoidales sobre las que se representan unas arquitecturas fingidas de diferentes tipologías que evocan la Jerusalén Celeste. En las roscas de los arcos se leen inscripciones en letra carolina³⁵ que se ubican sin seguir el orden evangélico, del siguiente modo: *Beati qui lugent*, *Beati qui persecutionem*, *Beati pacifici*, *Beati Misericordes*, *Beati mundo corde*, *Beati papuperes spiritu*, *Beati mites*.

En todas las planchas aparecen dos figuras masculinas distintas, pero en disposiciones análogas. Unos son ángeles que transmiten el mensaje divino; los otros, que escuchan, no han sido identificados a ciencia cierta. En ocasiones presentan nimbos y pueden estar barbados o no. Con una única excepción, todos portan un libro cuya tapa se adorna con una flor cuadrifolia. Se visten con túnicas talares manicatas y con mantos fimbriados, es decir, con una orla inferior.

Las escenas son un claro ejemplo del afán de variedad y originalidad características del románico. Aunque comparten rasgos propios por pertenecer a un mismo taller, como su delgada constitución, las pupilas con incrustaciones de otro material típicas del taller leonés o los plegados de las túnicas reforzados con trazos transversales, son todas diferentes y con pequeños detalles que enriquecen enormemente los efectos decorativos de la arqueta. Ya Pijoán señalaba que los relieves

31. Ríos, José Amador de los. "Arqueta de marfil de la Colegiata de San Isidoro...": 549; Ferrandis, José. "Marfiles y azabaches...": 151; Franco, Ángela. "Arte Medieval Cristiano leonés en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional". *Tierras de León*, 28 (1988): 35; Galán, Ángel. "Marfiles Medievales...": 81; Gómez, María Elena. *Mil joyas del arte español. Antigüedad y Edad Media*. Barcelona: Instituto Gallach, 1947: I, 163; Harris, Julie. "The Beatitude Casket...": 135; Martínez, Ricardo. "Marfiles españoles...": 40. No todos los autores coinciden en las dimensiones no obstante, la variación de proporciones entre ellos no es excesiva.

32. Álvarez, Monserrat. *El arca de los marfiles de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*. León: Universidad de León (Memoria de Licenciatura), 1994.

33. Cosmen, M^a Concepción. "La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...": 25.

34. Cosmen, M^a Concepción. "La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...": 29.

35. Esta tipología de letra proviene de Francia y entra de manera progresiva en la Península Ibérica por los territorios del Norte. A pesar de ser típica del XII, puede aparecer en momentos previos tal y como ocurre con las inscripciones de las Bienaventuranzas. Los rasgos que permiten su adscripción a dicha tipología son, por ejemplo, la A con visera y el trazo de unión triangular, la O almadrada que se constituye como un eco de la O romboidal visigótica y un modulo que tiende a ser cuadrado. Para más información véase: Favreau, Robert. *Les inscriptions médiévales*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979; García, Vicente. *Las inscripciones de San Miguel de Escalada: estudio crítico*. Barcelona: el Albir, 1982; García, Vicente; Martín, Encarnación. *De epigrafía medieval: introducción y álbum*. León: Universidad de León, 1995. Trasmíto mi agradecimiento a la Dra. Natalia Rodríguez Suárez y al Dr. Alejandro García Morilla por la ayuda prestada en este ámbito.



no han sido valorados justamente por la crítica³⁶. Generalmente, se resaltaba la tosquedad imperante en estas figuras, debido sobre todo a su comparación con el Cristo de Fernando I y Sancha³⁷. En realidad, a pesar de que presentan menor grado de perfección que el Crucificado, se trata de obras de gran calidad.

Respecto a la representación de los ángeles, hay que señalar el tratamiento de las alas que parecen tener vida propia en todos los ejemplos. No se adecúan al vano y, a veces, tampoco a la lógica disposición anatómica de las figuras; se pliegan, se unen, se doblan y suelen fracturar las inscripciones. Los objetos que portan estos personajes divinos son más variados que en el caso de los Bienaventurados. Uno porta una palma, otro un posible cetro y un tercero un instrumento según Amador de los Ríos, un cuerno para Pijoán y un pergamino según Harris³⁸.

La arqueta se convierte en un importante documento para la representación de las expresiones, campo en el que se aprecian las diferencias más señaladas. Algunas figuras sustentan los libros con la mano velada; aparecen con las palmas de las manos abiertas sobre el pecho que, según los expertos, podría ser signo asombro, de aceptación e incluso de humildad o apoyan el mentón sobre el puño cerrado³⁹. Los ángeles señalan hacia la Jerusalén Celeste con grandes dedos índices⁴⁰. Tanto unos como otros presentan ropajes similares pero los pliegues de las túnicas van creando formas distintas aportando un mayor naturalismo a las escenas. Los mantos pueden ir atados a la cintura o recogidos en la zona del hombro. Los pies parecen indicar una leve parada en el camino para atender al personaje divino y reflexionar sobre el mensaje que se les está transmitiendo.

Cabe destacar como rasgo formal significativo, un orificio para una cerradura en la placa situada en el centro de la cara anterior de la arqueta que fue realizado, seguramente, en el momento en que se recompuso la pieza (figura 1).

El tema iconográfico de las Bienaventuranzas es poco común en las representaciones artísticas medievales a pesar de ser un asunto muy adecuado para formar parte de un relicario. Estos enunciados bíblicos tienen estrechas relaciones con la liturgia porque se leían, recitaban o cantaban en distintos oficios vinculados con los santos y sus reliquias. Por ello, una arqueta destinada a albergar vestigios de personajes sacros del pasado, sería un buen soporte para la representación de estas enseñanzas divinas a los fieles. Los relieves ebúrneos con las bienaventuranzas se convierten en un ejemplo a seguir para los cristianos que acudirían a venerar los restos santos custodiados en el arca. Debe decirse que, probablemente, desde el año 1063 en que se consagró la iglesia de San Isidoro y hasta, al menos, el año 1572 cuando Ambrosio de Morales llevó a cabo una descripción

36. Pijoán, José. "Arte románico", *Summa Artis*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2000: IX, cap. VI, 138-139.

37. Ya Gómez Moreno hizo alusión a la menor perfección de las figuras (Gómez, Manuel. *El arte románico español. Esquema de un libro*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1934: 24) una idea que se mantiene en el *Ars Hispaniae* (William Spencer, José; Gudiol, Josep. "Pintura e imagería románicas...": 291) y que acepta también: Beckwith, John. "Caskets from Córdoba...": 30.

38. Ríos, Amador de los. "Arqueta de marfil de la Colegiata de San Isidoro...": 550; Harris, Julie. "The Beatitudes Casket...": 137; Pijoán, José. "Arte románico...": 139.

39. La palma abierta fue estudiada por: Garnier, François. *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge. Signification et symbolique*. París: Le Leopard d'Or, 1982: 174 ; Miguélez, Alicia. *Gesto y gestualidad en el arte románico de los reynos hispanos: lectura y valoración iconográfica*. León: Círculo Románico, 2009: 107-116. Ya, Ríos, Amador de los. "Arqueta de marfil de la Colegiata de San Isidoro...": 551, había dicho que se trataba de un gesto de resignación e inocencia.

40. Para comprender mejor el significado transmitido mediante el dedo índice consúltese: Miguélez, Alicia. "Gesto y gestualidad en el arte románico...": 116; Miguélez, Alicia. "El dedo índice como atributo regio de poder en la iconografía románica de la Península Ibérica", *Imágenes del poder en la Edad Media. Selección de Estudios del Prof. Dr. Fernando Galván Freile*. León: Universidad de León, 2011: II, 325-339.

de la iglesia isidoriana citando la pieza que nos ocupa, el arca estaría situada en el altar junto a la de las reliquias de San Isidoro y la de San Juan Bautista y San Pelayo que desde 1065 pasó a llamarse de San Vicente⁴¹.

En definitiva, una de las claves iconográficas de la pieza parece hundir sus raíces en la liturgia hispana o mozárabe. La fuente más directa para comprender la labor de las bienaventuranzas en la misma es el *Antiphonarium* de la Catedral de León. En dicho texto aparecen porciones de estos enunciados en los oficios de los santos Acisclo, Román, Julián, Tirso, Engracia, Simón y Judas, Eufemia y Cosme y Damián⁴². Franco Mata recoge esta idea y añade que la arqueta podría haber estado destinada a contener reliquias de dichos personajes a los que honraba la liturgia mozárabe⁴³.

Existe otro texto interesante que podría tener relación con el arca porque presenta un curioso detalle: en el manuscrito 35.5 de la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo, tal y como ya señaló Ángela Franco⁴⁴, se citan las bienaventuranzas como si únicamente fuesen siete⁴⁵. Podría considerarse entonces que se trataba de una posible fuente para la iconografía de la pieza de la que se conservan el mismo número de relieves. No obstante, como ya se ha dicho, originariamente habrían existido ocho placas ya que la que falta no es la última bienaventuranza sino la cuarta.

Concepción Cosmen profundiza en la búsqueda de otros textos que habrían podido influir en la elección de esta temática. Deduce que San Agustín, con su *De Sermone Domini in Monte* podría haber sido el punto de partida para muchos teóricos como Pablo Diácono, San León Magno o Beda el Venerable que también trataron las bienaventuranzas y cuyos textos, quizá, se encontrasen entre los fondos de la biblioteca de San Isidoro. Asimismo, el motivo de la Jerusalén Celeste que se representa en los relieves ebúrneos, aparece descrito pormenorizadamente en *Ciudad de Dios*, por lo tanto se incide de nuevo en las raíces agustinianas⁴⁶.

Los ángeles de la arqueta, identificados mediante las alas cumplen una importante misión⁴⁷: deben transmitir el mensaje del Señor a los elegidos descendiendo desde la Jerusalén Celeste y recibir las almas que llegan al cielo⁴⁸.

Pero... ¿Qué representan las figuras nimbadas? Los distintos investigadores las han identificado con santos, “doctores” o testigos; en definitiva, con los escogidos para la vida del más allá⁴⁹. Podrían asociarse también a la representación del peregrino en la tierra del que hablaba San Agustín⁵⁰. Nosotros creemos que se trata de la representación de un modelo de conducta, de un hombre bue-

41. Para mayor información consúltase: Morales, Ambrosio de. “Viage a los reynos de León...”: 47-48.

42. Harris, Julie. “The Beatitudes Casket...”: 139.

43. Franco, Ángela. “Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...”: 125.

44. Franco, Ángela. “Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...”: 128.

45. Huglo, Michel. “Le chant des Beatitudes dans la liturgie hispanique”. *Hispania Sacra*, 17 (1964): 137-138.

46. Santamarta del Río, Santo; Fuertes, Miguel, trans. *Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1978: XVI-XVII.

47. San Agustín describe a la perfección la función de los ángeles que son ministros y mensajeros “que realizan, sin vacilación ni dificultad, lo que, de modos inefables, oyen debe ser realizado y debe llegar hasta estos seres visibles y sensibles”. (*Obras de San Agustín...: XVI, libro X, cap. XV, 631*).

48. Stierling, Henry. “Ivoires de l’Espagne. Une grande tradition d’art somptuaire”. *L’oleil*, 317 (1981): 46: 42; Cosmen, M^a Concepción. “La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...”: 27-28; Werckmeister, Otto Karl. “The first romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the liturgy of death”, *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del “Comentario al Apocalipsis” de Beato de Liébana I*. Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1980: II, 178.

49. Harris, Julie. “The Beatitudes Casket...”: 137; Pijoán, José. “Arte románico...”: 138; Franco, Ángela. “Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...”: 119; Cosmen, M^a Concepción. “La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...”: 29.

50. *Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios...: XVII, Libro XV, cap. I, 141*.



no. Serían por lo tanto *exempla* tallados en el marfil que cautivarían a los espectadores y fieles del momento inspirándoles a comportarse rectamente para poder alcanzar el estado de buenaventura.

Los siete pedazos de carácter musulmán presentan dimensiones muy distintas porque pertenecieron a dos cofres diferentes. Se organizan en tres frisos horizontales y no parecen seguir una ordenación prefijada (figura 2).

Una de las cajas, cuya reconstrucción fue planteada por José Ferrandis, estaría compuesta por las dos placas que conforman la franja intermedia de la cara posterior de la Arqueta y por la inscripción en vertical del ángulo superior derecho. Los tres relieves se deben adscribir al taller de Cuenca por la decoración de ataurique, la composición mediante animales afrontados y la inscripción en letra cúfica en la que aparece el mismo nombre que se lee en la arqueta de la Catedral de Palencia y en la de Narbona: *Ismail ben Almamun*.

Los otros cuatro pedazos, incluyendo el pequeño fragmento triangular con el *ta marbuta*⁵¹, son probablemente de origen sevillano y pertenecerían a una misma pieza⁵². No sería extraño que estuviese en León ya que Fernando I había mandado en el año 1063 una comisión a la ciudad hispalense para pactar la rendición de al-Mutalid (1042-1069). De las negociaciones se obtuvo el cuerpo del santo visigodo San Isidoro así como un botín dentro del cual podría venir incluida esta cajita que luego se ofrendó a la nueva iglesia⁵³.

Cinco de las siete partes contienen inscripciones cuya lectura es compleja y difícil convirtiéndose en un reto para los expertos. Se han planteado distintas interpretaciones a partir de las cuales se puede concluir que se trataba de piezas elaboradas en ambientes cortesanos. El uso de las mismas habría sido modificado al llegar a territorio cristiano. La mejor revisión sobre lecturas realizadas hasta el momento ha sido llevada a cabo por Galán y Galindo⁵⁴.

No es difícil hacerse una idea de cómo podían ser las cajitas siempre teniendo en cuenta su estado fragmentario. Lo mismo ocurre con la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas. Gracias a todos los datos recopilados y los estudios precedentes, se puede plantear una posible reconstrucción del arca primitiva. De ese modo, se puede crear una imagen mental similar a la que pudieron haber visto los monarcas Fernando I y Sancha el día de la consagración del templo de San Isidoro en diciembre del año 1063.

51. Es una letra del alfabeto árabe que designa como femenina a la palabra que se coloca delante de la misma. Agradezco al Profesor de la Universidad de Granada don José Miguel Puerta Vilchez la ayuda en el tema de las inscripciones y el interés mostrado en este trabajo.

52. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 127; Galán, Ángel. "Marfiles Medievales...": II, 84.

53. La traslación de los restos de San Isidoro fue recogida ya en: Pérez de Urbell, Justo; González Ruiz-Zorrilla, Atilano, eds. *Historia Silense*. Madrid: Aldecoa, 1959: 45, 198 y poco después, en el siglo XIII: de Tuy, Lucas. *Milagros de San Isidoro*. León: Universidad de León. Fue objeto de interés en el siglo XVII ya que aparece en: Manzano, Joseph. "Vida y portentosos milagros..." especialmente los capítulos 12, 13, 14, 15 del Libro I, 37, 38, 39 y 40 del Libro II, 4, 5 y 30 del Libro III y en la España Sagrada (Risco, Manuel. *España Sagrada, Memorias de la Santa Iglesia esenta de León concernientes a los ultimos cinco siglos...* Madrid: B. Román, 1736: XXXV, 86). Ya en el XIX se publican las actas por: Flórez, Enrique. "Actas de la traslación de S. Isidoro", *España Sagrada, de la provincia antigua de la Bética en común, y de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla en particular*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1860: IX, 406. En el siglo XX será Antonio Viñayo quien retome la cuestión en: Viñayo, Antonio. "La llegada de San Isidoro a León". *Archivos leoneses*, 33 (1963): 65-111; Viñayo, Antonio. "Cuestiones histórico-críticas en torno a la traslación del cuerpo de San Isidoro", *Isidoriana, colección de estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla, publicados con ocasión del XIV Centenario de su nacimiento*, Manuel Díaz y Díaz, ed. León: Centro de Estudios de San Isidoro, 1961: 285-297.

54. Galán, Ángel. "Marfiles Medievales...": I, 393-395; II, 82-84.

2. La Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas en su estado original

No cabe duda de que el enigma del estado originario de la pieza no será resuelto hasta que aparezcan pruebas esclarecedoras pero, mientras tanto, se pueden realizar aproximaciones a su forma primigenia a partir de métodos analíticos y comparativos.

Aunque por regla general se ha considerado siempre que los fragmentos que configuran la pieza habrían formado parte de una arqueta, Raquel Gallego García plantea la posibilidad de que perteneciesen a una tipología formal distinta, a un objeto de los que se citan en el documento de donación de Fernando I y Sancha como, por ejemplo, un frontal o un altar⁵⁵. Para apoyar esta teoría, realiza la comparación de la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas con el "Tragaltar de Namur"; un ara portátil datada en torno al año 1050⁵⁶. La investigadora considera que ambas comparten ciertos rasgos formales como la situación de las escenas evangélicas bajo arcuaciones o la similitud entre los libros que portan los personajes de los dos objetos⁵⁷.

Para nosotros, la pieza sería con toda seguridad un arca por varios motivos. En primer lugar, siempre se ha identificado como tal y no hay ningún indicio de que fuese de otra manera. Sería lógico que quien llevó a cabo su reconstrucción no pretendiese modificar su función originaria, es decir, la de contenedor de reliquias, sino mantenerla. Además, si tenemos en cuenta que el programa iconográfico habría sido realizado por un teólogo conocedor de los textos de San Agustín, es probable que al querer representar la Jerusalén Celeste optase por la tipología de una arqueta ya que según el santo: "la ciudad de Dios es la Iglesia fundada por Cristo, depositaria de sus tesoros, arca de salvación para los hombres"⁵⁸.

Para plantear nuestra teoría se ha partido de la base proporcionada por Ángela Franco Mata con sus estudios, especialmente con dos de sus artículos más recientes en torno al tema que nos ocupa⁵⁹. En ellos, transmite su idea acerca de la apariencia de la arqueta en el siglo XI y realiza un esquema visual de la misma.

La autora supone que se han perdido varias placas, al menos dos en la caja y todas las que adornaban la cubierta. Para poder llegar a una posible reconstrucción, se ampara en la comparación con el arca de San Juan Bautista y San Pelayo (también llamada de los Marfiles) que ya había realizado Ferrandis⁶⁰. Se trata de uno de los objetos clave del taller leonés. Fue donada en 1059 por Fernando I y Sancha. Custodió primero las reliquias de San Juan Bautista y San Pelayo y posteriormente las de San Vicente. Muchos autores la asocian con una de las arcas trabajadas con oro y marfil que se citan en el documento de 1063: *capsam eburneam operatam cum aureo*. Hoy ha perdido la guarnición metálica y solamente se conservan las placas de marfil clavadas en el alma de madera. En la tapa se representa el *Agnus Dei* con los cuatro ríos del Paraíso. En el cuerpo de la caja aparecen los doce Apóstoles en diferentes actitudes y encuadrados en arcos de herradura y de medio punto. Actualmente, se puede admirar en el Museo de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León (figura 5)⁶¹.

55. Gallego, Raquel. "La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I...": 385.

56. Goldschmidt, Adolph. "Die Elfenbeinskulpturen...": v. IV n° 105, XXXVI, 31.

57. Gallego, Raquel. "La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I...": 359, 384 y 385.

58. "Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios...", XVI, libro I, 29.

59. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 117; Franco, Ángela. "La arqueta...".

60. Ferrandis, José. "Marfiles y azabaches...": 151.

61. Debido a la gran cantidad de publicaciones que recogen datos sobre esta pieza, aquí se proponen solamente algunos de los títulos de mayor relevancia que le han dedicado atención en los últimos años. No obstante, para profundizar en su estudio puede acudir también a la bibliografía vinculada a los talleres de marfil hispanos recogida en la nota



No sería extraño que la tipología formal, e incluso algunos detalles iconográficos, fuesen similares en ambas arquetas. Pero Ángela Franco considera que, en lugar de tener cuatro placas por cada lado largo, como en el caso de la de San Juan y San Pelayo, la de las Bienaventuranzas contaría con tres en las caras mayores y dos en un costado. El otro estaría ocupado por un Cristo en majestad que, según la Doctora Franco, sería el que se hallaba en la colección Larcade de París en 1925⁶². Esta figura presenta varias características que permiten su asociación con los relieves de la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas, como sus dimensiones, de 13,1 x 6,6 cm, o las arquitecturas del subpedáneo. Asimismo, los elementos evocadores del firmamento en forma de arquillos diminutos con una pequeña moldura que los divide en dos, son muy similares a los motivos que aparecen en varios capiteles de los que sustentan los arcos que enmarcan las parejas de personajes en la arqueta. El libro y la expresión y forma del rostro también ponen esta majestad en relación directa con la arqueta⁶³.

Para sustentar la idea de la presencia de un Pantocrátor, no se basa únicamente en esta comparación estilística sino que realiza un parangón formal con el Arca de San Millán de la Cogolla⁶⁴. Es la pieza clave del otro taller del norte peninsular y de raigambre cristiana que se ubicaba en tierras navarras en el siglo XI, al amparo de un cenobio benedictino. Fue un objeto que también sufrió grandes daños con la Invasión Francesa; sin embargo, su reconstrucción ha podido llevarse a cabo gracias a las descripciones realizadas por Prudencio de Sandoval, Antonio Yepes y Diego de Melcolaeta⁶⁵. Las fuentes literarias como la *Vita Aemilianensi*, escrita por Braulio de Zaragoza en el siglo VII o *Estoria del Sennor Sant Millán*, de Gonzalo de Berceo, han sido también un punto de partida para los investigadores porque los relieves ebúrneos del arca podrían funcionar como perfectas ilustraciones para dichas obras. En las placas se comprueba, incluso, como sus inscripciones siguen los textos originales de Braulio. Existe hoy un arca realizada en 1944 en la que se incrustaron los catorce marfiles custodiados en San Millán y que presenta algunos errores con respecto al arca primitiva del siglo XI que, aunque muy dañada, todavía se conserva en el monasterio. De este modo, se pueden apreciar los huecos destinados a la inserción de los diseños de marfil en los que se representó la vida de San Emiliano con un gran sentido narrativo. Debe señalarse la importancia de este hecho ya que, por entonces, no existía ningún ejemplo de hagiografía en marfil en el que los artistas pudieran haberse basado.

número 8 de este trabajo. Ha sido estudiada al amparo de varias exposiciones como: Álvarez, Monserrat. "El arca de los marfiles..."; Cosmen, M^a Concepción. "Arca de San Pelayo", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*, 87: 229; Dods, Jerrilyn D. "Art of Medieval Spain...": 236; Fernández, Etelvina. "Arca Relicario", *Obras maestras recuperadas*. Madrid: Valdés, Manuel. "Arca de los marfiles", *Las Edades del Hombre. El arte en la Iglesia de Castilla y León*. Valladolid: Fundación Edades del Hombre, 1988: 186-187; Franco, Ángela. "El Tesoro de San Isidoro y la monarquía leonesa". *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, 9/1-2 (1991): 42; Fundación Santander Central Hispano, 1998: 72-74; Gallego, Raquel. "La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I...": 293.

62. Goldschmidt, Adolph. "Die Elfenbeinskulpturen...": IV, 105, XXXVI.

63. Franco, Ángela. "La arqueta..."; Franco, Ángela. *Arte leonés [siglos IV-XVII] fuera de León*. León: Edilesa, 2010: 160.

64. El Arca de San Millán es una de las joyas artísticas de la Rioja y como tal forma parte de numerosos estudios. El más completo y reciente, y en el que aparecen recogidas todas las publicaciones precedentes sobre el tema, es el de: Bango, Isidro G. *Emiliano, un santo de la España visigoda, y el arca románica de sus reliquias*. Salamanca: Fundación San Millán de la Cogolla, 2007.

65. Melcolaeta, Diego de. *Desagravio de la verdad en la Historia de San Millán de la Cogolla, natural del reyno de Castilla, primer abad de la Orden de San Benito en España*. Madrid: de Sandoval, Prudencio. *Primera parte de las fundaciones de los monasterios del glorioso Padre San Benito*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1601; Lorenzo Francisco Mojados, 1704; Yepes, Antonio. *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito*. Madrid: Atlas, 1959: I, CXXIII.

En uno de los lados menores del Arca del santo emilianense debía estar situado un Cristo en Majestad que ha sido identificado con el de la Colección de Dumbarton Oaks en Washington⁶⁶. Tal vez hubiese seguido el modelo marcado por el artista de la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas, que tendría un Pantocrátor en un lateral, tal y como propuso ya Ángela Franco.

Para ella, en la tapa de la arqueta se habrían representado el *Agnus Dei* y el Tetramorfos, imitando una vez más al Arca de San Juan y San Pelayo. Si así fuere, el tema se configuraría como una convención del taller leonés. Además, sostiene la posibilidad de que podrían aparecer representados los reyes Fernando I y Sancha emulando los ejemplos de Justiniano y Teodora en San Vital de Rávena⁶⁷. En uno de los lados aparecería Fernando coronado acompañado de cuatro ángeles y en el otro Sancha con su séquito de damas demostrando así la importancia que adquirió la reina en el campo del patronazgo artístico⁶⁸. Gómez Moreno había propuesto esa iconografía para la cubierta del Arca argéntea de San Isidoro⁶⁹. Por último, la investigadora considera que el alma de madera estaría cubierta con trabajos de metal sin especificar si serían de oro o de plata.

Nuestra teoría reconstructiva, ilustrada mediante las figuras 8 y 9⁷⁰, parte de una premisa planteada por María Elena Gómez Moreno quien consideraba que la composición primitiva de la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas debía presentar cuatro placas en cada uno de los lados mayores con el tema que da nombre a la pieza. Los costados y la tapa tendrían otro tipo de representaciones⁷¹. De este modo, se ajusta a la estructura que presenta uno de sus precedentes más claros: el arca de San Juan Bautista y San Pelayo. Ángela Franco Mata, justifica que debían ser tres en lugar de cuatro los tableros ebúrneos colocados en la parte frontal y trasera de la arqueta. Se basa para ello en la cerradura que presenta la placa que hoy ocupa el centro del objeto que marcaría el eje de simetría de la composición. No obstante, Galán y Galindo, hace una interesante apreciación⁷². El ojo de dicha cerradura parece hecho de manera forzada sobre uno de los relieves e incluso rompe la

66. Bango, Isidro G. "Emiliano, un santo de la España visigoda...": 142; Goldschmidt, Adolph. "Die Elfenbeinskulpturen...": IV, 85.

67. Franco, Ángela. "El tesoro de San Isidoro...": 52. También se aprecia esta idea en: Fernández, Etelvina. "El *imago regis* y de la jerarquía eclesiástica", *Monarquía y sociedad en el Reino de León, de Alfonso III a Alfonso VII*, Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", ed. León: Guaflex, 2007: 59.

68. La bibliografía sobre el papel de las reinas e infantas como promotoras de las artes es muy abundante. En relación a las damas de la realeza leonesa son notables los trabajos de Antonio Viñayo: Viñayo, Antonio. "Reinas e infantas de León, abadesas y monjas del monasterio de San Pelayo y San Isidoro", *1 Semana de Historia del monacato cantabro-asturleonés*. Oviedo: Monasterio de San Pelayo, 1982: 123-135 y de John Williams: Williams, John. "León and the beginnings of the spanish romanesque", *Art of Medieval Spain...*:167. Su discípula, Therese Martin también aborda este tema en varios de sus trabajos entre los que destacamos: Martin, Therese. *Queen as King, Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006. De manera específica y en relación con Sancha hay que citar un pasaje de la *Historia Silense...* (197-198) en el que se habla de cómo Sancha convence a Fernando I para crear un Panteón Real en San Isidoro. Hay que nombrar también a Susan Havens Cadwell quien escribió: Havens, Susan. *Queen Sancha's "Persuasion": A Regenerated León Symbolized in San Isidoro's Pantheon and its Treasures*. Binghamton: Global Publications, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000: 1-48; Prado, Francisco. "Lacrimae rerum: San Isidoro de León y la memoria del padre". *Goya*, 328 (2009): 195-221; Boto, Gerardo. "Las dueñas de la memoria. San Isidoro de León y sus Infantas". *Románico, revista de arte de amigos del Románico*, 10 (2010): 75-82.

69. Gómez, Manuel. "El arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro de León". *Archivo Español de Arte*, 48 (1940): 209.

70. Algunos de los elementos de la reconstrucción son ficticios ya que no han podido ser documentados. Se basan en tramas y motivos neutros que pretenden que la visión de la pieza sea lo más semejante posible a cómo pudo ser en el siglo XI. En la figura 9 se ha empleado el dorado en lugar de una textura en plata por cuestiones técnicas del programa informático. Agradezco a Guillermo Barrallo la ayuda prestada en la imagen virtual de nuestra hipótesis reconstructiva de la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas.

71. Gómez, María Elena. "Mil joyas...": I, 163.

72. Galán, Ángel. "Marfiles Medievales...": II, 82.



inscripción del mismo. Es decir, en origen, ninguno de los fragmentos de marfil estaría perforado. Nuestra opinión coincide con la de este autor y nos lleva a pensar que, en cada frente, había cuatro placas con suficiente separación entre ellas para situar un herraje en la parte central del arca sin necesidad de alterar ninguna lámina con un orificio.

Al considerar que la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas se estructuraría de este modo surge un problema: conocer cuáles eran las representaciones que ocupaban los costados. En uno de ellos, planteamos dos posibilidades: o bien aparecían las efigies de los reyes o bien una representación del Sermón de la Montaña. La primera opción ya había sido mencionada por Gómez Moreno para el caso del arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro y Ángela Franco la había extrapolado a nuestra arqueta. Así, se adaptaría a los presupuestos que se encuentran en el Arca de San Millán de la Cogolla. Si en uno de los laterales aparecían todas las figuras que habían tenido algo que ver en el mecenazgo de la pieza, se habría creado una tipología en León que habría retomado el maestro emilianense.⁷³

En realidad, esta idea no sería muy descabellada si se tienen en cuenta otros ejemplos artísticos que habían promovido Fernando I y Sancha y en los que sus nombres se plasman explícitamente⁷⁴. En la Edad Media era una hecho habitual ya que el impulso de obras de arte lograba promover los intereses no únicamente artísticos sino también propagandísticos y políticos de los promotores. Además, tal y cómo dijo el profesor Serafín Moralejo, Fernando I iría incluso más allá:

*quizá sea Fernando I el primer monarca hispano de cuyo arte puede decirse que es suyo no sólo porque lo haya patrocinado o porque lleve su nombre o su efigie, sino porque en él parece haber tomado también cuerpo algo de su persona y de su circunstancia*⁷⁵.

Las manifestaciones promovidas por la pareja leonesa pueden englobarse en tres grandes bloques: las inscripciones en piedra como la que conmemora la iglesia de San Isidoro donde aparecen los nombres de los reyes; los libros miniados, y los otros objetos artísticos. Los reyes son aludidos en los diferentes soportes, bien mediante una representación iconográfica o bien mediante una inscripción. Este último caso es el más habitual⁷⁶.

El documento de donación de 1063 es quizás la mayor evidencia de la piedad de los soberanos. Puede ser considerado como un inventario que generosamente habían ofrecido a la iglesia de San Isidoro. Al mismo tiempo con este proceder ellos legitimizaban y consideraban su poder. Un detalle advertido por diversos autores es la implantación que Sancha, entre las mujeres pertenecientes a la

73. Álvarez, Noemí. "Sancho IV y el abad Blas como mentores del Arca de San Millán de la Cogolla", *Reyes y prelados. La creación artística en los reinos de León y Castilla (1050-1500)*, Dolores Teijeira, M^a Victoria Herráez, Concepción Cosmar, eds. Madrid: Sílex, 2014: 97-111.

74. Para mayor información sobre el patronazgo regio leonés en época medieval véase entre otros: Franco, Ángela. "El Tesoro de San Isidoro...": 35-67; Galván, Fernando. "Arte y monarquía en León". *Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León*. José Manuel Rodríguez, ed. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2002: 53-65; Bango, Isidro G. "La piedad de los reyes Fernando I y Sancha. Un tesoro sagrado que testimonia el proceso de la renovación de la cultura hispana del siglo XI", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*: 223; Andrés, Salvador. "El tesoro de la monarquía leonesa", *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León. Relicario de la monarquía leonesa*. León: Edilesa, 2007.

75. Álvarez, Noemí. "La inscripción como imagen de poder en la Edad Media. El caso de Fernando I de León y su esposa", *Actas del XIX Congreso Internacional de Historiadores del Arte: Artes y Arquitectura del poder*, Víctor Manuel Mínguez, coord. Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2013: 1787-1803; Moralejo, Serafín. "Artistas, patronos y público en el arte de camino de Santiago". *Compostellanum*, 30 (1985): 395-430; citado en: *Patrimonio Artístico de Galicia y otros estudios*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2004: III, 29.

76. Suárez, Ana. "Al pie de la letra. Inscripciones y manuscritos de los siglos X al XVI", *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León relicario de la monarquía leonesa*, Constantino Robles, Fernando Llamazares, coords. León: Edilesa, 2007: 198.

monarquía leonesa, ejerció en el patronato artístico a través del Infantazgo o Infantado.⁷⁷ Se puede apreciar en el documento de donación del año 1063 donde se mentan tanto en el encabezamiento *Nos indigni et exigui famuli Christi Fredenandus rex et Sancia regina* como en las firmas⁷⁸.

Los manuscritos ilustrados que promovieron son también un ejemplo excelente de las intenciones de la pareja real, porque miniatura y monarquía se entrelazan en una delicada y eficaz vía, que convierte estas obras en un eficiente instrumento de promoción. Como Isidro Bango ha señalado, la ausencia de esta expresión en el documento de 1063 es muy remarcable, porque denota la suntuosidad con que transmiten sus intenciones políticas⁷⁹. De los libros miniados que promovieron se conservan tres ejemplos: el *Comentario al Apocalipsis de Beato de Liébana*, el diurnal o *Libro de Horas de Fernando I y Sancha* y el *Liber canticorum et horarum* de la reina⁸⁰. Se trata de instrumentos de propaganda regia. La presencia de los nombres de al menos uno de los monarcas en todos ellos permite recalcar el interés de ambos por formar parte de las obras que promovían. A partir de las pruebas conservadas y como ha afirmado Fernando Galván, Sancha tendría mayor interés por los manuscritos ilustrados que Fernando⁸¹. Gracias a estos ejemplos se acrecientan las posibilidades para afirmar que su presencia también habrían tenido cabida sobre la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas.

Los monarcas son mencionados también en la segunda línea de la inscripción conmemorativa de la iglesia de San Isidoro: *excellentissimus Fredenandus rex et Sancia Regina*. La reina aún aparece otra vez en la última parte: *Sancia Regina deo dicata penegit*⁸². La participación de la pareja real en la renovación de la iglesia construida por Alfonso V está avalada por las inscripciones en los muros, que ponen en evidencia su devoción y su poder mediante la actuación como promotores.

A través de estos ejemplos, está claro que Fernando y Sancha, por lo tanto, suelen participar de las obras que patrocinan mediante inscripciones o firmas. Este método se repite en dos piezas ebúrneas que, junto con la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas, constituyen las tres obras principales del taller leonés. El arca de San Juan Bautista y San Pelayo se data en el año 1059 gracias a la inscripción realizada en plata, leída por Ambrosio de Morales en el siglo XVI y que decía: *Arcula Sanctorum micat haec sub honore duorum Baptistae Sancti Joannis, sive Pelagii. Ceu Rex Fernandus Reginae Santia fieri iussit. Era millena septena seu nonagena*⁸³. En el Crucifijo de marfil conservado en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional se lee una inscripción bajo la figura de Adán, a los pies de la cruz, que alude de manera directa a los promotores regios:

77. Pérez, Justo; González, Atiliano. "Historia Silense...": 97-198. Vemos aquí que fue Sancha quien decidió crear el panteón real.

78. Véase: Robles, Constantino. "Monasterio de San Isidoro. Fundación e historia", *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León...*: 29 donde aparece una fotografía con los anagramas de los monarcas.

79. Bango, Isidro G. "La piedad de los reyes Fernando I y Sancha...": 224.

80. Algunos títulos interesantes para profundizar en el estudio de estos libros miniados son las fichas de catálogo de: Castiñeiras, Manuel Antonio. "Libro de Horas de Fernando y Sancha" y "*Liber canticorum et orarum* de Sancha", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*: 90 y 91: 232; Fernández, Gloria. "Comentario al Apocalipsis de Fernando I y Sancha", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*: 231; Franco, Ángela. "Arte leonés fuera de León...": 278; Williams, John W. "Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus" and "Prayer book of Ferdinand and Sancha", *Art of Medieval Spain...*: 289-290. Junto a esta lista se recomiendan la lectura de los trabajos realizados en este ámbito por el Profesor Doctor Fernando Galván Freile y que se recogen en el libro homenaje a él dedicado: *Imágenes del poder en la Edad Media. Selección de Estudios del Prof. Dr. Fernando Galván Freile*. León: Universidad de León, 2011, I: 127-153, 367-387, 451-467 y 499-523.

81. Galván, Fernando. *Imágenes del poder en la Edad Media...*: 454.

82. Suárez, Ana. "Al pie de la letra. Inscripciones y manuscritos de los siglos X al XVI", *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León...*: 198.

83. Morales, Ambrosio de. *Viage a los reynos de León...*: 47.



FREDINANDVS REX SANCIA REGINA⁸⁴. (Figuras 6 y 7).

El arca argéntea promovida para la custodia del cuerpo de San Isidoro también forma parte del elenco de piezas que los monarcas donaron en la consagración de la nueva iglesia en el año 1063⁸⁵. Aunque en este caso no hay letreros, hay dos figuras que han sido identificadas con Fernando I. Una de ellas es el hombre barbado con la cabeza sobresaliente de uno de los lados mayores del arca⁸⁶. La otra, es el personaje también barbado, de la cubierta flanqueado por su séquito y que, como hemos dicho previamente, Gómez Moreno identificó con el rey⁸⁷. Franco Mata sugiere que inicialmente habría existido una imagen similar pero con personajes femeninos: Sancha y sus damas⁸⁸.

Las lápidas funerarias del matrimonio regio transmiten no solo el interés por mantener viva su memoria sino también por las acciones que realizaron en el ámbito político y en el de patronazgo artístico vinculado especialmente con la basílica de San Isidoro⁸⁹.

La infanta Urraca, hija de Fernando I y Sancha, sigue la estela marcada por sus padres y realiza varias donaciones donde su participación queda patente a través de inscripciones. En el conocido cáliz del Museo de San Isidoro de León aparece, bajo el nudo, un letrado hecho con filigrana: (Cruz) IN NOMINE D[OM]NI URRACA FREDINA[N]DI⁹⁰. Risco y Manzano dejan constancia de otra de sus donaciones; un Cristo que actualmente se ha perdido en cuya inscripción podía leerse: VRRACA FREDINANDI REGIS ET SANCIA REGINA FILIA⁹¹. Debe destacarse que fue Urraca la que promovió la pintura mural del Panteón isidoriano en la que aparecen sus padres arrodillados

84. Bango, Isidro G. "La piedad de los reyes Fernando I y Sancha...": 230.

85. El arca ha sido tratada en una monografía: Astorga, María Jesús. *El arca de San Isidoro: historia de un relicario*. León: Diputación de León, 1990 y aparece en varios catálogos como: Andrés, Salvador. "El tesoro de la monarquía...": 179-181; 1990; Bango, Isidro G. "Relicario de San Isidoro", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*: 86, 228; Walker, Daniel; Williams, John W. "Reliquary of Saint Isidore", *Art of Medieval Spain...*: 110, 239-244.

86. Etelvina Fernández indica que dicha representación no porta ningún atributo regio por lo que no acepta la validez de esta hipótesis. Fernández, Etelvina. "Imagen, devoción y suntuosidad en las aportaciones de Fernando I y Sancha al tesoro de San Isidoro de León", *Monasterios y monarcas: fundación, presencia y memoria regia en monasterios hispanos medievales*. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2012; Fernández, Etelvina. "Reflexiones sobre la evolución hacia el románico de las fórmulas artísticas altomedievales en el ámbito astur-leonés en la undécima centuria", *Hispaniens Nordem im 11. Jahrhundert Christliche Kunst im Umbruch. El Norte hispánico en el siglo XI. Un cambio radical en el arte cristiano. Jornadas internacionales, Göttingen, 27 bis 29, Februar, 2004*, Achim Arbeiter, Christian Kothe, Bettina Marten, eds. Petesberg: Imhof Verlag, 2009: 54-55.

87. Gómez, Manuel. "El arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro de León". *Archivo Español de Arte*, 48 (1940): 209.

88. Franco, Ángela. "El tesoro de San Isidoro...": 52.

89. El texto de las mismas aparece recogido en distintas fuentes desde el siglo XVIII como: Manzano, Joseph. "Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidoro...": III, capítulo 30, 347; Risco, Manuel. "España Sagrada...", XXXV: 149-150. En el XIX lo plasman: Assas, Manuel. "Crucifijo de marfil del rey Fernando I y su esposa Doña Sancha", *Museo Español de Antigüedades*. Madrid, 1872, I: 190-210; Quadrado, José M^a; Parcerisa, Xavier. "España, sus monumentos y artes...": 492, y ya en el siglo XX lo transcriben personajes de tal calibre: Yepes, Fray Antonio. "Crónica General...": II, 340; Pérez, Julio. *Historia de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*. León: Nebrija, 1982: 385.

90. García, Antonio. "El Cáliz", *Maravillas de la España Medieval...*: 335; Suárez, Ana. "Al pie de la letra. Inscripciones y manuscritos...": 198; Williams, John W. "Chalice of Urraca", *Art of Medieval Spain...*: 254.

91. Junto a las obras de Manzano (Manzano, Joseph. "Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidoro...": 385) y Risco (Risco, Manuel. "España Sagrada...": XXXV, 357) se pueden señalar las de dos de los estudiosos más relevantes del marfil: Ferrandis, José. "Marfiles y azabaches...": 154-156; Estella, Margarita M. "La escultura del marfil...": 26.

bajo el Crucificado⁹². La firma de la infanta aparece sobre el de su madre Sancha en la confesión del *Liber canticorum et orarum*, demostrando, así, la importancia del mismo para las dos⁹³.

A través de estos ejemplos se puede concluir que Fernando I y Sancha pretendían mostrar su participación en la promoción de las obras a través de la plasmación de sus nombres sobre las mismas. La Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas, del mismo modo que el Crucifijo y el Arca de los Marfiles, debía contar con la presencia de Fernando I y Sancha. Consideramos que, aunque tal vez pudieran haber sido representados mediante figuras, lo más probable, en base a los datos expuestos previamente, es que “apareciesen” mediante una cartela o inscripción cuyo material es difícil de determinar. En otras piezas semejantes existen o existían ejemplos ebúrneos y metálicos.

Si realmente los monarcas tenían un espacio sobre la cubierta, uno de los costados debía estar ocupado por otra representación distinta. No se habrían plasmado los promotores en el lateral como ocurre en el caso de San Millán de la Cogolla. Por el contrario, se podría haber tenido en cuenta el relato evangélico de Mateo.

El mentor que, como defiende la Dra. Cosmen debía ser un clérigo conocedor de los textos⁹⁴, habría escogido una escena que recogiese el momento en el que Jesús recita su célebre *Sermón de la Montaña*⁹⁵. Esta idea surgió a partir del planteamiento de Galán y Galindo de que, quizá, la placa perdida con el cuarto enunciado, “los que tienen hambre y sed de justicia”, mostrase a Cristo anunciando las Bienaventuranzas⁹⁶. Desde nuestro punto de vista, sería extraño que precisamente la lámina desaparecida presentase una ruptura con el férreo esquema compositivo que mantienen todas las demás. Aplicando el principio de igualdad, creemos que la cuarta bienaventuranza no debía distar mucho de las otras siete conservadas. Lo que no se descarta es que hubiese otra placa en la que se representase el momento en el que Jesús pronunció los enunciados bíblicos, muy apropiado en consonancia con la clave iconográfica de la arqueta y que permitiría así cerrar el ciclo de las Bienaventuranzas. Aunque no es un tema muy frecuente en la Edad Media⁹⁷, sí que existen algunas representaciones, siendo quizá la más significativa para nuestra investigación la del “Tragaltar de Namur”, ya citado, que muestra relaciones formales con la Arqueta.

Una vez razonados los posibles temas que podrían formar parte de uno de los laterales, habría que buscar una solución para el otro costado. Mantenemos la idea de que podría tratarse de un Pantocrátor, hipótesis que han defendido otros autores y que se apoya en ejemplos como el arca de San Millán de la Cogolla. En este caso, se ha conservado el arca antigua, en la que puede apreciarse el espacio destinado a la mandorla. En León no se tuvo tanta suerte. Sin embargo, existen varios argumentos a favor de esta idea ya que son muchos los historiadores y teólogos que han comparado los relicarios con las iglesias considerando necesaria la presencia del Señor en las mismas⁹⁸.

92. Antonio Viñayo trabajó sobre las pinturas de San Isidoro en varias publicaciones entre las que destaca: Viñayo, Antonio. *Panteón de Reyes: pinturas románicas de San Isidoro de León*. León: Edilesa, 1995: 44. Otros datos interesantes sobre las mismas se encuentran en dos obras compilatorias como el libro sobre la Colegiata: Cortés, Miguel. “Pinceladas bizantinas pintura románica en el Panteón Real...”, chapter V: 151; o el catálogo de la exposición: Valdés, Manuel. “El Panteón Real de la Colegiata de San Isidoro de León...”: 79.

93. Galván, Fernando. “El ‘Liber canticorum et horarum...’”: I, 454.

94. Cosmen, M^a Concepción. “La arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas...”: 29.

95. Mt. 5, 3-12.

96. Galán, Ángel. “Marfiles Medievales...”: II, 82.

97. Schiller, Gertrud. *Iconography of Christian Art*. Londres: Lund Humphries, 1972: I, 156-215.

98. Sirvan como ejemplo: Coussemaker, Edmond. “Chasse et croix de Bousbecque: orfèvrerie du XIII^e siècle”, quien decía que. “la iglesia material, la iglesia de la tierra, es la imagen de la ciudad celestial del paraíso. Por esta razón, sobre



Gracias a la identificación entre el simbolismo de un edificio cristiano y el de un objeto de carácter suntuario, podría considerarse que, en la arqueta, los arcos de medio punto adquiriesen el mismo significado que en las basílicas donde cumplen su función “empujando al fiel hacia el ábside”⁹⁹. En la pieza, podrían impulsar a los personajes que aparecen bajo las arcuaciones hacia la supuesta representación perdida de la Majestad, hacia la Salvación.

No obstante, la evidencia más sólida para afirmar que en la arqueta habría habido un Pantocrátor podría extraerse de una de las fuentes de la que habría bebido quien ideó el programa iconográfico. Nos referimos, una vez más, a San Agustín quien, en *Ciudad de Dios*, no deja lugar a dudas: Cristo en Majestad era el ingrediente fundamental en la Jerusalén Celestial¹⁰⁰. Por lo tanto, si la función iconográfica de la arqueta era la representación de las bienaventuranzas ligadas a la ciudad divina simbolizada mediante las arquitecturas volteadas sobre los arcos, Dios debía aparecer y la mejor forma de representarlo en todo su esplendor, tal y como se encontraría en la ciudad prometida, era mediante un Pantocrátor.

Si, finalmente, consideramos que la *Majestas Domini* debió tener cabida en la arqueta, habría que buscar una placa de marfil que pudiera corresponderse con las de las bienaventuranzas. Se podría pensar en el denominado portapaz de San Isidoro cuyos 13 centímetros pueden ajustarse a uno de los lados¹⁰¹. No obstante, sostenemos que es una pieza de cronología posterior. Al igual que Franco Mata, creemos que el Cristo en Majestad de la Colección Larcade podría corresponderse mejor con el Pantocrátor que habría ocupado uno de los costados del Arca de las Bienaventuranzas¹⁰².

Para llegar a tal conclusión, la Dra. Franco realizó una comparación de dicha Majestad, no con los relieves de las bienaventuranzas, sino con una pieza asociada al taller leonés, la ya citada previamente placa de la *Traditio Legis* del Museo del Louvre, cuyo maestro es uno de los que trabajaron en la arqueta. Dicho parangón permite comprobar que los dos Cristos presentan una serie de rasgos comunes¹⁰³. A los señalados por la investigadora, se pueden añadir algunos más. Se enmarcan mediante una mandorla que se une a una circunferencia. Las figuras presentan una disposición análoga en la parte inferior del cuerpo. Por un lado, los pies se sitúan sobre un subpedáneo que es atravesado por una doble línea en diagonal. Por otro, las piernas, flexionadas debido a la posición sedente del personaje, tienden a crear un triángulo sobre el que reposan los pliegues de las vestiduras que se ciñen a la cintura. Las extremidades superiores, sin embargo, presentan actitudes distintas. Aunque en los dos personajes la mano izquierda porta un libro, la disposición, así como

gran número de arquetas limosinas, Nuestro Señor está representado en un extremo de la caja, al Oriente”. También: Peña, Joaquín. “Los marfiles de San Millán...”: 21 insiste sobre esta idea: “El arca relicario, según el simbolismo empleado en la Edad Media se asemejaba a una iglesia y esa iglesia era símbolo e imagen de la Ciudad Celestial”. Para mayor información sobre el simbolismo de los templos y por tanto extrapolable a las arquetas entendidas como arquitecturas, véase: Hani, Jean. *El simbolismo del templo cristiano*. Palma de Mallorca: Sophia Perennis, 1983.

99. Liaño, Emma; Sureda, Joan. *El despertar de Europa. La pintura románica, primer lenguaje común europeo, siglos XI-XIII*. Madrid: Encuentro, 1998: 23.

100. Algunas de las citas extraídas de *Ciudad de Dios* que pueden servir para demostrar esta idea son: “Toda la peregrinación de los cristianos, todo el lanzamiento hacia el mundo futuro, viene de Cristo, que es el Mediador de la esperanza, porque Él es camino y patria, la fuerza que nos hace andar y el término del último reposo. Hijos de la resurrección y aspirantes y esperantes en la resurrección de la carne son los peregrinos de esta ciudad” (“Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios...”: XVI, 63) y “Si alguien nos pregunta por qué unos son bienaventurados, ésta es la respuesta correcta: porque están unidos a Dios.” (“Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios...”: XVI, 753).

101. Véase nota número 9.

102. El problema es que dicha pieza está ilocalizada y solo la conocemos a través de: Goldschmidt, Adolph. “Die Elfenbeinskulpturen...”: IV, 105.

103. Franco, Ángela. “Arte leonés fuera de León...”: 160-161.

el motivo de la cubierta son distintos. El Cristo de la colección Larcade eleva la mano derecha a la altura de la cabeza mientras sustenta una esfera. El de la Placa del Louvre bendice con dos dedos alargando el brazo hacia San Pedro. Las cabezas presentan nimbos crucíferos. Aunque los rostros son bastante alargados, el de la placa desaparecida tiene los rasgos anatómicos mejor conseguidos, con el cabello más natural y las mejillas más carnosas. Esto podría deberse a que esta pieza habría sido realizada por uno de los maestros de la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas, concretamente el de mayor calidad, mientras que la *Traditio Legis* se ha asociado siempre al autor con menor pericia. En definitiva, a pesar de la imposibilidad de realizar una observación directa de la placa de la colección Larcade, se trata de la pieza que mejor encaja con los presupuestos de los relieves ebúrneos de las Bienaventuranzas por lo que sería, con bastante probabilidad, una de las fichas que faltan para completar el puzzle formal e iconográfico de la arqueta.

Otra condición interesante para la reconstrucción es el tratamiento de los motivos que podía haber presentado la cubierta de la arqueta. Su estructura sería semejante a la del arca de San Juan y San Pelayo¹⁰⁴. Tendría varias placas de marfil en las que se representaría el *Agnus Dei* y el Tetramorfos¹⁰⁵ (Figuras 5, 8 y 9). Este tema se convertiría así en un convencionalismo del taller de León ya que no sólo se encontraría en estas dos piezas sino que también aparece en el reverso de la Cruz del Museo Arqueológico Nacional y en la placa de la *Traditio Legis* asociada a la fábrica fernandina. De hecho, Manuel Valdés, refiriéndose al Arca los Marfiles de 1059, dice que la imagen románica del cordero será una de las más difundidas por tierras leonesas¹⁰⁶. Además, si este animal se encontraba en el centro de la cubierta junto a los Ríos del Paraíso y el Tetramorfos, podía asimilarse a las ciudades celestiales representadas en algunos manuscritos¹⁰⁷.

Un aspecto que es necesario matizar es el orden en el que se ubicarían los relieves de las bienaventuranzas que leídas de izquierda a derecha es 1, 2, 7, 5, 6, 3, 8¹⁰⁸. Parece que quien llevó a cabo la recomposición se basó en rasgos estéticos similares en lugar de tener en cuenta el programa iconográfico. Es curioso descubrir cómo los tres tableros ebúrneos que presentan las arquitecturas más parecidas entre sí se colocan en el frente, mientras que en los laterales se aprecian los edificios más complejos y diferenciados. También la semejanza en la composición es más acusada entre las parejas de las placas de la cara frontal.

Desde estas páginas se propone que originariamente las láminas se habrían organizado en función del orden evangélico y su disposición sería, por lo tanto, *Beati papuperes spiritu, Beati qui lugent, Beati mites, Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam quoniam ipsi saturabuntur, Beati Misericordes, Beati mundo corde, Beati pacifici, Beati qui persecutionem*¹⁰⁹.

Para llevar a cabo una reconstrucción lo más completa posible, no puede dejarse de lado la guarnición metálica que presentaba la pieza. Actualmente, solo tiene placas de marfil dispuestas sobre el alma de madera sin que existan espacios entre ellas en los que desarrollar un programa

104. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 124.

105. Mariño, Xosé Ramón. "El simbolismo animal...": 24-25; Réau, Louis. *Iconografía del arte cristiano. Iconografía de la Biblia. Nuevo Testamento*. Barcelona: Serbal, 2008: II, 710; Liaño, Emma; Surada, Joan. "El despertar de Europa...": 72.

106. Valdés, Manuel. "Arca de los marfiles...": 186-187.

107. Yarza, Joaquín. "Historia del Arte Hispánico...": II, 105.

108. Franco, Ángela. "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles...": 122.

109. Debe decirse que tal como se plasma en el texto, aparecen ordenadas en la versión consultada de la Biblia, (*La Biblia*, ed. Serafín de Ausejo. Barcelona: Herder, 1987: 1007) pero hay otras que colocan en segundo lugar *Beati mites* pasando *Beati qui lugent* a la tercera posición.



decorativo y ornamental en otros materiales. Sin embargo, en su estado primitivo debía compaginar la eboraria y la orfebrería siguiendo los ejemplos de otras piezas similares. Lo que no se puede determinar con certeza es si era oro, plata o empleaba los dos materiales para enriquecer el objeto.

Si nos basamos en el documento de donación de Fernando I y Sancha del año 1063 y la relacionamos con una de las *alie duas ebúrneas argento laboratas* como se ha dicho con anterioridad, cabría la posibilidad de la arqueta estuviese recubierta con plata.

No obstante, Ambrosio de Morales, en 1572, realiza una descripción del altar de la iglesia de San Isidoro en la que, en referencia al objeto que nos ocupa dice lo siguiente:

*La otra Arca del lado del Evangelio tiene las Reliquias de S. Pelayo, y otros Santos, y es de oro y plata, y así lo es también otra menor que está con ella, y tiene muchas Reliquias menudas*¹¹⁰.

Si se identifica la arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas con una de las cajas mencionadas, habría que decir que era tanto de oro como de plata. En nuestra opinión, podría haber sido realizada en plata pero con algunos detalles dorados. De esa manera podría equipararse tanto con el testimonio documental de 1063 como con la descripción de Morales.

Independientemente del metal con el que estuviera labrada la guarnición, sería interesante proponer qué representaciones podrían haberse plasmado sobre la misma y si podrían haber tenido algún significado más allá de la mera función ornamental. De nuevo, es conveniente tomar como modelo el Arca de los Marfiles de San Isidoro y la de San Millán de la Cogolla.

En la primera, aparecían representados en metal unos arcos, dato que se conoce gracias a los vestigios conservados sobre la superficie de madera. En el arca riojana construida en 1944 la decoración se efectúa a base de frisos vegetales, motivo que no debía hallarse muy lejos del ejemplo primitivo.

Desde nuestro punto de vista sería más lógico que la figuración de la Arqueta de las Bienaventuranzas consistiese en cenefas de vegetación, ya que las propias placas presentan arcos para cobijar a las figuras. Si bien es cierto que en el ejemplo de San Juan y San Pelayo, los apóstoles también se sitúan bajo arcuaciones ebúrneas y aún así las marcas del revestimiento metálico que se aprecian en la armadura de madera muestran la aparición de otros arquillos, en la pieza que nos ocupa creemos que, al aparecer arquitecturas sobre las cimbras, sería demasiado reiterativo voltear de nuevo dichos edificios con más arquerías. Los frisos con motivos vegetales, sin embargo, podrían aludir a los jardines del paraíso con los que se asociaba la Jerusalén Celeste y a la que, siguiendo el relato evangélico, hacen referencia dichas construcciones.

Además, podría llevarse a cabo otra asociación de cariz agustiniano en relación con la representación de motivos naturalísticos. No sólo simbolizarían los vergeles paradisíacos de la ciudad celestial, sino que incluso podrían asimilarse con el buen cristiano, que como una planta en la que el Señor siembra la semilla para desear la felicidad eterna, va creciendo gracias a las buenas acciones hasta alcanzar finalmente el objetivo prometido: la Ciudad de Dios¹¹¹.

Esta temática del Paraíso no sería extraña en un objeto cuya función era la de albergar restos santos. De ese modo, se incidiría en el programa de salvación y perdón de los pecados vinculados

110. Morales, Ambrosio de. "Viage a los reynos de León...": 47-48.

111. "Cristo puso en marcha hacia Dios a los hombres, y les sembró en el corazón el deseo de la inmortalidad dichosa de la ciudad celeste, que mueve a los cristianos hacia arriba, como una planta celeste, que extiende sus ramos al cielo, buscando el calor del sol" ("Obras de San Agustín. La ciudad de Dios...": XVI, libro 29).

con el fenómeno de las reliquias y que aparece tanto en el Arca de los Marfiles como en el Crucifijo de Fernando I y Sancha. Por lo tanto, las piezas del taller fernandino no solamente compartirían características formales sino también un fondo temático común vinculado con la Redención. Se trata de una preocupación constante en la figura del monarca, lo que se demuestra con las celebraciones y rituales que llevó a cabo en torno a su propia muerte, en la que, de manera consciente, se equiparó con el propio San Isidoro¹¹².

112. La muerte de Fernando I fue narrada ya en la *Historia Silense* y ha sido detallada en las biografías dedicadas a su persona como: Sánchez, Alfonso. *Castilla y León en el siglo XI. Estudio del reinado de Fernando I*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1999: 234; Viñayo, Antonio. *Fernando I (1035-1065)*. Burgos: La Olmeda, 1999: 209. No obstante, los trabajos que se ha convertido en punto de referencia para su estudio son: Bishko, Charles. "The liturgical context of Fernando I's last days according to the so-called *Historia Silense*". *Hispania Sacra*, 33-34/17 (1964): 47-59; Werckmeister, Otto Karl. "The first romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the liturgy of death". *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana I*. Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1980: 2, 170. Otros trabajos interesantes son los de: Isla, Amancio. *Memoria, culto y monarquía hispánica entre los siglos X y XII*. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2006: 41; Valdés, Manuel. "El Panteón Real de la Colegiata...": 75-76.



A L'ENTORN DEL CONCEPTE D'IDENTITAT ONOMÀSTICA: ELS PERGAMINS DE PRIVILEGIS DE LA CIUTAT DE BALAGUER (1211-1352)

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RESUM

Aquest article de recerca és una anàlisi de l'onomàstica que apareix en els *Pergamins de Privilegis* de la ciutat de Balaguer. El període històric que prenem per a aquest estudi abasta els anys 1211-1352. L'estudi estructural dels sistemes de denominació ens permet afirmar que aquests difonen i afirmen una identitat a un espai geogràfic determinat, la ciutat de Balaguer dels segles XIII i XIV; que els noms de pila dels habitants de Balaguer de la Baixa Edat Mitjana són fidels a les tendències marcades per la moda onomàstica predominant en la Catalunya en aquesta època i que l'antroponímia de Balaguer del moment històric abastat ofereix com a majoritaris els cognoms procedents de topònims. Tots aquests trets ens permeten parlar d'unes modes onomàstiques que confereixen identitat a una població en constant moviment geogràfic.

1. El concepte d'identitat onomàstica

Des dels temps més antics, l'home ha utilitzat un nom per a diferenciar-se dels seus semblants. Aquest nom s'atorgava a una persona atenent a alguna de les seves característiques físiques o morals, atès que no se li posava al moment del seu naixement, sinó quan aquesta anava madurant en la vida i destacava per alguna qualitat com les esmentades. Això no obstant, a mesura que les societats van evolucionant culturalment, el nom ja no estarà tan associat a un tret característic que descriu la persona. S'imposa al nen un nom de contingut simbòlic —i en gran part religiós— amb la intenció que el seu significat li serveixi de model o inspiració¹.

El concepte d'identificació onomàstica té un caràcter funcional dins d'una societat². Els noms propis, a diferència dels comuns que són en si mateixos veritables unitats de significació, serveixen de senyals o marques perquè uns individus puguin identificar uns altres. L'acte d'identificació podríem dir que es basa en un sistema classificatori en la mesura que la persona nomenada ha d'ubicar-se dins d'una categoria que permeti organitzar les actituds socials que es poden o s'han de prendre respecte dels individus. L'estudi dels sistemes d'identificació, les formes de nomenar els

1. Salazar, Jaime. *Manual de Genealogía Española*. Madrid: Ediciones Hidalguía, 2006: 251-264.

2. Com assenyalava Vincent Debais, el terme d' "identitat" es refereix a l'Edat Mitjana "a la definició de una individualidad, a la afirmación de uno mismo, a la expresión de los que le distingue del otro. En segundo lugar, la identidad hace referencia a la pertenencia a un grupo, a la afirmación de una coincidencia colectiva, a la definición de un origen y de una comunidad. Es esta doble identidad la que vamos a encontrar a lo largo de la segunda mitad de la Edad Media [...] con la creación, a través de unos textos, de una historia y memoria colectivas" (Debais, Vincent. "Difusión y promoción de la identidad en las inscripciones publicitarias de la Navarra medieval (siglos XII-XV)", *Actas del VI Congreso de Historia de Navarra*. Pamplona: Eunat, 2006: 2).

uns dels altres i la seva posterior evolució són instruments valuosos per a l'historiador, sobretot quan es vol estudiar els grups i estructures familiars³.

D'altra banda, el concepte d'identitat és fonamental per comprendre la situació cultural d'un moment històric determinat. Cada cultura té uns valors que són els indicadors d'accions, de pensaments i fins i tot de sentiments. Com la cultura, la identitat està, sovint, relacionada amb la procedència territorial, el color de la pell, la religió i qualsevol element definitori de l'individu que entén que posseeix uns trets definitoris i particulars que el fan diferent dels altres.

La identitat també és la consciència històrica que una persona té respecte a ella mateixa i la seva relació amb els altres. L'entorn col·lectiu exerceix influència en la conformació de l'especificitat de cada subjecte. Per això pot dir-se que l'Edat Mitjana, època a la qual circumscriurem el nostre treball, és un moment en el qual el subjecte buscarà la seva identitat. D'aquesta manera, l'elecció del nom de pila i posteriorment dels cognoms vindrà donada també per l'enorme valor simbòlic que es conté en aquests i perquè el seu ús resulta molt definitòri per l'adscripció del personatge, especialment de l'alta noblesa, a un llinatge concret. Tot aquest simbolisme i identitat dels noms queda ben plasmat, entre d'altres, en un tipus de documentació, la notarial, que és la que emprarem en el nostre estudi onomàstic.

2. Font emprada en l'estudi onomàstic: els *Pergamins de Privilegis* de la ciutat de Balaguer

La documentació notarial, rica i abundant a la Catalunya medieval i diversa en els seus continguts, posa de manifest el fort dinamisme cultural present a l'Edat Mitjana i un ús molt desenvolupat de la comunicació escrita en aquest territori. Sovint ha estat postergada com a font per als estudis d'onomàstica a favor d'altres fonts documentals considerades més adients per aquesta finalitat. Només cal que pensem en els llibres de Fogatges⁴, Llibres de Vàlues, Capbreus, Llibres Sagramentals (Capítols Matrimonials, Confirmacions, Òbits i Compliment Pasqual) i, més modernament, Cadastres, Llibres de Padrons i Censos de Població⁵. Totes aquestes fonts documentals posseeixen unes característiques tipològiques semblants que es poden resumir en l'aparició d'un llistat de noms de persona i de lloc. Aquesta és, en la nostra opinió, la veritable causa de què la documentació notarial no hagi tingut un protagonisme predominant en l'estudi de l'onomàstica catalana medieval i moderna, si bé hem de parlar d'estudis actuals que les tenen presents⁶.

3. Pardo, Eduardo. "Identidad y memoria ideológica". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39/1 (2009): 27.

4. El primer fogatjament general de Catalunya conegut fins al moment és de l'any 1358 i fou publicat per: Pons, Josep M. "Un fogatjament desconegut de l'any 1358". *Boletín de la Real Academia de las Buenas Letras*, 30 (1963-1964): 463-486; altres fogatjaments pertanyents també al segle XIV són els següents: Iglésies, Josep. "El fogatge de 1365-1370". *Memòries de la Reial Acadèmia de Ciències i Arts de Barcelona*, 34 (1962): 317-356; *Censo de Cataluña ordenado en el tiempo del Rey Don Pedro el Ceremonioso custodiado en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón* (Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 12), ed. Próspero de Bofarull. Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1856: 3-135.

5. En els darrer anys existeix una nombrosa bibliografia antroponímica basada en aquestes fonts documentals citades. Només cal consultar el Butlletí Interior de la Societat d'Onomàstica i les Actes del col·loqui que anualment celebra aquesta Societat. Existeix, a més a més, un excel·lent treball a Catalunya sobre un estudi de noms medievals de Barcelona de 1360: Piquer, Esperança. *Censos de población del territorio de Barcelona en la década de 1360*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005. D'aquesta mateixa autora hem consultat i ens ha servit de model un altre treball d'onomàstica medieval que duu el títol de: Piquer, Esperança. "Aproximació a l'antroponímia vallesana del segle XIV". *Arxius de Protocols*, 16 (1998): 211-236.

6. Només cal repassar els treballs publicats per l'Oficina d'Onomàstica de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans en les quals una de les fonts fonamentals per conèixer els noms de lloc i de persona d'un espai determinat són els Manuals Notarials.



La font emprada en l'estudi onomàstic és l'edició⁷ dels *Pergamins de Privilegis de la ciutat de Balaguer* de Dolors Domingo. Aquest fons de *Pergamins* es conserva a l'Arxiu Històric Comarcal de Balaguer i consta de seixanta-vuit peces en pergamí. Cronològicament comprèn un període molt ampli, que abasta des del segle XIII fins al XVII. Nosaltres estudiarem, en un primer moment, el període comprès entre els anys 1211 i 1352, i deixarem per a treballs ulteriors l'estudi de l'onomàstica de 1373 a 1459, que és la data del darrer document d'aquesta col·lecció documental.

Com dèiem suara, la documentació notarial és fonamental per a qualsevol estudi onomàstic. I, sens dubte, en els privilegis —un tipus de documentació notarial molt especial— apareix un ventall de noms de lloc i de persona que ens permeten apreciar els sistemes de denominació emprats quan aquests eren redactats pels notaris. Recordem que la concessió de privilegis estava reservada exclusivament als reis des del punt de vista legal i que el mimetisme de les oficines senyoriales d'expedició documental cap a la cancelleria reial va propiciar que el discurs diplomàtic utilitzat pels notaris per a la concessió d'una mercè per part d'un senyor prengué la forma del privilegi, naturalment no rodat, ja que l'ús d'aquest últim era privatiu del Monarca, i amb la particularitat que els privilegis senyoriales estaven segellats amb el segell de cera pendent, ja que únicament el Rei podia segellar en plom.

Els *Privilegis* ofereixen a l'historiador un exemple d'afirmació de la identitat d'una comunitat al mateix temps que la consciència que hom ha tingut, a l'Edat Mitjana, de la utilitat de l'onomàstica en la transmissió d'informacions de caire ben diferent. En aquest sentit, els noms participen activament en tal transformació i en la promoció d'una identitat primer a nivell individual, tot passant per un segon nivell col·lectiu i, finalment, arribant a un nivell institucional.

Dit això, un dels propòsits del nostre treball és l'estudi de com la documentació notarial esdevé important⁸ a l'hora de conèixer millor quines són les modalitats utilitzades per determinar una identitat onomàstica a la ciutat de Balaguer⁹, capital del Comtat d'Urgell, l'any 1105, des de principis del segle XIII fins a la meitat del XIV¹⁰. El valor dels estudis onomàstics basats en fonts documentals com a mètode per a realitzar anàlisis d'individus està totalment confirmat. Són molts els treballs que s'han emprès tot prenent com a base l'onomàstica i són diversos els enfocaments i objectius dels estudis en aquest camp. L'estructura de l'onomàstica en general ha afavorit la producció d'una sèrie d'investigacions molt variades i la diferència dels àmbits on es desenvolupa ens permet disposar d'una considerable bibliografia al respecte. Paral·lelament, han proliferat els

7. Domingo, Dolors. *Pergamins de Privilegis de la Ciutat de Balaguer*. Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida-Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1997.

8. Sobre la importància de la documentació notarial en els estudis d'onomàstica, caldrà consultar el treball de: Pagarolas, Laureà. "La documentació notarial i l'onomàstica", *Miscel·lània d'homenatge a Enric Moreu-Rey*. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1988: III, 8.

9. En paraules de Flocel Sabaté, "l'important recull [...] configura una contribució molt destacada per a la divulgació de la investigació entorn de la ciutat de Balaguer, el comtat d'Urgell i, en definitiva, l'Edat mitjana catalana" (Sabaté, Flocel. "Pergamins de Privilegis de la Ciutat de Balaguer", *Pergamins de Privilegis de la Ciutat de Balaguer...*: 7). I més endavant: "El volum aportat [...] s'ofereix també com un ric ventall que incideix directament en el coneixement del Comtat d'Urgell baix-medieval, mostrant alhora, de manera ben destacada, l'evolució que seguí, a Balaguer, la fi del comtat en el segle XV" (Sabaté, Flocel. "Pròleg...": 10).

10. Bibliografia sobre el comtat d'Urgell se n'ha publicat molta i d'una excel·lent qualitat. Consulteu, per exemple, tota la que aporta: Bolòs, Jordi; Hurtado, Víctor. *Atles del Comtat d'Urgell (788-993)*. Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau Editor: 141-142, però penso que cal destacar un títol que és d'obligada consulta: Sabaté, Flocel. "Organització administrativa i territorial del Comtat d'Urgell", *El comtat d'Urgell*. Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida-Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1995: 17-70.

estudis sobre la família, marc en el qual l'onomàstica adquireix tota la seva significació en posar en relació l'individu amb l'estructura familiar, que és la primera a la qual pertany.

És, doncs, en aquest camp de la individualitat i la identitat dels noms en què s'emmarquen les línies que segueixen, en el benentès s'han realitzat prenent com a base els noms de pila i els cognoms d'uns *Privilegis* circumscrits a un espai i un temps històric determinats, els de la ciutat de Balaguer entre els segles XIII i XIV.

3. Estudi formal dels sistemes de denominació¹¹

Els sistemes de denominació que apareixen en els *Privilegis* (1211-1352) tenen una estructura típica de l'Edat Mitjana en què predominen, principalment, dos elements lingüístics ben definits. D'una banda el *nomen* com a terme merament identificatiu i, en segon lloc, el *cognomen* que té assignada una càrrega clarament significativa. Des d'aquest punt de vista, la classificació sintagmàtica del corpus total aplegat als *Pergamins* ens permet distingir les següents estructures:

1. Nom + cognom: Petrus Aculonis, Bernardus Aguyllo, Sensonis Aguyllo, Poncius Barchinone, Berengarius Alos, Bernardus Andree, Berengarius Angularia, Petrus Anrich, Andreas Apilia, Poncius Arnaldi, Arnaldus Baiuli, Guillelmus Baiuli, Raimundus Baiuli, Iacobus Bardoill, Iacobus Bardoyl, Bartolomeo Bardoyll, Laurencius Bardoyll, Iacobus Baro, Petrus Baro, Periconus Barull, Raimundus Boill, Iacobus Bonasch, Arnaldus Bonet, Raimundus Bonfyll, Ludovicus Bordello, Berengarius Brot, Bernardus Bulfarines, Salvator Calp, Bernardus Camporrellis, Arnaldo Capela, Anthonio Cardona, Adam Carví, Bartolomeus Cartam, Antonius Casadevall, Periconus Casteyllo, Raimundus Catra, Arnaldus Cerda, Raimundus Cervaria, Petrus Cervera, Berengarius Cirera, Dominicus Claver, Petrus Colom, Petrus Coltelli, Franciscus Columbi, Bernardus Cortit, Iacobus Cortit, Laurencius Cortit, Marconus Cortit, Periconus Cortit, Petrus Cortit, Petrus Cortit, , Petrus Cortiti, Petrus Costa, Guillelmus Çabaterii, Petrus Çabaterii, Arnaldus Çabater, Guillelmus Çabater, Periconus Çabater, Raimundus Çabater, Guillelmus Çacirera, Guillelmus Çamora, Arnaldus Çauila, Petrus Dalmacii, Nicholay Domenech, Berengarius Domingelo, Berengarius Garriga, Arnaldus Gerunda Guillelmus Domingelo, Aparicus Draper, Petrus Emerici, Bernardus Exernit, Iacibus Fabre, Petrus Fenoyll, Garcia Ferrandiz, Bernardus Ferrera, Nicholai Forment, Iohanis Fort, Raimundus Frontera, Garcia Garces, Salvatoris Gifré, Berengarius Giner, Franciscus Giner, Arnaldus Gisbert, Ferrarius Gispert, Petrus Gondisalvi, Didacus Gonzalbis, Iohanis Gracia, Arnaldus Guasch, Iohannos Guillamota, Guillelmus Fuster, Iacobo Fuster, Iacobus Fuster, Franciscus Fyllach, Petrus Gaço, Arnaldus Gençana, Raimundis Gualdi, Guillelmus Guitart, Guillelmus Iulani, Franciscus Jornet, Guillelmus Jorneti, Iohanis Laneres, Arnaldus Laurencii, Guillelmus Maçanet, Periconus Maçanet, Iacobus Madiona, Petrus Mageri, Bernardus Maiori, Balagarii Marroqui, Petrus Medici, Iohannis Merçer, Berengarius Molaç, Berengarii Monachi, Steffano Mongrins, Raimundus Monte Catano, Guillelmus Montecatano, Arnaldus Murello, Raimundus Natalis, Arnaldus Nicholay, Petrus Nicholay, Raimundus Nicholay, Petrus Oliva, Franciscus Oluga, Franciscus Oriol, Michaelis Oriol, Petrus Oriol, Iohannis Padellaç, Guillelmus Palet, Arnaldus

11. Aquesta classificació només s'entén si atenem a l'estudi de cada prenom o nom de pila i del cognom (vegeu els apartats 3 i 4 als quals remetem). L'oferim en primer lloc perquè es pugui veure quin és el corpus total de noms, que és la base d'aquest treball.



Pallars, Petrus Panades, Azceranis Pardi, Raimundus Patxi, Berengarius Pelliparii, Bonanatus Petra, Antonius Petri, Berengarius Petri, Armenterius Piloni, Bernardus Pintor, Arnaldus Piquer, Petrus Poncius, Arnaldus Ponter, Bartolomeus Puig Redon, Petrus Putii, Petrus Queralt, Almonetus Rabacie, Arnaldus Rabacie, Bernardus Rabacie, Iacobus Rabacie, Vitalis Regola, Rogerius Rachonato, Guillelmus Raimundi, Petrus Raimundi, Berengarius Rajadello, Iohannis Reals, Petrus Rialp, Raimundus Rialp, Arnaldus Rogerii, Arnaldus Rollan, Garsia Romei, Anthoni Roqua, Ioannis Rosich, Bernardus Rubei, Andreas Saiol, Periconus Sala, Petrus Sanccii, Nunus Sancii, Bartolomeus Lerida, Arnaldus Sancta Linea, Peretonus Sancta Linea, Petrus Sanctalinea, Michaelis Sanxo, Petrus Sanxo, Raimundus Sanxo, Iacobus Sartor, Arnaldus Scusa, Guillelmus Scusa, Salvator, Bernardus Segarra, Petrus Segui, Senyer, Marconus Serra, Petrus Serra, Hogeto Servianus, Berengarius Sola, Bernardus Spigol, Guillelmus Spigol, Ioannis Stanyol, Guillelmus Terracone, Raimundus Terraça, Petrus Toloni, Iohannis Torner, Periconus Vasset, Raimundus Vasset, Raimundus Vilalta, Guilemus Villa, Arnaldus Villam, Petrus Villam, Petrus Vitale.

2. Nom + preposició + topònim o lloc d'origen: Petrus de Alberola, Berengarius de Alberol, Antonius de Albesia, Dalmatius de Alenterno, Iordanus de Alentorn, Raimundus de Almazor, Iohannis Daltes, Berengarius de Anglesill, Raimundus de Angularia, Sancius de Antillone, Joan d'Aragó, Isabelis de Aragonia, Arnaldus de Aran, Cerveronus de Artesa, Arnaldus de Artesa, Petrus de Artesa, Ariolus de Artesa, Gueraldus de Artesia, Berengarius de Avellanes, Bernardus de Aversone, Petrus de Barbaroga, Pascasius de Barbera, Arnaldus de Belvis, Arnaldus de Berga, Iohannis de Berga, Petrus de Berga, Guillelmus de Bolleda, Bernardus de Camporrellis, Martinus de Caneto, Gueraldi de Capraria, Petrus de Carreu, Bernardus de Castellione, Raimundus de Casteyllo, Guillelmus de Cervaria, Arnaldus de Cervere, Raimundus de Coponibus, Bernardus de Corronibus, Guillelmus de Curilione, Guillelmus de Entença, Poncius d'Eril, Berengarii de Fluviano, Lupi de Fontibus, Matalonis de Frascano, Bernardus de Guardia, Raimundus de Guardia, Petrus de Gonera, Michael de Gorrea, Petrus de Gradu, Franciscus de la Guardia, Poncius de la Guardia, Raimundus de Josa, Berengarius de Laurencio, Marchus de Liçana, Franciscus de Murello, Iacobus de Murello, Salvator de Murello, Bernardus de Muro, Raimundeti de Nargo, Raimundus de Nargo, Guillelmus d'Oç, Andreas de Oluga, Arnaldus de Orcau, Bernardus de Palacio, Raimundus de Peralta, Arnaldus de Peratalaç, Bartholomeus de Podio, Guillelmus de Podio, Petrus des Podio, Bernardus de Ponte, Dalmacius de Pontons, Petrus de Queralto, Bartolomeus de Rialp, Amorosius de Ripellis, Poncius de Ripellis, Raimundus de Ripellis, Andreas de Roda, Arnaldus de Rubione, Garssia de Santalinea, Guillelmus de Ter, Berengarius de la Terrossa, Feredicus de Toledo, Arnaldus de Uliola, Bernardus de Uliola, Petro de Vich, Dominicus de Viscarra.
3. Nom + preposició + cognom.
 3. 1. Nom + preposició + nom: Guillelmus de ça Cirera, Bonaventura deç Clergue, Berengarius de Maior, Balagerius de na Arnalda, Guillelmus dez Col, Periconus dez Col, Petrus de Coromina, Bernadus de Falchs, Bernardus de Fenoyllar, Bernardus de Miçe, Petrus de Miçe, Arnaldus de Vila.
4. Nom simple: Alfons, Elionor, Ermengol, Iacobus, Ioannis, Jaume, Pere, Pontius, Raimundus.
5. Nom doble + cognom: Petrus Arnaldus Arcedone, Eiximenis Petrus Figuerola, Iacobus Ioannis Muntanyola.

6. Nom doble¹² + preposició + topònim o lloc d' origen: Arnaldus Cortit de na Bonjorn, Rodericus Eximeni de Bornoll, Blasius Manga de Vila Marxant.
7. Noms dubtosos des del punt de vista semàntic o desconeguts: Pascasius Barrusta, Arnaldus Bestinez, Iacobus de Caxino, Bernardus Durbam, Ato de Forces, Bartolomeus Leoder, Raimundus de Mari, Bernardus de Mascho, Guilelmus de Menuari, Raimundus de Mice, Arnaldus de Moz, Balaguerius de Orenga, Petrus Peratalaç, Petrus Scapa, Berengarius Tempsut.

Presentades, doncs, les estructures sintagmàtiques dels antropònims dels *Privilegis*, és evident que el nom de pila és un element purament denominador que té la funció d'identificar a una persona sense tenir un significat més especial que el de continuar una tradició familiar establerta¹³. En canvi, el cognom exerceix un paper totalment descriptiu. No sols indica les qualitats d'una persona en el sentit més ampli d'aquesta expressió, sinó que assenyalava, com veiem als apartats 1 i 6, el seu origen geogràfic, fet que dóna identitat a un individu que vol destacar-se d'uns altres.

4. Anàlisi tipològica, etimològica i de freqüència dels prenomes o noms de pila

El nom de pila, com és natural, és un tipus d'antropònim que des dels inicis de l'Edat Mitjana va ser utilitzat per a perpetuar la memòria del pare, mare i/o qualsevol ascendent familiar. Constituïa, doncs, el primer acostament a un subjecte situant-lo en un determinat context. Això va donar pas molt aviat a l'ús regular d'un o diversos noms de pila dins de cada estirp (*gens*, en llatí) i, al capdavall, a la conformació de petits repertoris familiars perfectament estructurats. A mesura que l'Edat Mitjana va anar avançant, aquest repertori de noms de pila va ser ampliat a causa de la influència de diversos pobles i cultures tal com comentarem més endavant.

El resultat de l'anàlisi dels prenomes dels *Privilegis*, tant a nivell de filiació lingüística com a nivell de freqüència, fa palesa una coincidència total amb les tendències generals de l'antroponímia catalana dels segles XIII i XIV. Com assenyalava D. Kremer aquestes coincidències no tenen a veure amb una particularitat regional d'un lloc determinat. Més aviat tenen a veure amb el que aquest filòleg anomena modes onomàstiques d'una època¹⁴.

Si comparem el llistat de prenomes més freqüents establert per Enric Moreu-Rey, pel que fa a tota la Catalunya de mitjans del segle XIV, data del primer fogatjament conegut (1358)¹⁵, amb el llistat de prenomes més freqüents a la documentació consultada per nosaltres, podem veure que les diferències són mínimes:

- *Pere*, grafiat majoritàriament com *Petrus*, és el nom de pila més freqüent a la nostra documentació com al Fogatje 1358.
- *Arnald* (grafiat majoritàriament com *Arnaldus* i amb un únic cas en femení Arnalda), *Bernat* (grafiat normalment com *Bernardus*) *Ramon* (grafiat com *Raimundus*), *Arnau* (amb les variants

12. Al nom propi del santoral, al nom de pila, s'afegeixen els llinatges patern i matern, que ens integren en una família, però aviat aquests noms es repeteixen i apareixen fórmules d'identificació, com la repetició del nom del pare (Joan Jaume de Miquel, Antoni Gelabert d'Antoni, per exemple).

13. Ruhstaller, Stephan. "Los elementos constituyentes de la antroponimia hispánica y su contenido semántico referencial". *Cauce*, 16 (1993): 131-139.

14. Kremer, Dieter. "Quelques impressions de statistique onomastique médiévale", *Dictionnaire historique des noms de famille romans. Actes del III Col·loqui del PatRom*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1991: 187.

15. Ens referim al fogatge de 1358 que citem a la nota 1.



Arnaldus—Arnaldi), *Berenguer* (*Berengarius* normalment), *Jaume* (sempre *Iacobus* excepte quan es refereix al rei Jaume I) i *Joan* (*Iohannis* majoritàriament) són al Fogatge de 1358 i als Privilegis de Balaguer (1211-1352) prenomes freqüentíssims.

D'altres prenomes que cal comentar dels *Privilegis* de Balaguer són, en ordre decreixent de freqüències, els següents: Francesc (9) grafiat com Franciscus, Ponci (5) escrit Poncius, Bartomeu (7) escrit Bartholomeus, Salvador (4) escrit Salvatoris, Antoni (3) escrit Antonius i Miquel (3) escrit Michaelis. En tot ells observem una tendència a llatinitzar-los com és propi del llenguatge notarial de l'època¹⁶. Quant als noms femenins, només trobem un únic cas: el de la reina Elionor, que apareix al document número 20 (any de 1334).

Pel que fa a la filiació lingüística dels prenomes estudiats¹⁷ direm que, amb l'arribada del cristianisme, tot el sistema de nominació canvia radicalment amb la institució del nom de pila¹⁸. Per això, alguns dels noms que documentem (veure taula 1) tenen una certa concepció religiosa. S'adopten noms de procedència bíblica, apostòlica, de màrtirs i fins i tot de mitologia grecollatina. A la Península, les comunitats cristianes primitives utilitzaven denominacions com les de *Servndus*, *Amador*, *Constantinu*, l'origen dels quals és clarament paradigmàtic, junt amb altres com *Eusebius* d'origen grec, i fins i tot d'animals o plantes com *Leo* i *Margarita*. En los *Privilegis* trobem noms de pila de clara procedència cristiana-llatina (*Pere*, *Salvatoris*) així com noms d'ascendència grega o hebrea però llatinitzats: *Iacobus*, *Bartholomeus*, *Joanis*.

Però sens dubte és l'antroponímia germànica la que predomina en els noms estudiats sobre la llatina. L'arribada a la Península dels pobles invasors va ser la causa del punt d'unió entre l'antroponímia d'ambdós pobles. Podem dir que dos terços dels noms de pila que estudiem són d'origen germànic. Predominen noms com *Arnau*, *Berenguer*, *Ramon*, *Guillem*, com a exemples més representatius¹⁹.

5. Classificació tipològica i freqüència dels cognoms

Alguns dels pobles anteriors al segle X²⁰, i entre ells els visigots, establien una única denominació per a cada persona, això és, el nom propi o *nomen*, sense cap relació amb els seus avantpassats. A partir d'aquest segle es troben ja en els documents molts noms acompanyats del respectiu cognom, que en el seu origen indicava bàsicament el lloc de residència i, en alguna ocasió, l'ofici que tenia el personatge en qüestió. A Catalunya²¹, com a la resta de l'Occident europeu, el costum seguit per a distingir un individu d'un altre va consistir en l'ús d'un *cognomen* o cognom triat d'entre un repertori variat. Així, en avançar el segle XI van començar a ser freqüents ja les referències de filiació, en genitiu normalment encara que de vegades també en nominatiu a manera de designació diferenciadora.

16. Álvarez, M. del Pilar. "El registro lingüístico especial de los documentos medievales notariales". *Estudios humanísticos. Filología*, 15 (1992): 23-42.

17. No abordarem l'estudi particular de cada nom perquè és una tasca que ja han fet, i molt bé, coneguts especialistes com els que citem a la bibliografia final. En tot cas remetem a la seva bibliografia.

18. Piquer, Esperança: "Aproximació a l'antroponímia..." : 211-236.

19. Kremer, Dieter. *Die germanischen Personennamen in Katalonien: Namensammlung und Etymologisches*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1969.

20. Aebischer, Paul. *Essai sur l'onomastique catalane du IXe aux XIIe siècles*. Barcelona: Anuari de l'Oficina Romànica, 1928: I, 18-42.

21. Aebischer, Paul. *Essai sur l'onomastique catalane...* : 72-78.

Aquesta fórmula va aconseguir un predomini absolut, en el segle XII, particularment entre l'aristocràcia, no trigant gaire a conviure amb altres fórmules d'antropònim. Enmig d'aquesta diversificació es van consolidar les denominacions de dos elements, reservant-se el segon per a al·ludir a funcions o a oficis, característiques físiques o origen geogràfic que serviren inicialment per a identificar certs individus quan els seus noms es repetien en una mateixa comunitat. Tot això va donar lloc a partir del segle XIII a la definitiva cristallització dels llinatges i, molt particularment, al progressiu desenvolupament d'alguns dels seus trets definitoris. D'aquí l'interès de posar de relleu el seu caràcter propi per a l'articulació de la cohesió social interna d'aquests i, sobretot, per a la perpetuació de la memòria i de la pròpia afirmació social d'un grup familiar. Va passar així amb els noms de pila, amb l'associació d'aquests amb cognoms patronímics i naturalment amb els cognoms entesos com a signes d'identitat d'una comunitat familiar²².

Els cognoms que anotem en la documentació utilitzada són un reflex de les tradicions, la religió, els oficis i, al capdavant del pensament de l'home de l'Edat Mitjana. El lèxic referit a la flora, fauna i altres camps de significació obliga l'individu a reorganitzar els seus camps semàntics i el seu lèxic en els quals es poden advertir els modes de vida i les creences de la societat medieval. En aquest sentit, a diferència del que succeïa amb els prenomes, en relació als cognoms constatem una gran diversitat, que es fa ben palesa a l'hora d'establir la seva classificació en les diferents categories onomàstiques.

1. Cognoms d'origen patronímic, és a dir, aquells que han estat creats a partir d'un procés antroponímic desenvolupat el segle XI consistent a afegir el nom del pare en el cas gramatical llatí genitiu. Pertanyen a aquest grup cognoms com Bernardus *Andree*, Petrus *Dalmacii*, Guillelmus *Domingelo*, Petrus *Emerici*, García *Ferrandiz*, García *Garces*, Salvatoris *Gifré*, Berengarius *Giner*, Arnaldus *Gisbert*, Petrus *Gondisalvi*, Berengarius *Petri*, Arnaldus *Rogerii*, entre d'altres exemples. La transmissió d'aquests patronímics, per raó del seu ús per un antecessor de més o menys relleu social o per la seva sola importància en la història familiar, es va convertir en un tret propi i singular entre els llinatges de l'últim període de l'Edat Mitjana.
2. Cognoms formats a partir de designacions toponímiques:
 - 2.1 Aquells que indiquen el lloc de procedència, que poden ser noms de ciutats, viles o comarques presentats sota la forma d'un substantiu sol: Bartolomeus *Lerida*, Raimundus *Monte Catano*, Bernardus *Segarra*, Peretonus *Sancta Linea*; o bé amb l'estructura de nom propi precedit de la preposició *de*: Antonius *de Albessa*, Poncius *d'Eril*, Berengarius *de Avellanes*, Bernardus *de Aversone*, Pascasius *de Barbera*, Arnaldus *de Belvis*, Arnaldus *de Berga*, Petrus *de Berga*, Guillelmus *de Bolleda*, Bernardus *de Camporrellis*, Martinus *de Caneto*, Gueraldi *de Capraria*, Petrus *de Carreu*, Bernardus *de Castellione*, Guillelmus *de Cervaria*, Arnaldus *de Cervere*, Raimundus *de Coponibus*, Bernardus *de Corronibus*, Guillelmus *de Curilione*, Guillelmus *de Entença*, Poncius *d'Eril*, Berengarii *de Fluviano*, Lupi *de Fontibus*, Matalonis *de Frascano*, Bernardus *de Guardia*, Raimundus *de Peralta*, Feredicus *de Toledo*, entre moltíssims d'altres exemples.
 - 2.2 Aquells que corresponen a la fixació de noms comuns corresponents a designacions toponímiques com, per exemple, accidents geogràfics: Guillelmus *dez Col*, Petrus *Costa*, Petrus *Serra*, Arnaldus *Sclusa*; noms de grups de vegetació: Berengarius *Garriga*; així com noms de plantes o arbres: Bartolomeo *Bardoyll*, Berengarius *Cirera*, Nicholai *Forment*, Guilemus *Spigol*.

22. Pardo de Guevara, Eduardo. "Identidad y memoria...": 28.



Dins d'aquest grup dels noms comuns, caldria considerar també els noms d'edificis o parts d'aquests com ara, per exemple, *Periconus Sala*.

3. Cognoms formats a partir de noms de càrrecs o dignitats, així com d'ofici o de professions:
 - 3.1 Càrrecs eclesiàstics: Bonaventura des *Clergue*, Berengarii *Monachi*.
 - 3.2 Càrrecs o dignitats civils: Arnaldus *Baiuli*, Iacobus *Baro*.
 - 3.3 Noms d'ofici: Bernardus *Bulfarines*, Guilelmus *Çabaterii*, Arnaldus *Çabater*, Aparicius *Draper*, Iacobo *Fuster*, Raimundus *Jover*, Petrus *Medici*, Iohannis *Merçer*, Iohannis *Pelliparii*, Bernardus *Pintor*, Arnaldus *Ponter*.
4. Cognoms provinents de sobrenoms:
 - 4.1 Noms indicadors d'una qualitat o defecte físic, com ara Marconus *Cortit*, Iohanis *Fort*, Azcenaris *Pardi*, Iohanis *Rosich*, Bernardus *Rubei*.
 4. 2 Noms que fan referència a una qualitat mental o moral, com per exemple Bernardus *Maiori*.
 4. 3 Noms d'animals: Michaelis *Oriol*.
5. Cognoms d'origen desconegut o incert : vegeu el punt 1.4 de l'apartat 2 d'aquest estudi.

A diferència dels prenom, que segueixen unes modes onomàstiques més generals com hem detallat a l'apartat 3, els cognoms confirmen una realitat diversificada a raó de les peculiaritats de cada regió. Aquest fenomen és degut al fet que els cognoms són una conseqüència directa de la realitat de l'espai físic en el qual han sorgit i s'han desenvolupat. Això no exclou la consideració dels moviments migratoris com un dels factors a tenir present a l'hora d'estudiar l'antroponímia d'un espai geogràfic concret. En aquest sentit, la principal característica de l'antroponímia dels *Pergamins de la ciutat de Balaguer* és l'abundor de cognoms provinents de topònims, tal com veiem als punts 1 i 6 de l'apartat 2 d'aquest estudi.

Pel que fa a les freqüències, cal tenir en compte dues precisions. D'una banda, que la documentació és parcial pel fet que apareixen referenciades una part dels habitants de la ciutat de Balaguer i no tota la població d'aquest lloc; de l'altra, que les ferències de freqüències donades pel que fa als cognoms són del tot relatives, atès que, en tractar-se d'un únic indret estudiat, aquesta freqüència podria estar relacionada per la vitalitat reproductiva dels membres d'una família instal·lada en l'esmentat lloc, com suposadament seria el cas d'*Artesa*, per exemple, i no per la veritable vitalitat de l'antropònim. Efectivament, fent una aproximació als cognoms més freqüents a la documentació utilitzada (vegeu taula 3), observem com, d'aquells que ocupen les tres primeres posicions, un d'ells correspon a un topònim que fa referència al lloc d'*Artesa de Segre*, nucli a 29 kilòmetres al nord-est de la ciutat de Balaguer, l'altre a un ofici i que Francesc de Borja Moll dona com un llinatge representatiu de la ciutat de Balaguer i *Cortit* que Joan Coromines recull i comenta al seu *Onomasticon Cataloniae*:

Acabem amb un parònim no gaire clar, però ja antic i de comarques veïnes: el cognom Cortit [...], el crec propi de cap a Lleida i Ribagorça [...] Això no pot venir del cast. Curtir "assaonar" (mot estrany al cat. i no assenyalat ni a Aragó ni en mossàrab²³.

Si observem aquesta llista, podem observar una falsedat estadística. Com hem dit en les línies anteriors, el nombre absolut de cognoms de cada una de les categories onomàstiques donava una majoria de cognoms provinents de topònims, mentre que els altres grups no eren tan representa-

23. Coromines, Joan. "Cortiuda", *Onomasticon Cataloniae*. Barcelona: Curial-La Caixa, 1995: III, col. 447b.

tius. Tanmateix, podem veure en aquesta taula que de cognoms majoritaris provinents de topònims únicament en trobem quatre, *Artesa*, *Santalinya*, *Puig* i *Vila*. La resta, 9 en total, són patronímics (*Nicolau* i *Sancho*) o delexicals (*Cortit*, *Sabater*, *Bardoll*, *Rabassa*, *Cirera*, *Morell* i *Ribell*). De nou, podem parlar de modes onomàstiques i fins i tot de la vitalitat d'una família a la ciutat de Balaguer, com seria el cas de *Cortit*, i no de la productivitat d'uns antropònims.

6. Trets d'identitat onomàstica. A tall de conclusió

Al moment de fer una recapitulació, cal assenyalar, en primer lloc, que els textos medievals notariais garanteixen el record de persones i són una formació de la memòria personal, bé sigui individual o col·lectiva. Al mateix temps, aquests textos, i en concret els *Privilegis*, difonen i afirmen una identitat de noms d'un espai històric geogràfic determinat, el de la ciutat de Balaguer dels segles XIII i XIV, i la creació d'una memòria col·lectiva que perdurarà en el temps. Queda, per tant, clara la utilitat de la font documental utilitzada en tant que ens aporta una informació onomàstica que dóna una certa unitat als noms de persona que aquí hem presentat.

Des del segle IX fins al XI predomina l'ús d'un sol nom identificador en les escriptures. Amb tot, a finals del segle X comencen a ser freqüents els noms amb dos components fins a establir-se aquesta estructura onomàstica definitivament a la segona meitat del segle XI, de manera que, a partir dels segles posteriors, són els noms amb un sol element els que constitueixen casos excepcionals.

Veiem com aquesta tendència onomàstica està ben reflectida en el *corpus* de noms amb el qual hem treballat i en què només apareixen nou noms simples (vegeu el punt 4 de l'apartat 2)²⁴.

En tercer lloc, els prenomes de la ciutat de Balaguer són fidels a les tendències marcades per la moda onomàstica predominant a la Catalunya dels segles XIII i XIV, com indiquem a les taules 1 i 2. Cal que destaquem que el repertori dels noms de pila utilitzats a Catalunya al llarg dels segles XIII i XIV²⁵, i que són una continuació del que ja venia utilitzant-se des dels inicis de l'Edat Mitjana, s'ha format principalment de tres fonts fonamentals: la llatina, que era la comuna dels hispans primitius; la germànica, concretament la visigòtica; i la jueva, especialment la bíblica, que va entrar a la Península Ibèrica mitjançant les devocions religioses.

Per bé que els noms de pila són elements que lingüísticament compleixen la funció d'identificar els individus, i que social i culturalment manifesten una relació dels subjectes que assignen noms amb aquells que els reben²⁶, l'estudi antroponímic de l'onomàstica de Balaguer dels segles XIII i XIV ens permet, d'una banda, establir el sistema de denominació amb les possibilitats i recursos existents per a la identificació d'un individu dins de la societat del moment i, d'altra, conèixer la ideologia imperant en l'època.

24. Segons Vicente Lagüens y Tomás Buesa, "Esa 'revolución onomástica' se ha explicado por varias causas: de la extraordinaria riqueza antroponímica que revela la documentación de los siglos anteriores, con formaciones basadas sobre todo en la onomástica germánica —a las que se añaden nombres grecolatinos, latino-románicos y prerromanos— se pasa a una nueva situación caracterizada por el empleo mayoritario de un menor número de nombres que se ponen de moda en determinados años y regiones (como *Urraca*, *Xemena*, *Pelagio*, *Rodrigo*, *Adefonso*, *Vermudo* o *Fredinando*)" (Lagüens, Vicente; Buesa, Tomás. "Trabajos del Centro PatRom de Zaragoza. Los estudios de antroponimia aragonesa (I)". *Archivo de Filología Aragonesa*, 52-53 (1996-1997): 9-63).

25. Moreu-Rey, Enric. "Prenoms i cognoms de Catalunya...": 79-85.

26. Manrique, María del Carmen. "Antroponimia e identidad de los negros esclavos en el Perú". *Escritura y pensamiento*, 5 (2002): 123-134.



Pel que fa als cognoms, és evident una discordança respecte a la característica dominant a la Catalunya d'aquesta època on existia un equilibri entre les diferents categories onomàstiques. Mentre Dieter Kremer²⁷ posava de manifest l'equilibri de l'antroponímia provinent de cognoms derivats de patronímics, els creats a partir de designacions toponímiques, els procedents de noms d'ofici i aquells que són fruit de la fixació de sobrenoms o apel·latius com a cognoms, l'antroponímia de Balaguer de l'època comentada dona com a majoritaris els cognoms provinents de topònims i designacions toponímiques, seguida de lluny per la resta de grups com els que cita Kremer, si bé el cas dels cognoms derivats de noms d'ofici ocupa un lloc important per la seva abundància i varietat d'oficis.

Tot això no demostra, en la nostra opinió, res més que cada regió és peculiar en relació a la seva realitat antroponímica particular, com també subratlla Dieter Kremer²⁸ i que, per tant, no es pot generalitzar pel que fa als cognoms a diferència dels prenomes. En aquesta primera aproximació a l'antroponímia medieval de la ciutat de Balaguer constatem unes senyes d'identitat que cal estudiar particularment i, després, comparar-les, si s'escau, amb prenomes i cognoms d'altres zones geogràfiques amb documentació medieval.

L'eclosió dels cognoms derivats de patronímics contrasta amb l'aclaparadora presència de cognoms provinents de topònims. Aquest procés explica que, a partir del segle XII, la classe dominant assumeix aquesta estructura onomàstica que demostra una situació socio-econòmica com a manifestació del seu poder senyorial. A poc a poc, la població camperola i la que s'instal·lava en les grans i petites ciutats pren el nom d'acord amb el seu lloc d'origen com a signe d'una major vinculació a la terra.

La identitat personal és, a la llum de les dades confrontades, l'expressió d'un caràcter permanent i fonamental d'una individualitat que s'exclou de la resta de la comunitat pel fet d'existir com a ésser únic. Basada en la diferenciació, la identitat s'expressa en una sèrie de signes distintius entre els quals el nom és, sens dubte, un dels més importants. Com a societat multicultural, l'Edat Mitjana occidental és una societat on el nom té una importància fonamental. Partint de la simplicitat i concisió de les fórmules dels segles VIII i IX, l'onomàstica medieval s'anirà completant a poc a poc amb l'aparició d'antroponims cada vegada més complexos, diferents i compostos per diversos elements. A partir d'aquest moment, podem obtenir gran informació de l'individu i conèixer quines eren les seves qualitats físiques, ascendència familiar, origen geogràfic, professió i, en definitiva, qualsevol atribut que concerneixi a la seva persona. La presència abundant de noms en un text medieval com l'analitzat mostra que hi ha una identitat i que aquesta és objecte d'afirmació individual.

Identitat i onomàstica constitueixen dos dels elements més freqüentment utilitzats per definir, afirmar o difondre la consciència d'una memòria col·lectiva, sigui quina sigui l'època històrica. La forma i els continguts dels noms transmeten de manera intrínseca la intenció que ha originat la creació dels mateixos i l'historiador i el filòleg trobaran en ells els instruments per a establir dades per a la història de la mentalitat i de la creació d'una consciència onomàstica.

27. Kremer, Dieter. "Quelques impressions de statistique...": 186.

28. Kremer, Dieter. "Quelques impressions de statistique...": 187.

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LA QUAESTIO DE AQUA ET TERRA DE DANTE ALIGHIERI EN EL RENACIMIENTO

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RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza la respuesta astrológica presentada por Dante Alighieri en su *Quaestio de aqua et terra* (1320) al dilema planteado por la cosmología aristotélica respecto de la existencia de tierra seca sobre la superficie acuática en el sistema de esferas elementales concéntricas. Considerando que el tratado fue divulgado recién a inicios del siglo XVI, este trabajo examina el contexto intelectual en el que fue recibido y las concepciones renacentistas sobre el argumento estelar esgrimido por la tradición medieval, ofreciendo a partir de esta información una interpretación relativa a la escasa difusión de los planteamientos dantescos¹.

1. Introducción

La cosmología medieval se constituyó a partir de la combinación entre la concepción griega de una tierra esférica rodeada por las órbitas materiales de los cuerpos celestes y la interpretación cristiana de tal estructura. Una de las principales consecuencias de esta mezcla de tradiciones fue la necesidad de resolver aquellas divergencias entre ambas explicaciones respetando a la vez las nociones teológicas y los fenómenos observados. Posiblemente uno de los ejemplos más significativos de este proceso sea la discusión en torno a la existencia de tierra seca sobre la superficie acuática, la cual se extendió hasta el abandono de la cosmología griega a comienzos de siglo XVII. La amplia difusión de tratados medievales sobre la materia en el período de los llamados viajes de descubrimiento revela no solamente la relevancia del legado medieval en el contexto renacentista, sino también el complejo proceso de adaptación de las concepciones cosmológicas precedentes a un nuevo escenario cultural. En el presente trabajo pretendemos analizar el carácter de la explicación ofrecida por Dante Alighieri en su *Quaestio de aqua et terra* y el contexto intelectual en el que fue divulgada por primera vez.

2. La *quaestio de aqua et terra* y el problema de las esferas elementales

La *Quaestio de aqua et terra* fue leída por Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) en 1320 ante la corte de Cangrande della Scala en Verona, pero se difundió recién a inicios del siglo XVI, cuando el prior de los agustinos de Padua, Benedetto Moncetti de Castiglione Aretino, descubrió y publicó este texto

1. Investigación financiada por el gobierno de Chile mediante un proyecto Fondecyt (n. 11100203) y por la Vicerrectoría de Investigación y Estudios avanzados de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (proyecto n. 183.713). La autora agradece muy sinceramente a Amelia Herrera y Sebastián Salinas por su participación en la elaboración del artículo en cuanto estudiantes del programa de Doctorado en Historia en la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso.



en Venecia el año 1508. La autenticidad de la obra fue durante muchos años el tema principal de la discusión historiográfica en torno al escrito, llegándose a proponer incluso que se trataba de una falsificación tramada por el monje agustino². Esta disputa se resolvió a mediados del siglo pasado con el descubrimiento de la tercera versión del comentario de Pietro Alighieri a la *Commedia*, en el cual mencionaba los argumentos presentados por su padre en torno al lugar y forma de las esferas de agua y tierra³.

Según el mismo Dante, el propósito de la obra era dejar testimonio de la disputa en la que había participado tiempo antes en Mantua, pues, si pudiera haber parecido que esta había quedado inconclusa o sin solución, se trataba de una opinión más de acuerdo con la apariencia que con la verdad.⁴ Dante pretendía así hacer públicos los términos del debate, para luego precisar las razones por las cuales había sido zanjado.

La historia del pensamiento medieval revela sin embargo que este fue uno de los aspectos más problemáticos de la cosmología aristotélica, que no sería resuelto hasta el abandono general de ese sistema explicativo. Para el Estagirita la esfera terrestre estaba rodeada sucesivamente por las esferas concéntricas de agua, aire y fuego⁵. Esta disposición respondía a la tendencia de cada elemento hacia su lugar natural, siendo la tierra el elemento de mayor gravedad y por lo tanto ubicado en el centro del universo. Esta explicación del cosmos implicaba que la tierra debía estar completamente cubierta de agua y por lo tanto la existencia de *terra firma* o tierra seca era físicamente imposible. Aunque el mismo Aristóteles en otras secciones de su obra asumía la posibilidad de tierra habitable en diversas partes de la esfera⁶, no propuso una solución teórica para comprender su existencia. El tratado de Dante se inserta dentro de la tradición medieval que buscaba resolver esta interrogante⁷. La *Quaestio*, de hecho, resume enfoques adoptados por otros precedentemente y expone soluciones conocidas a inicios del siglo XIV en el medio científico europeo⁸.

Tras la presentación del tema en cuestión, Dante describe cinco argumentos que habían sido expuestos en defensa de la ubicación del agua por sobre la tierra en la disputa: la excentricidad de

2. Sobre los cuestionamientos a su autenticidad ver: Luzio, Alessandro; Reiner, Rodolfo. "Il probabile falsificatore della *Quaestio de aqua et terra*". *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana*, 20 (1892): 125-150. Una de las principales causas de esta suposición es la desaparición del manuscrito original.

3. Mazzoni, Francesco. "La questio de aqua et terra". *Studi Danteschi*, 34 (1957): 163-204. Sobre la disputa ver la nota explicativa en: Bouloux, Nathalie. *Culture et savoirs géographiques en Italie au XIV siècle*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002: 27 (n. 36).

4. Alighieri, Dante. "De forma et situ duorum elementorum aque videlicet et terre", *Tutte le Opere*. Milán: U. Musia & C., 1965: 915.

5. Aristóteles, *De Caelo*, II, 4. 287a (Aristotelis. *Opera*. Oxford: Typographeo Academicum, 1837: II, 30-31. 12 de Septiembre de 2012 <<http://www.isnature.org/Files/Aristotle>>).

6. Aristóteles, *Meteorologica*, II, 5, 362b. 287a (Aristotelis. *Meteorologicorum libri IV*. Leipzig: Vogel, 1834: II, 30-31. 12 Septiembre 2012 <<https://archive.org/details/meteorologicorum01arisuoft>>).

7. Para una revisión de los diferentes argumentos esgrimidos, ver: Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde. Histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic*. Hermann: Paris, 1965: IX, 79-235; Randles, William G. L. "Classic models of world geography and their transformation following the discovery of America", *The Classical Tradition and the Americas. European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition*, Wolfgang Haase, Meyer Reinhold, eds. Berlin y Nueva York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994: I, 5-76. Collected also in: Randles, William G. L. *Geography, Cartography and Nautical Science in the Renaissance: The Impact of the Great Discoveries*. Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000: 5-76.

8. El tratado de Dante ha sido estudiado desde una perspectiva científica por: Boffito, Giuseppe. *Intorno alla Quaestio de aqua et terra attribuita a Dante*. Turín: Carlo Clausen, 1902: 75-159; Mazzoni, Francesco. "Quaestio de Aqua et Terra. Introduzione, traduzione e commento di Francesco Mazzoni", *Alighieri, Dante, Opere Minori*. Milán y Nápoles: Ricciardi, 1979: II, 691-880. Más recientemente se ha abordado el problema cosmológico en: Alexander, David. "Dante and the form of the land". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 76 (1986): 38-49, enfatizando la posición del texto en la historia del pensamiento medieval. Aunque Alexander no lo cita, posiblemente el análisis más importante en esta perspectiva fue el realizado por Duhem a comienzos del siglo XX (ampliamente reconocido por Mazzoni).



ambas esferas elementales, evidente al observar la esfera de la tierra a veces sumergida y en otros casos elevada sobre la esfera de agua; la consideración del agua como un elemento más noble que la tierra y por lo tanto necesariamente más cercano al cielo; la apreciación de los navegantes según la cual las montañas se ubican bajo ellos; la tendencia del agua a descender como prueba de la disposición de la esfera del agua por sobre la tierra, puesto que, de lo contrario, tanto lagos como fuentes y arroyos estarían secos; y por último, la vinculación entre el curso de la Luna y las aguas que debería expresarse también en la excentricidad de la esfera acuática semejante a la órbita lunar⁹.

A continuación, Dante expone su tesis negando la posibilidad de que el agua sea más alta que la superficie terrestre habitable. Para esto, recurre primero a la prueba de los sentidos: puesto que podemos percibir que los ríos descienden hacia el mar es imposible que el agua en parte alguna de su circunferencia sea más alta que la tierra emergente. Descarta enseguida la excentricidad de las esferas de la tierra y el agua ejemplificando con las consecuencias que esto implicaría en las trayectorias divergentes de descenso de ambos elementos hacia sus lugares naturales, para luego rechazar la existencia de una protuberancia acuosa contraria a la tendencia a moverse hacia su centro y a su naturaleza fluida incapaz de contenerse a sí misma. Concluye así que el agua es concéntrica a la tierra y tiene una superficie esférica.

Luego de la exposición de los argumentos en favor de su teoría, el poeta explica las razones por las cuales el agua no cubre completamente a la tierra, dado que por naturaleza esta última debería estar bajo ella. Según el autor, la Naturaleza Universal requiere que la tierra se eleve para que la mezcla de los elementos pueda realizarse. De hecho, señala Dante, la tierra seca es una excrescencia en forma de media luna que se extiende desde Cádiz al río Ganges.

Después de afirmar la causa final de esta protuberancia terrestre, el autor dedica la última parte de su obra a precisar la causa eficiente de la elevación insistiendo en que su tratado aborda únicamente asuntos de naturaleza material, distinguiéndose de aquellos que habían postulado el milagro divino como respuesta a esta interrogante¹⁰. Así, comienza por descartar que sea la propia tierra la causante de la protuberancia, puesto que, al igual que los otros elementos, se trata de un cuerpo homogéneo que no produce elevaciones. Dada la ausencia de otras posibilidades, Dante ubica entonces la causa en el Cielo. En primer lugar descarta a la Luna, la cual gira alrededor de toda la esfera terrestre y por lo tanto debería ejercer su atracción en toda la superficie y no únicamente en la porción del hemisferio norte antes descrita. Por esta misma razón rechaza la injerencia de todas las órbitas de los planetas y del *primum mobile*, ya que son uniformes y no se podría explicar su mayor incidencia en una parte de la tierra. Por este motivo, la causa debe adscribirse, según Dante, al firmamento u octava esfera. Para el autor, si bien el firmamento es uniforme en sustancia, se aprecian en él diferencias de tamaño en las estrellas y en las constelaciones, las que deben tener como propósito elevar la tierra sobre la superficie acuática:

Videmus in eo differentiam in magnitudine stellarum et in luce, in figuris et ymaginibus constellationum; que quidem differentie frustra esse non possunt, ut manifestissimum esse debet omnibus in phylosophia nutritis.

9. En su edición inglesa, Alain Campbell Smith denomina a estas pruebas geométrica, ética, experimental, económica y astronómica. Campbell, Alain. "A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra". *Annual Reports of the Dante Society*, 21 (1902): 1-59, especialmente, 6.

10. Esa fue la respuesta entregada por ejemplo por Guillermo de Auvernia y Manegold de Lautenbach. Ver: Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du Monde...*: IX, 109-110; Bartlett, Robert. *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2008: 41-44.



[...] Unde cum vultus inferiores sint similes vultibus superioribus ut Ptolomeus dicit, consequens est quod, cum iste effectus non possit reduci nisi in celum stellatum ut visum est, quod similitudo virtualis agentis consistat in illa regione celi que operit hanc terram detectam¹¹.

Al preguntarse por qué esta elevación ocurre en el hemisferio norte y no en el sur, Dante afirma que se trata de una decisión divina que supera los límites del entendimiento humano.

Robert Bartlett enfatiza que el argumento naturalista de Dante, si bien se diferencia de los argumentos teológicos presentados por autores anteriores, no debe ser interpretado como la expresión del progreso de la ciencia occidental sino más bien como ejemplo de un proceso intelectual más complejo. Bartlett recuerda que la explicación teológica pretendía a su vez contrarrestar las respuestas únicamente físicas del problema cosmológico, por lo que desde esta perspectiva no se trataba tanto del triunfo de la visión naturalista, como de un debate aún en curso¹². Este rasgo es enfatizado por la interpretación contraria de Nathalie Bouloux del tratado, quien afirma que la respuesta esgrimida por el poeta florentino impedía cualquier posibilidad de discusión puesto que su solución no era física sino únicamente metafísica¹³. De esta manera, mientras Bartlett considera la *Quaestio* una respuesta física al dilema, Bouloux ve en ella un claro ejemplo del recurso teológico para resolverlo.

Esta diversidad de interpretaciones se sustenta en dos aspectos presentes con igual protagonismo en el tratado: el énfasis en la voluntad divina como causa de las cosas terrenales y la preocupación por identificar una causa natural que explicase la elevación de la masa terrestre. Aunque la segunda queda claramente supeditada a la primera, el recurso a la atracción estelar de la tierra —equivalente a la acción del magneto sobre el hierro— constituye una respuesta física cuya causa final es sobrenatural.

3. La tradición del argumento astrológico como explicación de la *terra ferma*

La historia del argumento de la incidencia de las estrellas en el levantamiento del cuarto habitable de la tierra es difícil de seguir, pues se encuentra en contados autores de entre aquellos que tratan la cuestión del orden de las esferas elementales. La primera mención aparece en el *Comentario a la Esfera de Sacrobosco* escrito hacia 1271 por Robertus Anglicus¹⁴. A propósito de la alusión de Sacrobosco a la existencia de tierra seca en el hemisferio norte, Anglicus afirma:

*Tertio nota quod omnia elementa orbiculariter circumdant terram ex omni parte nisi aqua, cuius rei triplex potest esse ratio. Una voluntas divina propter vitam animalium salvandam. Alia siccitas terre imbibens partes aque, ut habetur in De generatione et corruptione, nisi terra esset permixta cum aqua, decideret in pulverem. Tertia est influentia stellarum, ut coniunctio aliqua super aliquam partem terre efficit ipsam siccam, cuius signum est quoniam loca que solebant esse plena aquis modo sunt desiccata*¹⁵.

11. Alighieri, Dante. “De forma et situ duorum elementorum...”: 926.

12. Bartlett, Robert. *The Natural and the Supernatural...*: 50.

13. Bouloux, Nathalie. *Culture et savoirs géographiques...*: 29.

14. Sobre Anglicus ver la reseña escrita por: Thorndike, Lynn. “Robert Anglicus”. *Isis*, 34 (1943): 467-469. Del mismo autor véase: Thorndike, Lynn. “Robertus Anglicus and the Introduction of Demons and Magic into Commentaries upon the Sphere of Sacrobosco”. *Speculum*, 21 (1946): 241-243.

15. En algunas versiones se agrega al final [...] *ut in quibus dampnatis Anglie*. Boffito cita una versión de este pasaje, atribuyéndolo al propio Sacrobosco: Boffito, Giuseppe. *Intorno alla Quaestio de aqua et terra...*: 120. El autor reproduce también una sección del comentario de Averroes a los *Meteorologica* en el que se alude a la acción conjunta de las estrellas y el Sol como causa de la sequedad de la tierra septentrional, Boffito, Giuseppe. *Intorno alla Quaestio de aqua et terra...*: 96.



Así, en la visión de Anglicus la influencia estelar forma parte de tres posibles razones para explicar la excrecencia terrestre, junto con la voluntad divina y la sequedad de la tierra. Como notó Pierre Duhem, aunque el astrónomo inglés reproduce explicaciones de otros autores, no hay referencia a que este argumento haya aparecido en obras anteriores. Si bien los Hermanos de la Pureza o de la Sinceridad —grupo de filósofos árabes que se establecieron en la ciudad de Basora en el siglo X— habían abordado en general el problema de la atracción ejercida por el Cielo sobre la Tierra, también habían descrito el efecto contrario de repulsión¹⁶. Además, esta tradición que retomaría Al Bitruji en el siglo XII, enfatizaba la influencia del movimiento estelar en el movimiento de los continentes, tratándose de una explicación diversa a la de Anglicus que no pretendía resolver el dilema planteado por Aristóteles¹⁷.

Después de Anglicus, el dominico Bernardo de Trilia (1240-1294) cita la mayor parte de las explicaciones presentadas, uniendo la intervención sobrenatural de Dios al orden universal celeste y a la acción de las estrellas¹⁸. Para Duhem, esta combinación no resulta extraña, pues si Roger Bacon había resuelto la interrogante aristotélica apelando a la acción de la naturaleza universal por sobre la naturaleza particular de los elementos y Tomás de Aquino había recurrido al orden universal, la influencia astral no era sino otro nombre para referirse al mismo tipo de explicación finalista sobre la excepcionalidad de la *terra firma*¹⁹.

El uso de criterios astrológicos en la filosofía natural de la época no constituye necesariamente una contradicción con los fundamentos de la teología medieval. Si bien Eugenio Garin cree en la imposibilidad de conciliación entre la ordenada racionalidad escolástica y el cuestionamiento continuo a las estructuras del universo implícito en la astrología —deduciendo de ello la reducción de esta disciplina al dominio de lo demoníaco y la contingencia experimental—²⁰, la existencia de matices en la creencia de la influencia estelar permitieron sin embargo que esta tuviera un rol particular en la reflexión cosmológica del periodo. Aunque algunos de los primeros autores cristianos habían reconocido un poder restringido a las señales contenidas en los astros²¹, la validación de la observación de los cielos en el mundo medieval como parámetro para analizar y comprender el mundo terrenal tuvo su origen a partir del siglo XII. Fue entonces cuando las traducciones del *Tetrabiblos* de Ptolomeo y la *Introducción a la ciencia de la astrología* de Albumasar llevaron a un “resurgimiento del interés por la astrología y a una actitud más favorable hacia sus doctrinas”²². Si hasta entonces las fuentes disponibles eran el comentario de Macrobio al *Somnium Scipionis*, la *Mathesis* de Firmico Materno, los comentarios latinos al *Timeo* y las breves alusiones de Isidoro de Sevilla y

16. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IX, 99.

17. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IX, 133-134.

18. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IX, 138. Duhem cita las *Questions de spera edita a Magistro Bernard de Trilia*, Bibliothèque Municipale de Laon. Ms. 171, f. 75.

19. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IX, 134.

20. Garin, Eugenio. “Magia y astrología en el Renacimiento”, *Medioevo y Renacimiento*. Madrid: Taurus, 1981: 112-124, especialmente, 117-118.

21. Entre ellos destacan: Tertuliano, Orígenes, Lactancio e incluso San Agustín. Ver: Sez nec, Jean. *La sopravvivenza degli antichi dei. Saggio sul ruolo della tradizione mitologica nella cultura e nell'arte rinascimentale*. Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1990: 37-38.

22. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia occidental*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2002: 350-351.



Beda, la difusión de estos tratados conservados y elaborados por los árabes permitieron integrar la tradición astrológica con la filosofía natural aristotélica²³.

Así, desde el siglo XII la astrología adquirió cada vez mayor relevancia como forma de entender el cosmos, distinguiéndose cuando era preciso de la ciencia de los horóscopos. La primera era una rama respetable de la filosofía natural, mientras la segunda fue objeto de una serie de críticas a lo largo de toda la Edad Media²⁴. Estas últimas no apuntaban tanto a la creencia en la realidad de la influencia celeste, como a la amenaza del determinismo implícito en el dictado de las estrellas²⁵. De esta manera, cuando la astrología era considerada una disciplina racional que proveía, entre otras cosas, los principios para la prognosis médica, la navegación y la agricultura, separándose de las ceremonias de invocación supersticiosa de entidades astrales, se trataba de una ciencia permitida y lícita²⁶.

Según Edward Grant la astrología entendida como la predicción de eventos y comportamientos a partir del conocimiento de los cuerpos celeste no jugó un rol relevante en la filosofía escolástica, pero la influencia ejercida por estos cuerpos sobre la materia de la región terrestre era un principio universalmente aceptado²⁷. Esta idea coincidía con la concepción jerárquica del cosmos en la cual la sección celestial debía influenciar y guiar lo menos noble y perfecto²⁸. Si bien en la mayoría de los casos eran la luz y el movimiento de los astros los medios de la acción astral, cuando un efecto no podía ser atribuido a alguno de ellos se esgrimía la posibilidad de una suerte de influjo invisible que irradiaba de los cielos. Algunos fenómenos, como la atracción magnética, eran explicados de esta manera²⁹. Así, no es extraño que Dante equiparase el poder ejercido por las estrellas del hemisferio norte sobre la masa terrestre al efecto de los imanes, pues en ambos casos se trataba de una fuerza invisible que sin embargo tenía efectos perceptibles en el mundo sublunar. Este principio permitía resolver el dilema planteado por la cosmología aristotélica y se remitía al concepto de naturaleza u orden universal que preservaba el cosmos.

Este mismo argumento reaparecería en *La composizione del mondo* de Ristoro d'Arezzo, texto escrito en lengua vernácula en 1282. Tratando de explicar la forma del mundo, d'Arezzo sigue la distinción de esferas aristotélicas y explica la protuberancia terrestre como consecuencia de la atracción de los astros, enfatizando la virtud del hemisferio norte debido a la existencia de numerosas estrellas y constelaciones:

23. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia occidental...*: 350-351; Sez nec, Jean. *La sopravvivenza degli antichi dei...*: 44. Las referencias astrológicas de Isidoro de Sevilla están contenidas en sus *Etimologías* y *De rerum natura*, y de Beda en su tratado sobre la naturaleza de las cosas. Ver: Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. Nueva York: Columbia University Press, 1923: I, 632-636. Thorndike afirma que el proceso fue más bien inverso: la lectura de autores como Firmicus generó un interés por la astrología que llevó a la búsqueda de más textos en la materia. Ver, especialmente, las páginas 690-691.

24. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia occidental...*: 346.

25. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia occidental...*: 349.

26. Federici, Graziella. *Medioevo magico. La magia tra religione e scienza nei secoli XII e XIV*. Turin: UTET, 2008: 323.

27. Grant, Edward. *Planets, Stars, & Orbs, The Medieval Cosmos, 1200-1687*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1996: 569-570.

28. Grant, Edward. *Planets, Stars, & Orbs...*: 612.

29. Grant, Edward. *Planets, Stars, & Orbs...*: 612 y 615.



*Adunque è mistieri per forza di ragione che la terra sia scoperta dell'acqua nella parte diritta del cielo, la quale è più spessa, e più forte e più potente: la qualpotemo chiamare per ragione parte di sopra, come quella di settentrione, la quale è piena di figure e di grandissima moltitudine di stelle*³⁰.

Para d'Arezzo, la virtud celeste actúa sobre el agua, apartándola del cuarto terrestre para permitir su habitabilidad³¹. Este último elemento es uno de los pocos aspectos que Dante no adoptó en su obra, conservando la insistencia en la concentración de estrellas sobre el hemisferio norte y la semejanza entre la atracción celeste y el magnetismo³². Esta coincidencia podría explicarse por la posible popularidad tardomedieval —revelada por los manuscritos conservados— de *La composizione del mondo*³³. De hecho, Pietro d'Abano (c.1250-1315/6) filósofo, médico y astrónomo de la Escuela de Padua, incluyó en una de sus más célebres obras, el *Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum et praecipue medicorum*, el argumento astrológico como una posible causa de la conformación de la protuberancia terrestre³⁴. Como d'Arezzo, el autor señalaba que las constelaciones ubicadas en la sección septentrional retenían el mar y le impedían inundar la tierra³⁵. Sin embargo, no adoptaba esta explicación como definitiva y únicamente la mencionaba entre las causas esgrimidas para resolver el problema.

Estas ideas serían retomadas por Paolo Veneto (c.1369 -1429) en su obra *De compositione mundi*, la cual es en gran parte una traducción al latín abreviada del tratado de Ristoro d'Arezzo³⁶. Veneto afirmaba que la multitud de estrellas en la parte septentrional no solo hacían de ella la sección más noble de los cielos, sino que mantenían descubierto de aguas el cuarto habitable³⁷. Este mismo enfoque fue adoptado por Giovanni Michele Alberto da Carrara (1438-1490) en su *De constitutione mundi*, obra que parece nunca haber sido publicada y que se conserva únicamente en forma manuscrita³⁸. Si bien el tratado fue escrito en la segunda mitad del siglo XV cuando los resultados de las navegaciones portuguesas por el sur de África eran conocidos, su autor conservó la explicación estelar de Ristoro para entender la existencia excepcional de tierra seca en el hemisferio norte. El contenido de esta obra es escasamente original, ya que sus argumentaciones se remiten a los tratados de Paolo Veneto y Ristoro d'Arezzo³⁹.

30. Arezzo, Ristoro d'. *La composizione del mondo*. Roma: Tipografia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche, 1859: 77.

31. Arezzo, Ristoro d'. *La composizione del mondo...*: 78.

32. Alexander, David. "Dante and the form of the land...": 47.

33. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde. Histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic*. Paris: Hermann, 1954: IV, 207-208. Sobre los manuscritos ver el estudio introductorio de Enrico Narducci a su edición del texto: Arezzo, Ristoro d'. *La composizione del mondo...*: IX-XXXI.

34. Pietro d'Abano habría terminado esta obra en los primeros años del siglo XIV. Véase: Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. Nueva York: Columbia University Press, 1923: II, 879.

35. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IX, 151. Ver *Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum [et] medicorum in primis doctoris (...) Petri de Abano*. Venecia: Luca antonio Giunta, c.1520: fol. 18v.

36. Duhem, Pierre. *Études sur Léonard de Vinci: Ceux qu'il a lus et ceux que l'ont lu*. Paris: Éditions des Archives Contemporaines, 1984: I, 325. Alexander omite esta vinculación, señalando que Paolo Veneto repite la explicación dantesca, ver, especialmente, la página 46.

37. Veneto, Paolo. *Liber de compositione mundi*. Lyon: SimonVincent, 1525: chapter XVIII Sub Septentrione terra est aquis discoperta.

38. Thorndike, Lynn. "Relations of the Inquisition to Peter of Abano and Cecco d'Ascoli". *Speculum*, 1 (1926): 338-343, especialmente, 341.

39. Thorndike, Lynn. "The *De constitutione mundi* of John Albert Michael Albert of Carrara". *The Romanic Review*, 17 (1926): 193-216.

Como se apreciaba, el argumento de Anglicus tuvo su mayor fortuna en el medio intelectual italiano. Esto no es extraño puesto que la astrología ocupó allí un lugar preponderante, mezclándose en los textos científicos de la época con observaciones astronómicas y deducciones geométricas⁴⁰. Como afirma Fritz Saxl, si en el siglo XIII la astrología era un viajero recién llegado del Este, en el siglo XV la distancia que había separado el paganismo astrológico de la cristiandad medieval había dejado de existir⁴¹. En el caso de Dante esta parece haber sido la única ocasión en su obra en la cual alude a la participación de los cielos en la generación de un objeto inanimado⁴². En general su interés primordial radica en la influencia astral en el contexto humano, reconociendo que nuestra vida y la de todos los seres vivos es causada por el Cielo (*Convivio*, 4.23). Esta postura sin embargo, era conciliada con la perspectiva cristiana, pues Dante consideraba las estrellas como instrumentos de Dios para expresar su voluntad a través de la naturaleza⁴³.

4. La difusión del argumento dantesco en el Renacimiento

En la edición de 1577 de su comentario a la *Esfera* de Sacrobosco, el fraile florentino Francesco Giuntini (1523-1590) dedicaba una extensa sección a analizar el problema de las esferas de agua y tierra. Junto con reproducir los argumentos de Christoph Clavius (1538-1612) en favor de una única esfera compuesta por los dos elementos, Giuntini incorporaba como evidencia la alusión a las estrellas desconocidas a los navegantes en el hemisferio sur contenida la *Commedia* dantesca: *I' mi volsi a man destra, e puosi mente/ a l'altro polo, e vidi quattro stelle/ non viste mai fuor ch'a la prima gente* (Purgatorio, I, 22-24)⁴⁴. Algunos años después, el monje camaldulense Francesco Pifferi (1548-1612) reiteraba esta referencia sugiriendo que, si bien era imposible que Dante conociese las cuatro estrellas australes mencionadas, al menos había intuido su existencia⁴⁵. Esta interpretación cosmológica del pasaje se diferenciaba de aquella simbólico-religiosa propuesta por autores precedentes como Cristoforo Landino (1425-1498), quien veía en dichas estrellas un signo de las cuatro virtudes cardinales⁴⁶. De hecho, este enfoque da cuenta de un intento por incorporar al poeta en la reflexión científica de la época indagando en los indicios geográficos y astronómicos contenidos en su obra. No obstante esta intención, las menciones al que es posiblemente su único tratado sobre la materia, son inexistentes.

40. Duhem, Pierre. *Le Système du monde...*: IV, 186.

41. Saxl, Fritz. "El renacimiento de la astrología a finales de la Antigüedad", *La vida de las imágenes*. Madrid: Alianza, 1989: 72-81.

42. Kay, Richard. *Dante's Christian Astrology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994: 4.

43. Kay, Richard. *Dante's Christian...*: 9. Como afirman Boll y Sezneć, si bien los pensadores más rigurosos enfatizaban la amenaza que implicaba el poder de los astros para el libre albedrío, eso no significó que negasen su acción condicionante. Tal es el caso de Tomás de Aquino, quien, en *Summa* 1.115.4, concede a los astros el poder de determinar el carácter del individuo, y el mismo Dante, quien aceptaba el influjo de las fuerzas cósmicas en la vida humana en *Purgatorio* 16.73-76. Ver: Boll, Franz. *Storia dell'Astrologia*. Bari: Laterza, 1985: 80-82; Sezneć, Jean. *La sopravvivenza degli antichi dei...*: 41-42.

44. Giuntini, Francesco. *Commentarium in Sphaeram*. Lyon: apud Philippum Tinghium, 1577: 201.

45. Pifferi, Francesco. *Sfera*. Siena: appresso Siluestro Marchetti, 1604: 26-27.

46. *Queste quattro stelle pare che pongha per le quattro virtù cardinali, le quali non sono ne gl'huomini perfettamenteamente se non sono in stato di gratia, et però non furon mai viste se non da' nostri primi parenti, quando erono in stato di gratia* (Landino, Cristoforo. *Commento sopra la Comedia*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli. Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2001: III, 1047).



En la dedicatoria al cardenal Ippolito d'Este, Benedetto Moncetti presentaba la *Quaestio* como expresión del ingenio dantesco y su habilidad en la especulación astronómica⁴⁷. Sin embargo los autores renacentistas parecen haber preferido remitirse a la *Commedia*. Estableciendo una comparación entre las ideas de hemisferio sur expuestas en ambas obras, Alfred Hiatt señala que en los dos textos se alude a la posibilidad de *terra firma* en el otro hemisferio: mientras en la *Quaestio* la restricción al hemisferio norte es explicada como un misterio que supera la comprensión humana, en el *Inferno* sería la caída de Lucifer desde los cielos lo que habría movido por espanto las tierras desde el sur al norte, haciendo del mundo actual una inversión del original⁴⁸. Así, la explicación física de la elevación causada por las estrellas encontraba a su vez una justificación poético-religiosa⁴⁹. Resulta en ese sentido interesante que ni Giuntini ni Pifferi en su tentativa por incluir las afirmaciones de Dante como prueba del conocimiento de la mitad meridional de la esfera, citen la alternativa dejada abierta por la *Quaestio*. Aunque la edición de 1508 parece haber sido escasa, creemos que se trató de una omisión más bien vinculada al tipo de argumento esgrimido por el poeta y a la interpretación de dicho enfoque durante el siglo XVI.

Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-1579) en *La sfera del mondo* afirmaba que la existencia de tierra seca se debía a que la tierra no tenía una densidad uniforme, y puesto que su centro de magnitud era diverso de su centro de gravedad, el agua no la cubría completamente⁵⁰. Señalaba enseguida que esta era la única verdadera razón, desmintiendo a quienes *vogliono che nel polo Settentrionale, o a quel vicino, sieno alcune stelle, che con la loro influentia impediscono, che l'acqua non copra la terra in qualche parte*⁵¹. Asimismo, el jesuita Christoph Clavius al defender la idea de un globo de tierra y agua, se refería a la ridícula razón argüida por quienes atribuían la existencia de *terra firma* a la fuerza de las constelaciones árticas, las cuales tenían supuestamente una virtud capaz de mover los océanos⁵². El tono despectivo con el que dos de los autores de cosmología más citados del siglo XVI se referían al llamado argumento astrológico⁵³, evidencia que la respuesta presentada por Dante encontraba escaso eco en el mundo científico de la época.

En su clásica historia de la astrología, Franz Boll señala que durante los siglos XV y XVI el prestigio de ésta fue en constante ascenso, tal como lo revelaría la afición de los papas Julio II y Paulo II por calcular el momento apropiado para ciertas ceremonias y la fundación de la cátedra de astrología en la universidad de la Sapienza por León X⁵⁴. La interpretación de estas prácticas constituye no obstante un problema que la historiografía ha buscado analizar fundamentalmente desde dos perspectivas. Por una parte se ha enfatizado la progresiva distinción entre la astrología judiciaria orientada a los pronósticos y la astrología matemática dedicada al cálculo de posiciones

47. Reproducido en la edición de: Torri, Alessandro. *Quistione trattata in Verona da Dante Alighieri intorno alla forma del globo terraqueo ed al luogo rispettivamente occupato dall'acqua e dalla terra*. Livorno: coi tipi di Paolo Vannini, 1843: XII.

48. Hiatt, Alfred. *Terra Incognita. Mapping the Antipodes before 1600*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008: 128.

49. Sobre las dos explicaciones ver: Alexander, David. "Dante and the form of the land"....: 45.

50. Piccolomini, Alessandro. *La sfera del mondo di M. Alessandro Piccolomini. Di nuovo da lui ripolita, accresciuta, et fino à sei libri, di quattro che erano, ampliata (...)*. Venecia: Giovanni Varisco e compagni, 1566: 73.

51. Piccolomini, Alessandro. *La sfera del mondo*....: 73.

52. Clavius, Cristoph. "Commentarium in Sphaeram Ionnis de Sacro Bosco", *Opera Mathematica*. Mainz: Antonii Hierat excudebat Reinhardus Eltz, 1611: III, 16.

53. Piccolomini y particularmente Clavius, fueron citados continuamente por sus contemporáneos en materia cosmológica. Tanto Pifferi como Giuntini, por ejemplo, se remiten a ellos como autoridades para abordar los problemas de la *Esfera*.

54. Boll, Franz. *Storia dell'Astrologia*....: 75.

astrales, “en resumidas cuentas, se trata de una distinción entre lo que ya anuncia el desarrollo de la investigación científica y lo que constituye un vestigio de religiones antiguas o bien el asomo de nuevas formas de superstición”⁵⁵. Este enfoque se originaría en los mismos argumentos esgrimidos por quienes buscaban defender su quehacer de los prejuicios y temores de sus contemporáneos⁵⁶. Por otra parte, Eugenio Garin considera esta una separación ficticia, puesto que ambas perspectivas se entrecruzan continuamente en los escritos de la época⁵⁷. En sus palabras, “en realidad, en el Renacimiento se lucha precisamente contra ese divorcio” —entre pensamiento científico y oculto— “en favor de una nueva convergencia”⁵⁸. En ese sentido, se niega la contradicción entre ciencia y astrología en el período, puesto que para algunos autores el principio de causalidad astral aparece como la ley natural por excelencia, aquella que garantiza la inviolable regularidad del acaecer y permite descubrir en el universo un orden cósmico⁵⁹.

A partir de estos enfoques parece difícil determinar el rol de la astrología en la época, no solo porque su presencia es a veces implícita, sino porque lo que denominamos propiamente astrológico es lo suficientemente vasto como para permitir distinciones. En el caso que aquí nos interesa, podemos apreciar una transformación entre los siglos XV y XVI que condujo al abandono del argumento estelar como principio para resolver el dilema de la *terra firma*. Si los florentinos que leyeron la *Geografía* de Ptolomeo por primera vez no se interesaron por la idea de globo terráqueo allí contenida, sino que su lectura estuvo determinada por las preocupaciones astrológicas⁶⁰, a mediados del siglo XVI, la posibilidad de tierra en el hemisferio sur era uno de los ejemplos más citados del texto⁶¹, dando cuenta de un giro en el enfoque cosmológico.

Esta misma actitud podría explicar la reducida difusión de las ideas planteadas por Dante en la *Quaestio*. Un análisis de catálogos de bibliotecas privadas del Renacimiento muestra que durante el siglo XV el único texto que reproducía el argumento estelar para explicar la existencia de tierra descubierta contenido en dichas colecciones era el *Conciliator* de Pietro d'Abano⁶². Aunque en la fa-

55. Garin, Eugenio. “Magia y astrología en el Renacimiento...”: 112-124, ver 131.

56. Garin, Eugenio. “Magia y astrología en el Renacimiento...”: 131.

57. Garin, Eugenio. “Magia y astrología en el Renacimiento...”: 133; Garin, Eugenio. *Lo zodiaco della vita. La polemica sull'astrologia dal Trecento al Cinquecento*. Bari: Laterza, 2007: 27.

58. Garin, Eugenio. “Magia y astrología en el Renacimiento...”: 124.

59. Seznec, Jean. *La sopravvivenza degli antichi dei...*: 51. Sobre la influencia del pensamiento astrológico en la cosmología renacentista véase: Vernet, Juan. *Astrología y astronomía en el Renacimiento*. Barcelona: El Acantilado, 2000: 9-31.

60. Gautier, Patrick. *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVe-XVIe siècle)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009: 168 y 214. Thomas Goldstein, en una interpretación diversa, insiste en la influencia ejercida en los florentinos por la idea de un hemisferio sur navegable. Ver: Goldstein, Thomas. “Geography in Fifteenth-century Florence”, *Merchants and scholars. Essays in the history of exploration and trade*, ed. John Parker. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965: 9-32.

61. Ver: Rinaldi, Dante. *La Sfera di messer Giovanni Sacrobosco tradotta emendata & distinta in capitoli da Piervincenzo Dante de Rinaldi con molte e utili annotazioni del medesimo. Rivista da frate Egnatio Danti cosmografo del Gran Duca di Toscana*. Florencia: Stamperia de Giunti, 1571: 35; Giuntini, Francesco. *La Sfera del mondo*. Lyon: Appresso Simforiano Beraud, 1582: 275-276.

62. Contenido en las bibliotecas de Piero Leoni y Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Ver: Dorez, Léon. “Recherches sur la bibliothèque de Pier Leoni, médecin de Laurent de Médicis”. *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 7 (1897): 81-106; Pearl Kibre. *The library of Pico della Mirandola*. New York: Columbia University Press, 193. Se revisaron además los catálogos de Giorgio Valla en: Heiberg, Johan L. “Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's und seiner Bibliothek”. *Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 16 (1896); la Biblioteca de los Médici en Ullman, Berthold L.; Stadter, Philip. *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence*. Padua: Ed. Antenore, 1972; Pietro Barozzi's in *Librorum XV saec. Impressorum index. Appendix Petri Barocii Bibliothecae inventarium, E. Govi recensuit*. Padua: Typ. Antoniana 1958; de Nicolás de Cusa en: Marx, Jakob. *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospital zu Cues*. Trier: Schaar und Dathe, 1905; de Angelo Decembrio en: Capelli, Adriano. “Angelo Decembrio”. *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 19 (1892): 110-117; de Francesco Filelfo en: Calderini, Aristide. “Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo”. *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 30 (1913):



mosa biblioteca del Cardenal Bessarión se conservaban obras de Robertus Anglicus y Paolo Veneto, ni el comentario a la *Esfera* del primero ni el *De compositione mundi* del segundo son mencionados⁶³.

El caso de Pietro d'Abano puede servir para ilustrar la consideración de los intelectuales de la época sobre el enfoque astrológico medieval. Como señala Graziella Federici Vescovini, algunos autores del período hicieron del agudo médico y filósofo racionalista, un mago que comerciaba con los demonios⁶⁴. Aunque en el *Conciliator* su autor simplemente aludía a la explicación planteada por Anglicus, el juicio a su obra da cuenta de la transformación sufrida por la astrología entendida como disciplina científica y revela el cambio acaecido desde la segunda mitad del siglo XV. Pico della Mirandola, por ejemplo, se negaba a aceptar la existencia de poderes lunares ocultos, reconociendo únicamente la influencia de la luz y el movimiento⁶⁵. Esta actitud había comenzado a consolidarse cuando apareció la edición de Moncetti en 1508 y no es extraño que los cosmólogos de la época hayan sido reacios a adoptar o incluso mencionar la teoría dantesca. Esto se confirma además en la revisión de los catálogos de bibliotecas de pensadores del siglo XVI, la que muestra la inexistencia de referencias no solo a la *Quaestio*, sino también a las obras que exponían el argumento estelar sobre la *terra firma*⁶⁶.

204-424; de Guarino da Verona en: Omont, Henri. "Les manuscrits grecs de Guarino de Vérone et la Bibliothèque de Ferrare". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 2 (1892): 78-81 y de Francesco Petrarca en: De Nolhac, Pierre. "Le catalogue de la Première Bibliothèque de Pétrarque a Vaulcuse". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 16 (1906): 341-344.

63. Labowsky, Lotte. *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six early inventories*. Roma: Ed. Di Storia e Letteratura, 1979.

64. Federici, Graziella. *Medioevo magico...*: 348.

65. Garin, Eugenio. *Lo zodiaco della vita...*: 90.

66. Se revisaron los catálogos de las bibliotecas de Girolamo Aleandro en: Dorez, Léon. "Recherches sur la bibliothèque du cardinal Girolamo Aleandro". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 2 (1892): 49-68; Dorez, Léon. "Nouvelles recherches sur la bibliothèque du cardinal Girolamo Aleandro". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 7 (1897): 293-304; de Erasmo de Rotterdam en: Husner, Fritz. "Die Bibliothek des Erasmus", *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Herausgegeben von der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel), Basilea, 1936: 228-259; de Julio I en: León Dorez, "La bibliothèque privée du pape Jules II". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 6 (1896): 97-124; de Leonardo da Vinci en Fabio Frosini "La biblioteca di Leonardo da Vinci" available in <www.picus.sin.it/documenti/LdV_biblioteche_dei_filosofi.pdf>; de Willibald Pirckheimer en: Emile Offenbacher. "La bibliothèque de Willibald Pirckheimer", *La bibliofilia*, 40 (1938): 241-263; Johannes Reuchlin's en: Karl Christ. *Die Bibliothek Reuchlins in Pforzheim*. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz. 1924; de Zwinglio en *Huldrych Zwinglis Bibliothek / Katalog von Zwinglis Bibliothek*, ed. Walter Köhler, Zürich: Beer, 1921; de Elie Vinet en: Védère, Xavier. "Catalogue de la Bibliothèque d'Elie Vinet". *Bull. et Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Bordeaux*, 61 (1962): 83-86; de Nicolas Colin en: Jadart, Henri. "Nicolas Colin. Sa vie, ses œuvres et sa bibliothèque". *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, 4/17 (1892): 313-349 y 431-442; de John Dee en: *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae externae Mortlacensis D. Joh. Dee. A° 1583, 6 Sept.* [Transcribed from the MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.] *List of Manuscripts formerly owned by Dr. John Dee. With preface and identifications by M. R. James*. Londres, 1921; de Galileo Galilei en: Antonio Favaro, La libreria di Galileo Galilei descritta e illustrata". *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di storia delle Scienze matematiche e fisiche*, 19 (1886): 219-293; Favaro, Antonio. "Appendice alla prima libreria di Galileo Galilei descritta e illustrata". *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze Matematiche e fisiche*, 20 (188): 372-376; de Justus Lipsius en: Théophile Simar, "Notice sur les livres de Juste Lipse conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'université de Leyde". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 17 (1907): 261-283; *Bibliothecae Petaviana et Mansartiana: ou, Catalogue des bibliothèques de feu Messieurs A. Petau ... et François Mansart ... Aux quelles on a ajouté le cabinet considérable des manuscrits du fameux Justus Lipsius*. La Haya, 1722; de Montaigne en: Bonnefon, Paul. "La bibliothèque de Montaigne". *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 2 (1895): 313-371; Villey, Pierre. "Les Lectures de Montaigne et leur chronologie", *Les sources & l'évolution des «Essais» de Montaigne*. Paris: Hachette, 1908: I, 52-294; Mulerius, Nicolaus. *Catalogus librorum clarissimi celeberrimique viri D. Nicolai Mulerii*. Groningen: 1646; de Jehan Piochet de Salins en: Crasta, Francesca Maria; Ragghianti, Renzo. "La Biblioteca di Jehan Piochet de Salins e il Seigneur de la Montaigne". *Rinascimento*, 46 (2006): 403-477; de Guillaume Pellicier en: Omont, Henri. "Inventaire de la bibliothèque de Guillaume Pellicier évêque de Montpellier (1529-1568)". *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1 (1891): 161-172; de Joseph Justus Scaliger en: *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae illust. viri Josephi Scaligeri*. Leiden: Officina Thomae Basson, 1609; de Girolamo Sirleto en: Dorez, Léon. "Recherches et documents sur la bibliothèque du cardinal Sirleto". *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 11 (1891): 457-491; de Bonaventura Vulcanus en: *Bibliotheca Bonaventurae Vulcanii*. Leiden: Officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1610. Si bien en algunos casos se mencionan comentarios a la *Esfera* de Sacrobosco, no se indica el nombre de Robertus Anglicus. Debemos además indicar que el tratado de Ristoro d'Arezzo permaneció inédito hasta el



La postura explícitamente contraria de la Iglesia Católica a la astrología se consolidó desde mediados del siglo XVI. Si en la primera mitad del *Cinquecento* la condena de libros apuntaba particularmente a evitar la difusión de las doctrinas reformadas, desde la década del cincuenta se incluyeron genéricamente las artes adivinatorias⁶⁷. En el *Index* romano de Paulo IV aparecido en 1559 se condenaba la astrología judiciaria, excluyendo las observaciones de los astros destinadas a colaborar en la navegación, agricultura y medicina⁶⁸. En el índice se mencionaba además explícitamente a Pietro d'Abano y Robertus Anglicus⁶⁹, los dos autores más influyentes que habían aludido en sus obras al principio de atracción estelar de la masa terrestre⁷⁰. En 1586, Sixto V promulgó la famosa bula *Coeli et terrae* en la que se declaraba contra la práctica de la astrología judiciaria, la lectura y posesión de libros sobre la materia, permitiéndose únicamente las formas de astrología natural mencionadas en el *Index* de 1559⁷¹. Si bien esta prohibición evidentemente influyó en el descenso de las publicaciones en la materia o al menos en la declaración de su posesión⁷², permite también apreciar el intento por distinguir entre la adivinación y la utilidad de la observación de los astros para prácticas científicas y cotidianas. Si por una parte el determinismo implícito en los horóscopos era rehuido, la influencia de las estrellas en el mundo sublunar era reconocida. Ahora bien, las formas de esta influencia eran materia de discusión, y la solución de enigmas cosmológicos a través del recurso astral oculto era vista en ese entonces como un argumento simplista, ignorante o “ridículo”, como señalaba Clavius a propósito de la explicación defendida por Dante.

Así, cuando en 1576 Francesco Storella publicó la segunda edición de la *Quaestio* en Nápoles, la incluyó en una colección de obras científicas que contenía, entre otros títulos, una traducción del *Asclepio* con anotaciones del propio editor⁷³. Storella era profesor de retórica en la Universidad de Nápoles y es recordado por haber publicado la última edición latina renacentista del tratado pseudo-aristotélico de magia y astrología, *Secretum secretorum*. Como señala William Eamon, en 1576 la obra era considerada generalmente como espuria y durante el siglo XVI rara vez era mencionada en el corpus aristotélico. De hecho, afirma que Storella le dedicó más atención de la que meritaba dados los juicios eruditos que sus contemporáneos compartían respecto del texto⁷⁴. Desde esta perspectiva, la segunda edición del tratado dantesco fue responsabilidad de un autor interesado en la difusión de escritos de magia astrológica, lo que da cuenta de la posición que una explicación cosmológica como la de Dante adquirió hacia finales del *Cinquecento*. No es extraño así, que la fama del poeta florentino haya sido protegida por Giuntini o Pifferi, quienes preferían recordar su inspi-

siglo XIX. La gran mayoría de los catálogos revisados se encuentran en el sitio picus.sns.it elaborado por el Gruppo di ricerca sulle Biblioteche filosofiche private in età moderna de la Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa.

67. Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. Nueva York: Columbia University Press, 1953: VI, 146.

68. Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic...* IV, 147.

69. *Index Auctorum et Librorum, qui ab Officio Sanctae Rom et Universalis Inquisitionis caveri ab omnibus et singulis in universa Christiana Republica mandantur*. Roma: ex officina Saluiana, 1559: 57 y 60.

70. Sus nombres aparecieron en el *Index Librorum Authorumque S. Sedis Apostolicae Sacrique Concilis Tridentini auctoritate prohibitorum*. Munich: ex. Adamus Berg, 1582: 85 y 87; y en *Index librorum prohibitorum: cum regulis confectis per Patres à Tridentina Synodo delectos; auctoritate Pii IIII primus editus, postea vero a Sixto V auctus, et nunc demum S.D.N Clementis Papae VIII iussu recognitus & publicatus/ instructione adiecta De exequenda prohibitionis, deque sincere emendandi & imprimendi libros, ratione*. Roma: Impressores Camerales, 1596: 34, 57 y 59.

71. Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic...* VI, 156-157.

72. Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic...* VI, 157-158.

73. Ver edición de Torri: XV.

74. Eamon, William. “How to read a Book of Secrets”, *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500-1800*, Elaine Long, Alisha Rankin eds. Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2011: 23-46, especialmente, 24-25.



rada alusión a la Cruz del Sur contenida en la *Commedia* antes que valorar el análisis de la existencia de tierras descubiertas de la *Quaestio*.

5. Conclusión

La explicación ofrecida por Dante Alighieri al dilema planteado por la cosmología aristotélica se inserta dentro de la tradición medieval que buscaba vincular la estructura del mundo sublunar con las esferas celestes. Desde este enfoque, la atribución de una fuerza invisible, pero activa a las estrellas respondía al interés por someter los fenómenos terrestres a los designios astrales, entendidos como expresión de la voluntad divina. Así, el argumento estelar gozó de cierta fortuna en autores que enfatizaban esta conexión y no pretendían resolver los problemas físicos únicamente a partir de variables naturales perceptibles y comprobables. Cuando el texto fue difundido por primera vez a comienzos del siglo XVI, el escenario intelectual había variado lo suficiente como para que dicha explicación fuese considerada obsoleta. Los autores renacentistas preferían citar las supuestas intuiciones de Dante respecto del hemisferio sur contenidas en la *Commedia*, antes que vincularlo a las concepciones cosmológicas de Robertus Anglicus o Pietro d'Abano.

La transformación del pensamiento cosmológico experimentada durante el Renacimiento se tradujo en la estimación negativa del argumento dantesco, como lo prueba la displicencia con la que Piccolomini y Clavius se refieren a la posibilidad del influjo astral como causa de la elevación terrestre. La aceptación paulatina del globo terráqueo como realidad y el conocimiento de los continentes meridionales, sin lugar a dudas profundizaron el menosprecio de la idea plantada por primera vez a finales del siglo XIII.

Junto con esto, la creciente cautela respecto de la creencia en la influencia de las estrellas en la tierra y la consecuente condena eclesiástica a la astrología, terminaron por debilitar la propagación de la explicación medieval.

UNA POSIBLE PERIODIZACIÓN DE LOS TRATADOS DE PAZ Y TREGUA ENTRE AL-ANDALUS Y LOS REINOS CRISTIANOS (SULTANATO NASRI DE GRANADA CON CASTILLA Y ARAGÓN) S. XIII-XV

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RESUMEN

Las treguas entre Granada y Castilla fueron una institución muy importante a la hora de balancear y sopesar las complejas relaciones fronterizas durante los siglos XIII-XV. Comprendidas como un “sobreseimiento” de guerra, caracterizadas por tener una duración variable, impusieron un signo y un ritmo a la vida fronteriza, estableciéndose como la solución más común para evitar o contrarrestar la violencia que se manifestaba en este espacio. El presente trabajo establece una breve caracterización de las mismas, estableciendo una posible periodización de las mismas, a partir de la progresión y análisis de los tratados de treguas en el largo tiempo. Lo anterior, con la finalidad de comprender las complejidades que revela el espacio fronterizo¹.

1. Las treguas: entre la guerra y la paz

Uno de los aspectos esenciales del espacio fronterizo se encuentra definido por la dualidad de guerra y paz que allí se manifiesta². Esa compleja realidad se hace, a la vez, más específica ya que, tal como lo afirma Juan de Mata Carriazo: “en la frontera de Granada, la paz y la guerra no eran esas cosas rotundas de siempre y de todas partes, ni la paz era paz, ni la guerra era guerra, en el pleno sentido de cada concepto [...] ni aún las treguas eran tales treguas; todo lo más, un estado de guerra atenuado”³. En este sentido, lo más preciso es pensar en la existencia de tres estados: guerra, paz y, su intermedia, la tregua. En este sentido, los historiadores que se han dedicado a la frontera de Granada, siempre se han debatido en torno a dos visiones: por un lado queda la posición de unas relaciones francas y de cotidiano buen entendimiento, con la excepción marcada en los puntuales momentos de guerra abierta y, por otro, quienes interpretan esas relaciones como de obligada vecindad que busca la supervivencia, independiente de cómo se logre.

Es importante poner en claro esta visión ambivalente de la frontera y precisar, en especial, algunas consideraciones en torno a las relaciones fronterizas, ingresando en una institución tan peculiar como son las treguas ya que de ella derivan una serie de contactos y situaciones que permiten ampliar, algo más, el análisis sistemático de las mismas y la mirada en las relaciones que de cotidiano se manifestaron en ese espacio histórico.

1. Debo agradecer la asistencia metodológica de las profesoras Constanza Rojas y Constanza López. El presente trabajo forma parte del proyecto FONDECYT n. 11130061.

2. Torres, Juan. *Instituciones y sociedad en la frontera murciano-granadina*. Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 9-10.

3. Carriazo, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002: 215-216.



Pues bien, como lo esbozamos antes, la frontera en el reino de Granada, marcada por dos espacios geográficos y socio-históricos de personalidad bien definida, desarrolla su vida a través de dos tiempos abiertamente contradictorios: el tiempo de la guerra y el tiempo de la paz. Esta misma ambivalencia fronteriza, nos hace adentrarnos en un espacio que comúnmente ha estado lleno de luces y sombras⁴; mientras que el discurso oficial de las cartas de paz y tregua parece preciso y claro, la información que nos aportan otros documentos, como las actas capitulares de poblaciones fronterizas⁵, nos ponen en contacto con relaciones fluctuantes y variables que nos obligan a conjugar las relaciones pacíficas con las relaciones belicosas y estado de guerra e inseguridad de las tierras de frontera⁶.

Esto hace que los hombres que habitan en la frontera manifiesten episodios de violencia⁷, pero también, aspiraciones de paz que se plasman en acuerdos o pactos de mayor o menor duración, número y frecuencia⁸. Esta doble dimensión hace que Manuel Rojas afirme que las relaciones entre los habitantes de uno y otro lado del área fronteriza podrían estar originadas por una actitud de confrontación o, por el contrario, nacerían de la necesidad de convivir dentro de esa área compartida⁹. Resolver este dilema no es tarea fácil ya que la vida de las gentes de la frontera no se puede definir desde un solo ángulo, pues, si bien es cierto que la confrontación emana de unas visiones ideológicas más menos definidas —*Yihad* en caso de los musulmanes y reconquista en caso de los cristianos—, también es verdad que se deben sumar otros factores de orden económico, pues sabemos que las elites de ambas sociedades extraían pingües beneficios del ejercicio de la violencia; pero no sólo ellos, sino que también sectores de los estamentos populares que hacían de la guerra una forma de ganarse la vida¹⁰.

En este sentido, en los lugares más alejados de la frontera las treguas suponían un alivio económico, una vuelta a una cierta “normalidad” de la vida, que traía consigo la reanudación de los intercambios comerciales, la negociación y liberación de cautivos y la posibilidad de desarrollar actividades económicas sin el riesgo de ser sorprendido por el enemigo¹¹. Quienes desarrollaban

4. Argente, Carmen. “Los cautivos en la frontera entre Jaén y Granada”, *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, coord. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 222-223.

5. González, Manuel; García, Manuel. *Actas Capitulares de Morón de la Frontera (1402-1426)*. Sevilla: Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1992; Garrido, Juan Carlos. “Relaciones fronterizas con el Reino de Granada en las Capitulares del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén”, *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada...*: 161-172; Carriazo, Juan de Mata. “Los moros en las Actas del concejo de Jaén de 1479”. *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 4 (1995): 81-125.

6. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*. Alcalá la Real: Alcalá Grupo Editorial, 2007: 99.

7. García, Manuel. *La Campiña Sevillana y la Frontera de Granada (Siglos XIII-XV)*. *Estudios Sobre Poblaciones de la Banda Morisca*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 2005: 99.

8. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 103.

9. Rojas, Manuel. *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390-1481): un ensayo sobre la violencia y sus manifestaciones*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995: 227.

10. Porras, Pedro. “El derecho de Frontera durante la Baja Edad Media. La regulación de las relaciones transfronterizas en tiempo de treguas y guerras”. *Estudios dedicados a la memoria del Prof. L. M. Díez de Salazar*, 1 (1992): 261-287.

11. Porras, Pedro. “El derecho de Frontera...”: 261-287.



estas actividades portaban *cartas de seguro*¹² entregadas por los concejos fronterizos. En ellas, estos se comprometían, formalmente, a cumplir y hacer cumplir la tregua¹³.

La mayoría de los acuerdos de tregua que nos han llegado provienen de la cancillería castellana, a diferencia de lo que sucede con la granadina. Con respecto a su tipología, es diversa pero los tratados de paz se originaban siempre por la iniciativa de alguno de los reyes y afectaban a todo el territorio. Junto a esto, encontramos documentos que responden a tratados parciales que afectan a algunos de los sectores de la frontera y que son gestionados por nobles fronterizos.¹⁴

En relación a su contenido, Manuel García Fernández nos refiere que : “la tregua fue desde siempre una institución fronteriza tremendamente monótona, que repitió desde el siglo XIII idénticas cláusulas, todas derivadas del modelo que se establece a partir del vasallaje granadino del Pacto de Jaén de 1246, protocolos y obligaciones genéricas, a nivel siempre de estado o reino; que, sin embargo, presentó importantes cláusulas particulares, específicas de cada momento histórico que no sólo las diferencian sino que las explican”¹⁵. En general, cada tregua tenía tras de sí unos condicionantes propios y específicos que dependían de cada circunstancia histórica. Es por esto que las aspiraciones no fueron idénticas para sevillanos, cordobeses y jiennenses, sino que cada uno de ellos entendía “su paz”, “su tregua”, a su manera¹⁶.

Pese a los esfuerzos provistos por las treguas, siempre existió un “tono de vida” que se manifestaba en cierta inseguridad, porque el peligro y la amenaza eran constante, puesto que resultaba extremadamente difícil impedir las incursiones de toda clase de aventureros, ya que la despoblación y la orografía facilitaban su penetración¹⁷.

Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, es posible afirmar que a pesar de la compleja dinámica fronteriza, las treguas permitieron el establecimiento de unos determinados cauces de convivencia entre cristianos y musulmanes con independencia de las posibles agresiones locales aisladas. En este sentido, “racionalizaban” la vida de frontera¹⁸, haciéndola si se quiere “más humana” y menos

12. Solo a modo de ejemplo reproducimos una de ellas: “Muy honrrado, esforçado, Fidalgo e presçiado, virtuoso e noble caballero el alcayde Abulcaçin Venegas, alguasil mayor del Señor Rey de Granada e del su Consejo: el conçejo etc. Nos vos encomendamos con voluntad muy presta de facer las cosas que ordenáres e mandares: Lorenzo de Sella, genoués, morador de esta çibdad, va con nuestro seguro a esa çibdad del Reyno de Granada negociar e librar çiertas cosas de sus mercaderías. Por ende, mucho [...] vos pedimos, asy porquel va con nuestro seguro como por nuestra contemplación, sea bien tratado e honrrado en esa çibdad e Reyno, en todas las cosas que ouiere menester, e no le sea fecho enojo ni daño alguno. E en esto, allende de [...] nuestro ruego nos rremanecerremos en obligación para en las cosas que mandáredes las facer como propias nuestras. Nuestro Señor conserve vuestra virtuosa persona como [...] deseáis. De Jahén, XXXVI de nouiembre de LXXXIX años” (Viernes 26-XI-1479, AMJ. Libro de Actas Capitulares, doc. n. 171; Carriazo, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada...*: 303).

13. Carriazo, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada...*: 303.

14. Argente, Carmen. “Las relaciones de convivencia a través de los tratados de paz”, *III Estudios de Frontera, Convivencia, defensa y comunicación en la frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, coords. Jaén: Diputación de Jaén, 2002: 84.

15. García, Manuel. “Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada en tiempos de Alfonso XI, 1312-1350”. *Ifigea: Revista de la Sección de Geografía e Historia*, 5-6 (1988-1989):135; véase, también: García, Manuel. “La alteridad en la frontera de Granada (siglos XIII al XV)”. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 6 (2005): 213-235; García, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2006: 89.

16. García, Manuel. “La alteridad en la frontera...”; García, Manuel, *Andalucía y Granada...*: 136.

17. Torres, Juan. “Dualidad Fronteriza: Guerra y paz”, *Actas del Congreso La Frontera Oriental Nazarí como Sujeto Histórico (S. XIII-XVI)*: Lorca-Vera, 22 a 24 de noviembre de 1994, dir. Pedro Segura. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1997: 70.

18. Torres, Juan. “Dualidad Fronteriza...”: 72.



expuesta al enfrentamiento ideológico, tal y como dan cuenta algunos aspectos menudos de la vecindad cotidiana,¹⁹ como el comercio, el pastoreo, intercambio de prendas, etc.

2. Una propuesta de periodización

A nosotros ha llegado un importante contingente de noticias y textos de treguas. En algunos casos sabemos de su existencia por una referencia indirecta, ya sea en alguna crónica o en algún pregón o notificación. Sin embargo, el número de aquellas cuyo texto completo se ha conservado tampoco es menospreciable. Por el contrario, podríamos decir que, si bien no es una cantidad que permita tener una relación total, si es, al menos, un número que permite hacer un análisis bastante exhaustivo de su contenido. En ese sentido, cualquier intento de sistematizar la información que estas contienen hará necesario un trabajo de acopio y recolección.

Es este sentido podemos desconocer, desde esta perspectiva, los señeros aportes de Juan de Mata Carriazo²⁰ y Arroquia o Juan Torres Fontes²¹, quienes en variados trabajos exponen análisis importantes en relación al tema. Pero, sobre todo, abren un amplio camino con respecto al estudio de las relaciones fronterizas, acrecentado por esfuerzos conjuntos o individuales que han enriquecido éste ámbito. Es este sentido, José Rodríguez Molina ha realizado un interesante esfuerzo de síntesis, agrupando la información según el reinado que corresponde, recopilando una gran cantidad de noticias en torno a las treguas²².

Para poder visualizar la importancia de dicha institución se hace necesario la elaboración de un cuadro que conjugue los principales aspectos tratados en los documentos (tratados o cartas) que dan cuenta de las mismas. Es por lo anterior por lo que decidimos realizar una labor de acopio y revisión de los materiales existentes que nos permitiera agrupar y ordenar la información existente en un corpus documental que reuniera todos los tratados, paces y treguas existentes para la época estudiada, todo el periodo nazarí (1232-1492), establecidos entre al-Andalus y los reinos cristianos de Castilla y Aragón.

Estos materiales, como hemos dicho, se encontraban desperdigados en muy diferentes archivos, fuentes y bibliografía²³. Una vez localizados nos planteamos la elaboración de una herramienta que

19. García, Manuel. "La alteridad en la frontera..."; García, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada...*: 230.

20. Carriazo, Juan de Mata. "La últimas treguas con Granada". *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 3 (1953): 11-43; Carriazo, Juan de Mata. "Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478". *Al-Andalus*, 2 (1954): 19, 317-364.

21. Torres, Juan. "Dualidad Fronteriza...": 63-78; Torres, Juan. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1475 a 1478". *Hispania*, 86 (1962): 186-229; Torres, Juan. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1416 a 1432. Las treguas de 1417 a 1426". *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales*, 6-7 (1978-1979): 297-311; Torres, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1463". *Hispania*, 90 (1963): 163-199; Torres, Juan. *Instituciones y sociedad...*; Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*. Murcia: Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Sociales, 2010; Torres, Juan. *La frontera Murciano-Granadina*. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004.

22. Especialmente en: Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 347- 416.

23. Menéndez, Ramón. *Primera Crónica General de España*. Madrid: Gredos, 1977: chapter 1070; Argote, Gonzalo. *Nobleza de Andalucía que dedicó al Rey Don Felipe II*. Jaén: Est. Tip. de D. Francisco López Vizcaíno, 1866: 269, 320, 366-367, 374, 392 and 527; Alarcón, Maximiliano; García de Linares, Ramón. *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*. Madrid: Imprenta de Estanislao Maestre, 1940: 2-3, 5-6, 10-11, 34-36, 54-55, 69-70 and 150-154; *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso*. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: LXVI (chapter LVIII), 46-47; *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso*. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: LXVI (chapter LIX), 47; Ibn Abi Zar. *Rawd al-qirtas*, trans. and notes Ambrosio Huici. Valencia: Anubar, 1964: 614-618; Torres, Juan. *Instituciones...*: 251; Giménez, Andrés. *La Corona de Aragón y Granada, historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos*. Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de Caridad, 1908: 37-40, 71-72, 77-80, 80-81, 90-91, 167-169, 212-214, 229-232, 306-311, 312-313, 314-320, 322 and 325-333; del Estal, Juan. *El reino de Murcia bajo Aragón (1296-1305)*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1999: 50-53, 76-79 and 96-98; Tuñón, Manuel. *Textos y documentos de Historia Antigua, Media y*

permitiera extraer todos los datos y las principales informaciones y noticias de las treguas. Para ello, elaboramos una tabla en una hoja de cálculo en la que pudiéramos volcar la información vaciada del corpus documental previamente reunido.

Fue así como nos abocamos a recopilar los textos y noticias de treguas que corren desde 1246 (Pacto de Jaén) hasta la tregua de 1486, última tregua antes de la capitulación definitiva de 1491. No se incluyeron aquellos tratados establecidos entre Ibn al Ahmar e Ibn Hud, por corresponder a dos señores andalusíes y porque respondían a un reconocimiento de la autoridad de Ibn Hud por parte del nazarí. Así, entonces, hemos comenzado nuestro recuento a partir del primer gran pacto que tenemos documentado entre al-Andalus nazarí y Castilla, que tiene una importancia trascendental en el desarrollo de las relaciones entre ambos mundos. También es importante indicar que

Moderna hasta el Siglo XVII. Barcelona: Labor, 1984: 458-460; Gaspar, Mariano. "El negocio de Ceuta entre Jaime II de Aragón y Aburrebía Solaimán, sultán de Fez (1309)". *Revista del Centro de Estudios históricos de Granada y su reino*, 12-3/4 (1923): 169-170; Cerdá, Francisco. *Crónica del Rey D. Alfonso Onceno, Parte I*. Madrid: imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1787: 167-168, 250-252 and 618-623; Bofarull, Próspero. *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*. Barcelona: José Eusebio Montfort, 1851: VII, 176-179; Gaspar, Mariano. *Correspondencia diplomática entre Granada y Fez (siglo XIV) Extractos de la "Raihana alcuttab"*. Granada: Imprenta del Defensor, 1916: 230-231; *El perfume de la Amistad*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura-Secretaría General Técnica, 2010; Torres, Juan. *La frontera...* 97, 110-111, 112, 134-135 and 138-139; Veas, Francisco. *Documentos del Siglo XIV. Colección de Documentos para la Historia del Reino de Murcia*. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990: XII, 13-14 and 163-164; Vilaplana, María Victoria. *Documentos sobre la minoría de Juan II. La regencia de Don Fernando de Antequera*. Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993: 94, 150, 186-187, 438 and 466-467; Toral, Enrique. "Dos cartas al rey Mahomad V de Granada". *Boletín del Instituto Estudios Giennenses*, 140 (1989): 58; García de Santa María, Alvar. *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982: 231-232, 267-269 and 402-407; Torres, Juan. "La regencia de don Fernando de Antequera". *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 14-15 (1965-1966): 145; Arribas, Mariano. *Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón*. Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 35-36, 37-39, 41-46, 47-56, 67-68, 65-66, 69-70, 75-84, 85-94 and 95-102; Alijo, Francisco. "Mercedes y privilegios a una plaza fronteriza del siglo XV: Antequera", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía*. Córdoba: 1978: 409; Salicrú, Roser. *Documents per a la historia de Granada del Regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim (1416-1458)*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999: 21-22, 51, 57-58, 199-208, 261-262 and 421-422; Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...* 381 and 388; Torres, Juan. "Las relaciones...": 90 and 98; Suarez, Luis. *Juan II y la frontera de Granada*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954: 38-42; García, José Antonio, "Las treguas con Granada de 1439". *Qurtuba: Estudios andalusíes*, 3 (1998): 39-45; García, José Antonio. *Treguas, guerra y capitulaciones de Granada*. Granada: Diputación de Granada, 82-85, 85-86, 87-91, 92-97 and 97-105; Benavides, Antonio. *Memoria sobre la guerra del Reino de Granada*. Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1852: VIII, 41-45; Ríos, José Amador de los. *Memoria histórico-crítica sobre las treguas celebradas en 1439 entre los reyes de Castilla y de Granada leída en varias sesiones de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 1879: 128-132 and 133-137; Abellán, Juan. "Jerez, las treguas de 1450 y la guerra civil granadina", *Estudios sobre Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el V Centenario de la Conquista*, José Enrique López de Coca, ed. Málaga: Diputación provincial de Málaga, 1987: 16; López de Coca, José Enrique. "Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas en la primera mitad del siglo XV". *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 12 (1998): 24-30; Juan, Carmen. *Colección diplomática medieval del Alcalá la Real*, ed. Francisco Toro. Jaén: Imprenta Esclavitud del Señor de la Humildad y María Santísima de los Dolores, 1988: 61; Molina, María del Carmen. *Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Murcia XVIII, Documentos de Enrique IV*. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1988: 158-159, 160, 289-291, 434-435, 448-449 and 509-510; Torres, Juan. *Estudio sobre la Crónica de Enrique IV*. Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946: 473-474; Torres, Juan. *Estudio sobre la Crónica de Enrique IV del Dr. Galíndez de Carvajal*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946: 355, 373-375, 375-377, 377-379 and 379-380; García, María del Mar. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas en el sector Xerciense. El tratado de paz de 1460". *Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales*, 11-12 (2010): 108-110; Torres, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada...": 194-195, 196, 197-198 and 198-199; Cascales, Francisco. *Discursos Históricos de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Murcia y su reino*. Murcia: Francisco Benedito, 1775: 432; Abellán, Juan. "Jerez y Granada en la tregua de 1467...": 15-16; Fernández, Fernando. "Historia y descripción de la antigüedad y descendencia de la casa de Córdoba". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba, de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes*, 78 (1958): 268-271; Carandé, Ramón; de Mata, Juan. *El Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos de la Catedral de Sevilla*. Sevilla: Editorial Católica Española, 1968: I, 11-13 and 122-123; Rodríguez, José, dir. *Colección Diplomática del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén, siglos XIV y XV*. Jaén: Ayuntamiento de Jaén, 1985: 60-62; Bonilla, José Antonio; Toral, Enrique. *El tratado de paz de 1481 entre Castilla y Granada*. Jaén: Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, 1982: 29-32; Porras, Pedro. "Documentos cristianos sobre mudéjares de Andalucía en los siglos XV y XVI". *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 3 (1992): 227; Garrido, Miguel. *Las capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada, estudio preliminar José Enrique López de Coca Castañer*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992: 168-169.



hemos finalizado nuestro recuento con la tregua de 1486. El motivo es que los pactos y tratados de Boabdil en torno al año 1491 no son, precisamente, un pacto de tregua, sino más bien un tratado de rendición que establece unas capitulaciones con unas condiciones para la misma y que tienen como consecuencia la entrega de la Granada nazarí y el fin de al-Andalus.

3. Criterios de fijación de la información. Hacia una herramienta de análisis

Para la elaboración de un cuadro que permita analizar la dispersión de las treguas a lo largo de los siglos, hemos eliminado todas aquellas noticias o referencias menores (notificaciones, pregones, cartas credenciales, etc.), aquellas que no aportan datos relevantes sobre el contenido de las mismas. Sin embargo, en algunos casos, pese a no tener el texto, hemos incluido algunas treguas de las cuales existen amplias referencias en la crónica.

Por otra parte, solo se han considerado las relaciones entre estados, es decir entre Granada-Castilla y Granada-Aragón. En esa perspectiva, hemos obviado todas aquellas treguas establecidas por particulares, que, además, son escasas y, aunque a veces tengan cierta importancia circunstancial, no son relevantes para la perspectiva general²⁴. Lo anterior no significa en ningún sentido que no sean importantes, pero estas treguas (por ejemplo, las acordadas en 1301²⁵, 1418²⁶, 1467²⁷, 1469²⁸, 1471²⁹), representan solo acuerdos parciales y locales que benefician a una facción particular interesada y no al estado en su conjunto. También hemos dejado fuera las cartas credenciales que no entregan mayores informaciones que las de su propia naturaleza, así como las propuestas y negociaciones que no llegaron a concretarse. Tampoco se han considerado las relaciones diplomáticas entre Fez y Granada, debido que se escapan de nuestro objeto de estudio, aunque podrían ser perfectamente analizadas en otra ocasión y ser objeto de un estudio comparativo.

4. Una propuesta de periodización

El gráfico 1 nos muestra, en forma de dispersión, la progresión temporal del establecimiento de treguas. Es interesante observar cómo estas se agrupan, claramente, en dos momentos. El primero es aquel que corre desde el año 1246 (Pacto de Jaén) al año 1329 y el segundo, el que va desde 1405 a 1486. Por otra parte, desde mediados del siglo XIV, hasta comienzos del siglo XV, hay un distanciamiento entre las mismas, agrupándose, fundamentalmente, entre los años 1366 a 1386. Pese a lo anterior, el primer período aparece más disperso en relación con el segundo, en donde la secuencia de las treguas es mayor. A partir de lo anterior, podríamos establecer que el siglo XV es aquel que presenta una mayor secuencia de las mismas. Para realizar una lectura más profunda de

24. Efectivamente, sabemos que las paces no fueron iniciativa exclusiva de los monarcas. Señores y concejos, de acuerdo con sus intereses coyunturales, firmaron paces particulares y ello sin duda contribuyó a hacer más llevadera la vida. Los Fajardo, adelantados de Murcia, firmaban paces por su cuenta con el reino de Granada. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 112.

25. Giménez, Andrés. *La Corona de Aragón y Granada...*: 80-81.

26. Salicrú, Roser. *El Sultanato Nazarí de Granada, Génova y la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XV*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007: 199-208.

27. Fernandez, Francisco. "Historia y descripción de la antigüedad y descendencia de la casa de Córdoba". *Boletín de la Academia de Córdoba, de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes*, 78 (1958): 268-269.

28. García, José Antonio. *Treguas, Guerras...*: 82-86.

29. Carriazo, Juan de Mata. "Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478...": 349-350.

lo anterior y lograr establecer unas determinadas etapas, se hace necesaria la lectura de informaciones cruzadas, con otro tipo de gráficos.

La información que propone el gráfico 2 viene a complementar aquello que aparece en el 1. Si nos fijamos en el vector “año de la tregua” podemos observar cómo hay una continuidad durante el período que corre entre el 1246 y el 1328. Luego, efectivamente, desde mediados del siglo XIV (1328) tiende a hacerse más dispersa la secuencia de las treguas, volviendo a agruparse desde 1344 a 1369, con una secuencia más regular. Tal como lo indicamos anteriormente, el siglo XV es el siglo de las treguas, ocupando más del 50% de la información que provee el vector. Por otra parte, también resulta interesante verificar otro elemento: durante los siglos XIII y XIV las treguas, además de ser más dispersas, tienden a tener una mayor duración, con un promedio que bordea los 7,7 años, en contra de los 2,8 años que duran las treguas del siglo XV. Además, durante el período que transcurre desde 1246 a 1328 podemos encontrar treguas con duración de 20 años (1246) y varias con una duración entre 5 a 8 años. En el período que va desde 1344 a 1367, es posible verificar acuerdos con duración que bordean los 10 años —tratado de paz tras el cerco de Algeciras—. En el caso de las paces del siglo XV, su duración es mucho menor, destacando solamente una que se empina por los 10 años. Lo cual da cuenta de un fenómeno importante, pues si bien la tregua manifiesta una posibilidad e intención de paz con unos determinados años de duración, en muchos casos ésta se rompía producto de acciones violentas que acababan en la toma de botín y cautivos. Esto provocaba la ruptura de las tregua que, dependiendo de la situación interna, rápidamente trataba de ser restituida.

Así entonces, a partir de estos gráficos nos es posible distinguir, al menos en trazos gruesos, tres momentos distintos en relación a las fases de tregua: aquel que va desde mediados del siglo XIII a mediados del siglo XIV, un segundo que corre desde mediados del siglo XIV a comienzos del siglo XV y un tercero, desde comienzos del siglo XV hasta el final del mismo siglo. Lo anterior no niega la existencia de fluctuaciones internas, pero en un primer cuadro nos parece interesante hacer notar la posibilidad de tres grandes fases.

De esta manera, la etapa que va desde mediados del siglo XIII a mediados del siglo XV podría denominarse “Fase inicial: vasallaje y violencia”. La segunda, “Fase media: dispersión y paz”, y la tercera, “Fase final: de conflicto y violencia fronteriza”.

Esta etapa se abre con la firma del Pacto de Jaén (1246), concluyendo hacia 1291 con la firma de la tregua entre Muhammad II y Sancho IV. El pacto de Jaén proponía una duración inicial de 20 años y fue confirmado en 1254 por Alfonso X el Sabio, luego de la muerte de Fernando III el Santo; perduró hasta 1261, año en que se produce una ruptura de tregua por parte de los granadinos³⁰. Todo lo anterior coincide con el desarrollo de la política expansionista de El Sabio, que se manifestó en la conquista de los enclaves de Cádiz, Jerez y Niebla. Lo anterior obligó a Muhammad I a recurrir a sus correligionarios africanos, los Benimerines. La ruptura se va a acentuar con la revuelta mudéjar de 1264, por lo cual, al año siguiente, Granada solicita tregua.

No obstante, lo anterior se acentuará a partir de la revuelta interna de los Asqilula, la cual se acelera a partir de la intromisión meriní en el ejército. Por su parte, Alfonso X intervendrá en los asuntos internos de Granada apoyando, justamente, a los Asqilula. Toda esta situación no alcanzó

30. Argote de Molina, Gonzalo. *Nobleza de Andalucía que dedicó al Rey Don Felipe II*. Jaén: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaíno, 1866: 267.



a ser resuelta por Muhammad II más que con la ayuda de los benimerines, pudo hacer frente a la compleja situación que atravesaba el emirato.

Es también en esta época cuando comienza a asomar la cuestión del Estrecho, situación que opondrá a benimerines y nazaries. La presión interna y externa se logra descomprimir con la firma de la tregua de 1276, otra firmada en 1278, nuevas firmas en 1285 y luego vendrán las de 1286 y 1291. Esta última es incumplida, lo que motiva a Granada para negociar, nuevamente, con los benimerines, dando lugar a un período de guerra hasta la muerte de Sancho IV, el 25 de abril de 1295³¹.

Es por lo anterior que se tiende a repetir que entre 1275 y 1294 hubo veinte años de inseguridad total, a causa de las ininterrumpidas guerras³². En ese sentido, se suele insistir que fue una época compleja, pero también habría que matizar esta apreciación por la existencia de períodos de paces y treguas, las cuales dan un respiro al tenso panorama. No obstante, todo lo anterior hace pensar que el tiempo de la frontera en el último cuarto del siglo XIII debió transcurrir dentro de un innegable agravamiento del estado bélico. Con Aragón, por su parte, se firma un pacto definitivo, con carácter comercial y de colaboración, en el año 1301.

Este período, que se inicia hacia el año 1295, con la muerte de Sancho IV, llega a su punto más importante con la conquista de Algeciras en 1344, donde se abrirá otra etapa distinta en las relaciones entre Castilla y Granada que finaliza con la Batalla de los Collejares hacia 1406. En efecto, esta etapa se caracterizará por la moderación de la violencia fronteriza, con pactos de tregua un tanto más amplios debido a unos factores relacionados con la situación interna que se manifiesta a partir de la muerte de Sancho IV, con el advenimiento de los infantes de la Cerda. Esta situación seguirá estando presente durante el gobierno de Fernando IV (1295-1312), quien se vio enfrentado a diversos conflictos con los miembros de la Casa de Lara. La misma situación, y aún acentuada, le tocó vivir a Pedro I. Todo esto, a contrapelo de lo que sucede en Granada, donde a partir del advenimiento de Yusuf I se abre una etapa de consolidación que llegará a su cénit durante el gobierno de Muhammad V.

Es en este sentido que el siglo XIV se inicia con un momento de debilidad para los castellanos, haciendo que la guerra contra los musulmanes y los conflictos en la frontera no fueran tan importantes³³. Durante este siglo encontramos un periodo de treguas y paces próximo a los 85 años, mientras que las guerras se distribuirán en un conjunto de 15 años³⁴. En la mayor parte de los casos, estos enfrentamientos no fueron generalizados sino que la mayor parte de las veces se localizaron en un punto concreto, como fue el asedio a determinadas ciudades. Es cierto que desde principios del siglo XIV, hasta la primera mitad, fue una época de enfrentamientos y asedios frecuentes, pero no fueron simultáneos en todas partes ni debieron contar con una considerable duración. Los períodos bélicos de este primer período fueron los siguientes: entre 1297 y 1302 se produce una ofensiva granadina, manifiesta en la toma de Alcaudete, Bedmar y Quesada y en el asedio a Alcalá de Benzaide, seguida de la contraofensiva castellana de 1309, recuperando las plazas perdidas³⁵. El

31. Argote de Molina, Francisco. *Nobleza de Andalucía...*: 333

32. García, Francisco. "La frontera Castellano-Granadina a fines del siglo XIII", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada...*: 28.

33. Segura, Cristina. "Las reinas castellanas y la frontera en la Baja Edad Media", *IV Estudios de Frontera. Historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la Frontera. Homenaje a Enrique Toral y Peñaranda*. Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2002: 519-534.

34. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 104.

35. Ladero, Miguel Ángel. "Los Estados Peninsulares a la muerte de Alfonso X el Sabio". *VII Centenario del Infante Don Fernando de la Cerda, Jornadas De Estudio*. Madrid, 1976: 332-333.



año 1319 comprende una etapa significativa de confrontaciones; 1328 también fue una época de incursiones militares en la comarca de Jaén; y otro período bélico es el comprendido entre 1341 y 1344³⁶.

Sin embargo, hay que tener en cuenta la existencia de 10 tratados de tregua durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV, algunos de larga duración, como el comprendido entre 1303 y 1309, ratificado en 1307 y en 1309, año en que se declara la guerra, para encontrarnos luego con tres años de prórroga de treguas —1310, 1311 y 1312—, lo que permite vislumbrar ciertos periodos bélicos orientados más a la conquista de tierras o fortalezas que a la exigencia de firmas de paces y treguas, con el reconocimiento de vasallaje a Castilla y la convenida tributación de parias³⁷.

Todo este turbulento período de inicios del siglo XIV, acaba hacia 1344, tras el cerco de Algeciras, cuando se lleva a cabo el tratado de paz de Algeciras con una duración de diez años. Tendríamos, entonces, en la primera mitad del siglo XIV, unos treinta años de tregua y paz (representados en el gráfico 2), solo contando con las noticias que nos hablan de tratados de paz o firmas de treguas y de su respectiva duración. A ello se deben sumar los meses en que cesa la belicosidad, por suspensión de actividad bélica. De acuerdo con esto, las 18 menciones de guerra de la primera mitad del siglo XIV.

La segunda mitad del siglo XIV tuvo una serie de actos bélicos con el asolamiento llevado a cabo sobre Jaén, Úbeda, el cerco de Baeza y los diferentes intentos contra Córdoba. Pero todas estas incursiones fueron muy localizadas y debidas más bien a la guerra civil entre Pedro I y Enrique II que a los conflictos entre Castilla y Granada. Enrique, por su parte, estaba tan indispuerto con los granadinos, aliados del monarca legítimo, que, cuando consiguió el poder, hizo lo que pudo de forma simulada para firmar treguas con Granada, pues los problemas de Castilla, salida de una cruel guerra y desorganizada, eran suficientes para ocupar su tiempo³⁸.

De estas reflexiones Rodríguez Molina concluye que “en el siglo XIV las proporciones temporales más significativas fueron favorables a las treguas, pues sólo éstas ocuparían en torno a un cómputo estimado del 85 % de la centuria y únicamente el 15 % de ella y no completo, compondría el tiempo ocupado por las confrontaciones bélicas. Es decir, que durante un tiempo aproximado a los 85 años se pudieron practicar actividades comerciales, arrendamientos de pastos y tierras de cultivo”³⁹.

Durante el siglo XV —con excepción de la Batalla de los Collejares, la conquista de Antequera y la Batalla de la Higuera— las guerras fueron breves. Sin embargo, las paces y treguas se sucedieron casi anualmente, con poco intervalo entre ellas, marcadas por el signo de la cabalgada y el desarrollo de una determinada violencia fronteriza. Coincide esta fase con el advenimiento de los gobiernos de Juan II y Enrique IV por parte de Castilla, que terminarán con el ascenso de los Reyes Católicos. Desde ese punto de vista, una fase de consolidación por parte de Castilla, aunque no exenta de los problemas sucesorios y las rabietas de la nobleza, sobre todo aquella fronteriza, que se diferenciará, en cuanto a consolidación, de los procesos internos que comenzarán a minar la frágil estabilidad del estado nazarí, sobre todo en la década inestable que va desde 1445- 1455, y

36. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 105.

37. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 105.

38. Segura, Cristina. “La reinas castellanas...”: 527.

39. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 107.



que ha identificado claramente Francisco Vidal Castro. Esta etapa que mencionamos concluiría en 1486 con la tregua anterior a las capitulaciones para la entrega de la capital de Granada.

En este sentido, ocupando la expresión de Juan Torres Fontes, “desde la conquista de Antequera hasta el comienzo de la definitiva campaña de de 1482, que acabaría con la conquista total del reino de Granada, se caracterizó por una sucesión casi continuada de las treguas, cuya ruptura formal, tanto en el reinado de Juan II como en el Enrique IV, no cambiaría sustancialmente la situación, aunque ocasionalmente se modificarán las condiciones económicas y geográficas entre ambos reinos, todo queda dependiente de las respectivas situaciones a la hora de renovar las treguas, la cuantía de las parias a pagar y de los cautivos a entregar. Hubo también incorporaciones territoriales de importancia, como Archidona y Gibraltar, aunque la conquista de esas plazas fronterizas no modificarán ni supondrán un reajuste extraordinario de la frontera para los dirigentes granadinos, porque todo siguió sensiblemente igual”⁴⁰. Así, al menos, lo observa también González Jiménez para el área de Morón, en donde, entre los años 1402 y 1427, las relaciones entre Castilla y Granada fueron buenas, con la salvedad del período de 1405-1410⁴¹. Sin embargo, con la excepción de la Batalla de los Collejares, la conquista de Antequera y la Batalla de la Higuera, más bien hechos puntuales, como hemos afirmado, el período de estado bélico más prolongado fue el comprendido entre 1430 y 1439⁴² y, aún así, dentro del mismo, encontramos firmas de paces como la de 1431⁴³.

Pues bien, aparte de los relevantes hechos de guerra indicados, cortos en duración, el período más prolongado de estado bélico fue el comprendido entre 1430 y 1439 —durante el reinado de Juan II—, el cual, a su vez, estaría inmerso dentro de una fase mayor que iría desde 1432 a 1454⁴⁴. No obstante, en el interior de esa fase es posible distinguir una primera de carácter bélico, como hemos afirmado, desde 1430-1439. Una segunda fase, de paz, que iba desde 1439 hasta 1445, sin mayores modificaciones en relación con la frontera. Muy diferente es lo que sucedió entre los años 1445 y 1452, donde existió una preponderancia granadina en la frontera y una debilidad castellana manifiesta. Durante este período los gobernantes castellanos procuraron contrarrestar su debilidad militar en la frontera con intrigas políticas y la ayuda económica de los infantes granadinos con aspiraciones a ocupar el trono. Nos referimos a la turbulenta década que se inicia en 1445 y que acabará con el desarrollo de la guerra civil en el interior del emirato granadino.

Una cuarta fase es la que se extiende entre 1452 y 1454, la cual se caracterizará por la arremetida nobiliaria que acabaría con el gobierno y la vida de don Álvaro de Luna, lo cual impedirá a Castilla llevar a cabo cualquier empresa exterior. Será desde este momento cuando se abra una etapa marcada por unas escaramuzas fronterizas que tendrán como objetivo fundamental la toma de botín y de cautivos para su posterior venta e intercambio.

Así entonces, la contienda interior y la debilidad monárquica impidieron cualquier actividad exterior castellana, pues toda la atención quedó centrada en mantenerse en lugar preponderante y en afianzar la posesión de sus tierras, esperando la subida al trono de Enrique IV y sus decisiones

40. Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*. Murcia: HUM-165: Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Sociales, 2010: 84; Torres, Juan. *La frontera Murciano-Granadina...*:158.

41. González, Manuel. “Morón, una villa de frontera (1402-1427)”, *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, coord. Cristina Segura. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 57.

42. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 108.

43. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 105.

44. Véase el trabajo de: Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)...*: 14-15.

inmediatas. Esta actitud de espera afectó a la frontera y que se prolongó hasta la muerte de Juan II⁴⁵.

Luego, durante el reinado de Enrique IV y hasta 1488, en que los Reyes Católicos comienzan la guerra final contra Granada, la frontera, aunque permanece estable en muchos sectores, no está exenta de acciones individuales ofensivas. Durante este momento, las prendas de ganado practicadas entre concejos castellanos se volvieron más peligrosas cuando ocurrían entre un concejo cristiano y otro musulmán. No faltaban motivos para que en épocas de paz se produjeran represalias, escaramuzas, talas y quemas, entradas de improviso, robos e incluso acciones más graves. Todo ello queda consignado en los anales locales⁴⁶.

Por tanto, esta centuria se caracterizará, en terminos generales, por una continuidad prácticamente ininterrumpida de las treguas, solo rotas por cabalgadas constantes, siempre localizadas, de no mucha importancia salvo algunas pocas que sí fueron de considerable envergadura. La firma de muchas de las treguas se hace, efectivamente, para restañar la rotura breve y esporádica por alguna de las partes de la paz o tregua existente.

5. Palabras finales

A partir de la sistematización de la información de las treguas, hemos definido una progresión de las mismas en una dinámica que se manifestaba en el transcurso del tiempo, planteando tres fases en la evolución de las treguas: primera, desde mediados del siglo XIII a mediados del siglo XIV, segunda, desde mediados del siglo XIV a comienzos del siglo XV, y tercera, desde comienzos del siglo XV hasta el final del mismo. En función de sus características, las hemos definido como “fase inicial: vasallaje y violencia”; “fase media: dispersión y paz” y “fase final: de conflicto y violencia fronteriza”.

Si bien es cierto que en el interior de cada una se pueden reconocer algunos sub-períodos, atender algunas alteraciones menores podrían llevar a complejas subdivisiones que impedirían la visión de conjunto. Además, una posible aportación relevante de esta periodización está en el hecho de que se estructura a partir de la naturaleza y contenido de las treguas, no de la evolución histórica de los estados implicados, si bien, lógicamente, esta es uno de los factores determinantes de la treguas.

45. Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*...: 16.

46. García, Manuel. “Un episodio de la Frontera de Granada: el Madroño 1462”. *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 79 (1974): 10.



EL MITO DEL DORADO. ELABORACIÓN Y APLICACIÓN DEL ORO EN LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA (SIGLOS XV-XVI)

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RESUMEN

Este trabajo está dedicado al análisis de las técnicas de trabajo utilizadas para elaborar láminas y tintas de oro, y para aplicarlas sobre soportes de distintas materias. En primer término, aborda las técnicas de afinación mediante las que se obtenía oro de ley suficiente para ser reducido a láminas o polvo; a continuación, se centra en la descripción del proceso de trabajo llevado a cabo por los batidores de oro para elaborar los panes, así como en las técnicas de elaboración de tintas doradas; y por último, describe los procedimientos empleados para aplicar láminas y tintas de oro sobre las materias que con mayor frecuencia solían ser doradas (pergamino, piel, metal, madera, hueso y tejido). El análisis está basado en información contenida en documentos de archivo y en recetas y manuales técnicos hispanos de los siglos XV y XVI¹.

El sobredorado de objetos artísticos y de uso cotidiano fue una de las actividades más comunes de cuantas se emplearon en la metalurgia medieval. En una época donde el coste de producción de vajillas, joyas, cofres y muchos otros elementos realizados en oro puro era inalcanzable para la mayor parte del tejido social, se hizo común elaborar obras con materiales más asequibles (pergamino, piel, metales comunes, madera, hueso o tejido) para luego ser recubiertos por una fina capa de oro que les daba un aspecto exterior tan dorado y brillante como hubiera ofrecido una obra elaborada íntegramente con dicho material.

Aunque las técnicas de elaboración del oro y de otras materias sustitutivas que sirvieron para dorar fueron comunes a los artesanos del metal, los procedimientos de aplicación sobre los objetos sobredorados variaron de forma muy notable, dependiendo de si dicha aplicación se producía sobre un metal de base (en cuyo caso el dorado constituía una especie de soldadura, donde el oro actuaba como metal de aportación y el hierro, cobre, latón, como metal de base) o sobre materias como la piel y el pergamino (por ejemplo, para la iluminación de manuscritos), la madera o el tejido, pues en estos casos se hacía necesario el uso de sustancias coaligantes que permitieran al oro adherirse de forma estable sobre la materia de la superficie a cubrir.

1. El presente trabajo ha sido realizado en el marco del proyecto *El conocimiento científico y técnico en la Península Ibérica (siglos XIII-XVI): producción, difusión y aplicaciones* (HAR2012-37357), financiado por la Subdirección General de Proyectos de Investigación del Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad. Las recetas procedentes de manuscritos inéditos conservados en las bibliotecas de Florencia fueron obtenidas gracias al desarrollo del proyecto, *Literatura técnica en la Italia bajomedieval (siglos XIII-XVI)* (PR2004-0187), financiado por el Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia. AHPCO, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba; AHPS, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla; BNCE, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze; BNE, Biblioteca Nacional de España; BPM: Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid; Pal., Fondo Palatino; PNCO, Protocolos Notariales de Córdoba; PNSe, Protocolos Notariales de Sevilla.

1. La afinación del oro

Como norma general, el oro que se trabajaba con destino a su aplicación sobre otras materias cobraba la forma de finas láminas denominadas *panes* de oro. El oro que se puede batir y reducir a láminas tiene que ser siempre de una ley superior a los 20 quilates, ya que en caso contrario se rasga, de forma que los artesanos encargados de su preparación tenían necesariamente que dominar los procedimientos para hacer alcanzar a dicho metal los 23 quilates o incluso una ley superior. Dado que la mayor parte de las joyas, monedas y piezas de orfebrería de la época tenían una ley inferior, todos los iluminadores, doradores, maestros de moneda conocieron al detalle los procedimientos de afinación del oro, es decir, las técnicas utilizadas para separarlo de los otros metales contenidos en la aleación (generalmente plata y cobre) y elevar así su ley².

El método más comúnmente empleado durante el período medieval para afinar el oro fue el conocido por el nombre de *cimentación*. Usado a todo lo largo de la Edad Media, aparece descrito desde el siglo XII en manuales como el de Teófilo; en libros de mercadería, como el de Pegolotti, del siglo XIV; y en diversos manuscritos hispanos e italianos del siglo XV. Y continúa apareciendo con asiduidad en los tratados metalúrgicos del siglo XVI, desde los bien conocidos libros de ensayo castellanos de Juan de Arfe o Juan Fernández del Castillo, hasta los manuales de Agrícola (Georg Bauer) y Lazarus Ercker, por citar tan solo algunos de ellos³.

Básicamente el proceso consistía en el calentamiento del oro, batido en hojas o reducido a grano, entre lechos de una materia arcillosa. El calentamiento en condiciones oxidantes permitía volatilizar los óxidos de los metales comunes, porque el oro no se oxida al tener un punto de ebullición superior, y la plata se separaba por precipitación en forma de cloruro. El cloruro de plata es insoluble aunque puede volver a disolverse añadiendo amoníaco y esto parece que se evitaba con la adición de sulfúrico o la obtención de éste con la introducción de sulfatos como la caparrosa y el alumbre. Los materiales imprescindibles para la obtención de esta materia arcillosa, llamada *cimiento real*, fueron el polvo de ladrillo o de teja y la sal; de hecho, algunos textos medievales no contemplan la adición de ninguna otra materia, como ocurre en los casos de Teófilo y de Pegolotti. Aunque podía ser utilizada sal común, tanto marina como de salmuera, fue siempre preferible el uso de sal mineral, que todos los textos indican que debía estar previamente bien triturada y cribada; y el ladrillo debía ser igualmente bien triturado y cernido, de forma que quedase convertido en un polvo muy fino que, sobre todo, no contuviera tierra ni arena⁴. La reducción del tamaño de

2. Para la redacción de este primer apartado se ha utilizado como base el texto sobre "El ensayo del oro" publicado previamente en mi estudio. Córdoba, Ricardo. *Ciencia y técnica monetaria en la España bajomedieval*. Madrid: Fundación Juanolo Turriano, 2009: 285-299, al que se han añadido nuevas referencias. Agradezco la revisión del trabajo y las explicaciones en él incluidas sobre las reacciones químicas a Marisol Cárdenas, Catedrática de Química Analítica de la Universidad de Córdoba, y a Marisa Gómez, Química analista del Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España.

3. *Theophilus' On Divers Arts. The foremost medieval treatise on painting, glassmaking and metalwork*, eds. John G. Hawthorne, Cyril S. Smith. New York: Dover Publications, 1979; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans. Cambridge (Mass.): The Academy of America, 1936 (1ª edición: Florencia, 1340); BNCF. Pal., ms. 814 (*Trattato anonimo del raffinare, fondere e partire l'oro*, f. 1r-39v; Arfe, Juan. *Quilador de oro, plata y piedras*. Madrid: 1572 (ed. of 1678); Fernández del Castillo, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores*. Madrid: 1623; Agrícola, Gregorius. *De Re Metallica*, ed. Carmen Andreu. Madrid: Ediciones de Arte y Bibliofilia, 1992; Ercker, Lazarus. *Lazarus Ercker's Treatise on Ores and Assaying*, Anneliese G. Sisco, Cyril S. Smith, eds. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951 (1ª edición: Praga, 1574). Una visión general del proceso se puede encontrar en: López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado a través de las fuentes literarias antiguas: aplicación en las decoraciones de las pinturas castellanas sobre tablas*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Tesis Doctoral), 2007: 126-127, disponible en: <<http://biblioteca.ucm.es/tesis/bba/ucm-t29743.pdf>>.

4. *Theophilus' On Divers Arts...*: 109; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura...*: 333. Debido a lo difundido de esta técnica resulta habitual hallar citados, en inventarios del instrumental utilizado por doradores y ensayadores, pebeteros y morteros para triturar tejas y sal en polvo para refinar el oro, como los que documenta Spufford en las cecas de Lon-



partícula favorece el desarrollo de las reacciones implicadas en el proceso pues al incrementarse la superficie de contacto entre los reactivos aumenta la velocidad de reacción.

En otros casos, a estos ingredientes básicos eran añadidas materias como vitriolo (sulfato de cobre), alumbre, sal amoniaco, salitre, bol armenio o argento vivo, que tenían como finalidad aumentar el poder astringente del compuesto y elevar con mayor eficacia y menores pérdidas la ley del metal. El vitriolo es sulfúrico; el alumbre es un sulfato doble de un metal monovalente y otro trivalente, generalmente el aluminio; la sal amoniaco puede ocasionar la disolución de un precipitado que luego volvería a precipitar al añadir más sal común (cloruro sódico) o vitriolo; el salitre es nitrato de sodio (NaNO_3) y nitrato de potasio (KNO_3); el argento vivo es el mercurio que se amalgama con el oro y al calentar pasa a estado gaseoso. Estos aditivos contribuyen al proceso de separación de otros metales no nobles mayoritariamente en forma de sulfato, lo que mejora el rendimiento neto del proceso. Así ocurre en recetas castellanas e italianas de fines del siglo XV y principios del siglo XVI; por ejemplo, en una de las incluidas en el ms. H490 de la Facultad de Medicina de Montpellier (un recetario castellano de época de los Reyes Católicos) se recomienda el uso de teja roja, sal común y vitriolo; una de las que se insertan en el ms. 858 del Fondo Palatino de la Biblioteca Nacional de Florencia recomienda añadir al cimientto, además de vitriolo, como la anterior, sal amoniaco, alumbre, salnitro y cardenillo, mientras que otra lo hace con alumbre, sal amoniaco, sal gema y argento vivo; por su parte, en el manuscrito 945 del mismo Fondo aparece una mezcla de vitriolo romano, cardenillo, ferrete, sal amoniaco, alumbre y bol armenio. En efecto, el ferrete es también sulfato de cobre, el cardenillo acetato de cobre y el vitriolo es ácido sulfúrico⁵.

Las proporciones en que estos elementos debían ser mezclados presentan notables divergencias. Por ejemplo, el Ensayador Mayor de Castilla en tiempos de Felipe II, Juan de Arfe, recomendaba en su *Quilataador* el empleo de un cimientto hecho con 2/3 de polvo de ladrillo, un 1/3 de sal común molida y un poco de *almohatre* (sal amoniaco), fórmula muy semejante a la que ya recomendara Teófilo en su manual, 2/3 de ladrillo por 1/3 de sal. Por su parte, Fernández del Castillo, recomienda utilizar la mitad de polvo de ladrillo y la otra mitad de sal, añadiendo también almohatre o, caso de no disponer de él, tártaro (rasura, tartrato de potasio); 3/4 partes de ladrillo y una 1/4 parte de sal es la mezcla que aparece citada en el manuscrito 814 del Fondo Palatino de la Biblioteca Nacional de Florencia; Lazarus Ercker menciona que se hace con dos partes de polvo de ladrillo, una de sal y media de *acije* (vitriolo); Agricola indica que el cimientto se puede hacer de varias formas (1/2 libra de polvo de ladrillo, 1/4 de libra de sal, una onza de salitre, 1/2 onza de sal amoniaco y 1/2 onza de sal mineral; y otra de 1/2 libra de polvo de ladrillo, 1/3 de sal mineral, una onza de salitre y media de

dres y Canterbury en 1327 (Spufford, Peter. "Mint Organisation in late medieval Europe". *Later Medieval Mints: Organisation, Administration and Techniques*. Oxford: British Archaeological Research, 1988: 11; Campbell, Marian. "Gold, Silver and Precious Stones". *English Medieval Industries*. London: Hambledon Press, 1991: 110).

5. *Cementum sic fit. Accipe sal comune, praeparatum azeche, tegulam rubeam bene tritam et criuatam ante, totum mixtum* (Biblioteca de la Facultad de Medicina de Montpellier. Ms. H490, f. 234r; citado en: Córdoba, Ricardo. "Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV: el manuscrito H-490 de la Facultad de Medicina de Montpellier". *En la España Medieval*, 28 (2005): 33-34 and 47); *A cimentare oro di carate 18 qual cresca per fino a carate 22 e 1/2, piglia vitriolo romano rubificato, sal armoniaco on. 2, allume jameni on. 1, salnitro et verderame on. 1* (BNCF. Pal. 858, Segreti diversi, XVI sec., f. 89r); *A cimentare oro di mità, toglì sal armoniaco, sal gema, lume di rocca, argento sublimato on. 1, et on. 1 d'oro et argento, fatto inlaminare et cimenta, poi fondi et avera oro de carati 24* (BNCF. Pal. 858, f. 90v); *Cimento optimo d'oro di metà. Togli vitriolo romano parte una, verderame parte una, ferretto di Spagna parte meza, sal armoniaco parte una, alume iameni parte meza, alume di rocca parte una e 1/2, bol armenio parte una* (BNCF. Pal. 945, Segreti diversi, XVI sec., ff. 11r-v).

sal común); y finalmente, Álvaro Alonso Barba incluye $\frac{3}{4}$ partes de polvo de ladrillo, $\frac{1}{4}$ parte de sal mineral y $\frac{1}{2}$ onza de sal amoniaco⁶.

Las variables que se observan en estas proporciones mencionadas por la literatura técnica de la época algo tienen que ver con las tradiciones locales existentes en cada lugar y período histórico y con la disponibilidad de las distintas materias, pero sobre todo se relacionan con la pureza del oro sometido a cimentación. Francesco Pegolotti afirma que para afinar oro de 12 a 16 quilates de ley era necesario mezclar $\frac{4}{5}$ partes de ladrillo con $\frac{1}{5}$ parte de sal; para afinar oro de 16 a 20 quilates de ley, en cambio, se mezclaban $\frac{3}{4}$ partes de ladrillo y $\frac{1}{4}$ parte de sal; y, por último, para afinar el oro comprendido entre los 20 y los 24 quilates, la proporción debe ser de $\frac{2}{3}$ partes de polvo de ladrillo y $\frac{1}{3}$ parte de sal, porque “cuanta más sal tiene el cimientto tanto más fuerte es y cuanto el oro es más alto más fuerte quiere el cimientto” debido a la mayor separación de plata en forma de cloruro; esta indicación es similar a la contenida en el *Tratado de la Moneda Áurea*, redactado en Inglaterra en torno al año 1350, pues aunque este texto solo menciona polvo de ladrillo y sal como ingredientes del cimientto (al igual que lo hacen los manuales de Teófilo y Pegolotti), señala también que “cuanta más ley tiene el oro más sal se debe añadir, y si menos, menos”⁷. Una vez mezclados y proporcionados los ingredientes citados, la pasta resultante era ligeramente humedecida a fin de que pudiera moldearse con mayor facilidad. Lo más habitual fue hacerlo con vinagre, como recomiendan algunos tratados del siglo XVI y el manuscrito 858 del Fondo Palatino, aunque también podía ser empleada la orina humana como se menciona en el tratado de Teófilo y en el manuscrito 945 del mismo Fondo. El tratado de Ercker contempla también ambas posibilidades de humedecer el cimientto⁸.

Reducido el oro a láminas, la mezcla arcillosa que componía el cimientto y las láminas de oro se iban depositando de manera alterna en forma de capas o lechadas en el interior de una vasija de barro. El ms. H490 de la Facultad de Medicina de Montpellier menciona el uso, al igual que lo hace el manual de Teófilo, de dos bandejas o tejas cóncavas, en lugar de la vasija, para realizar la operación, pero la mayor parte de los autores, incluidos Juan de Arfe y Francesco Pegolotti, recomiendan cimentar el oro en una olla o vasija de barro nueva, posiblemente para resistir mejor la presión y temperatura a que era sometida durante el proceso. En su fondo se colocaba una primera capa de cimientto de un dedo de gruesa (“muy apretado en el suelo de la olla”, indica Arfe) y encima de esta primera capa un lecho de granalla de oro o una lámina; seguía otra capa de cimientto, otra de oro, y así sucesivamente se iba rellenando la vasija mediante capas alternas de oro y cimientto (“como quien mete queso gratinado sobre la lasaña”, llega a decir Pegolotti). Los lechos de cimientto no debían ser muy gruesos, solo lo suficiente para cubrir el oro. Y si el oro se introducía en forma de planchas u hojas, resultaba conveniente que se depositaran en el interior de la vasija ligeramente

6. Arfe, Juan. *Quilatador de oro, plata y piedras...*: 35-37; *Theophilus' On Divers Arts...*: 109; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores...*: 58-59; BNCF. Pal. 814, f. 39v; Lazarus Ercker's *treatise on ores and assaying*: 184; Agricola, Gregorius. *De Re Metallica...*: 463 y 466-467; Alonso, Álvaro. *Arte de los Metales*. Madrid: Imprenta Imperial, 1640 también reeditado: Valencia: Librerías París-Valencia, 1993: 196-197.

7. Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura...*: 333; *The De Moneta of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents*, ed. Charles Johnson. Londres-Edimburgo, 1956: 84.

8. *Trito sottilmente ogni cosa, cosimul misce e poi bagnalo con un poco d'aceto* (BNCF. Pal. 858, f. 89v); *Theophilus' On Divers Arts*: 109; *Trita un poco ogni cosa e inpastalo con urina de puber vergine in modo di pasta* (BNCF. Pal. 945, f. 11v); Lazarus Ercker's *treatise on ores and assaying*: 184.



mojadas, en vinagre según Fernández del Castillo, en agua según Pegolotti, “porque estando mojadas toman mejor el cimientto”⁹.

Concluida la carga de la vasija o de las tejas, el conjunto solía ser cubierto con una tapadera de barro y enlodado por todo el exterior. La receta del ms. H490 menciona el empleo para esta operación de la sustancia denominada *luto sapiente*, mezcla que servía para sellar las juntas de las vasijas expuestas al fuego y que aparece con frecuencia en los textos metalúrgicos de la época¹⁰. Se trataba de una pasta hecha con tierra, estiércol y tundizna (raedura de los paños de lana obtenida durante los procesos de tundidura o de cardado a la percha), a la que en ocasiones se añadían materias como la greda o la cal. En los recetarios italianos del siglo XV su composición aparece reflejada con cierta frecuencia, dado que no solo era usado en procesos metalúrgicos, sino en el trabajo del coral y de las piedras preciosas y en muchas otras aplicaciones; por citar algunas de estas recetas, la del manuscrito de Nápoles recoge el uso de arcilla, estiércol de asno y tundizna; en el ms. Ashburnham 349 de la Biblioteca Laurenciana de Florencia, se indica “si quieres hacer luto sapiente, coge tierra y sécala bien, hazla polvo sutil y mezcla con un poco de agua, luego haz polvo con estiércol de caballo mezclado con clara de huevo y bien batido y mezcla con lo anterior; esto se llama luto de sapientia con el cual cierra el vaso”; en el número 1243 de la Biblioteca Riccardiana se dice “para hacer luto sapiente toma tierra de arcilla blanca, estiércol de buey, goma, cal viva, sal, clara de huevo y ceniza, y haz luto” y, en el 2645 de la misma Biblioteca, que “el luto de sapientia se hace así, tierra blanca, estiércol de buey, goma arábica, cal, cabellos, sal, harina, yema de huevo y ceniza, y es perfecto luto”¹¹.

El fuego era encendido mediante el uso de retama y astillas y se iba añadiendo la leña poco a poco, a fin de que el fuego prendiera y ardiera mansamente, sin gran fuerza y sin detenerse. Los manuales de Juan de Arfe y Fernández del Castillo, como los más antiguos de Teófilo y Pegolotti, recomiendan el uso de leña sin otra especificación, pero Agricola recomienda la de roble o encina, “ya que de estas clases de madera se hace el fuego lento y duradero que necesita esta operación”. La receta incluida en el ms. H490 incluye la indicación *Et post pone in igne suavi bene coopertum ex utraque parte et dimicte per 2 vel 3 horas vel plus secundum que videris expedire*, similar a la contenida en el ms. 858 del Fondo Palatino que dice “dale después fuego mediocre y no demasiado fuerte, haciendo estar el vaso siempre al rojo, y el fuego no debe ser de carbones sino de leña”. El motivo de utilizar leña y no carbón en este tipo de hornos y de mantener un fuego bajo y constante era que si se alcanzaba una temperatura muy elevada (lo que se podía producir mediante la adición de gran cantidad de leña al mismo tiempo o de un combustible de elevado poder calorífico, como era el carbón) el oro se fundía —y, evidentemente, no debía fundirse para que tuviera lugar la cimentación de forma correcta pues, como afirma Lazarus Ercker, el oro fundido se mezclaba con

9. *Et fac vnum lectum dictorum pulvum et pone desupra unam plantulam et coopri de dicto pulvere et pone aliam et coopri et sic usque quo uolueris. Et pone totum inter duas tegulas concavas* (Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 35 y 47); *Theophilus' On Divers Arts...*: 109; Arfe, Juan. *Quitador de oro, plata y piedras...*: 35-37; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura...*: 331-333; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores...*: 58-59.

10. *Et pone totum inter duas tegulas concavas et luta eas cum luto sapientiae et dimicte sic stare donec siccetur* (Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 35-36 y 47).

11. *Bene lutari de bona argilla, bene speciata cum stercore asinino et cum zimatura pannorum* (Brunello, Franco. *De Arte Illuminandi e altri trattati sulla tecnica della miniatura medievale*. Vicenza: Neri Ponza, 1975: 56); Biblioteca Medicea-Laureniana di Firenze, Fondo Ashburnham. Ms. 349, f. 20v; Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze. Ms. 1243, f. 29v y ms. 2645, f. 32r. Para un estudio sobre la composición y uso de esta materia en la Edad Media: Thomas, Nicolas. “De la recette à la pratique: l'exemple du *lutum sapientiae* des alchimistes”. *Craft Treatises and Handbooks. The Dissemination of Technical Knowledge in the Middle Ages*, Ricardo Córdoba, ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013: 249-270.

la plata y el cobre en el cimientto, perdiéndose todo el esfuerzo realizado en la laminación del oro y en la composición del propio cimientto—, mientras que si la temperatura obtenida era insuficiente, el cimientto no haría su efecto y no iría absorbiendo la liga de plata/cobre contenida en el oro; en suma, en palabras de Juan de Arfe, “porque no se funda el oro con gran fuego ni deje de obrar el cimientto por poco [fuego]”¹².

De esa forma mansa y constante el fuego era mantenido durante 24 horas, “un día y una noche” como indican Teófilo y Pegolotti. Agrícola afirma que si el horno había sido calentado durante dos horas antes de introducir las vasijas con el oro cimentado, la cimentación debía durar 24 horas, pero si el horno se hallaba frío, debía prolongarse al menos por espacio de 26 horas. Aunque Fernández del Castillo indica que cada 24 horas el oro subía (se afinaba) tres o cuatro quilates, Pegolotti y Barba están de acuerdo en afirmar que cada 24 horas el oro solía elevarse dos quilates; el segundo afirma que “asentado está entre plateros que en cada doce horas se sube un quilate, pero esto no es infalible ni siempre se requiere tanto tiempo”. La afinación no solo dependía del número de horas, sino del número de cimienttos que se dieran al oro. Ningún autor recomienda mantener la misma afinación más de 24 horas, pero era posible realizar dos o tres afinaciones de 24 horas, o dos o tres de doce horas, según la mayor o menor cantidad de quilates que debiera ser afinado el oro. En el manuscrito 858 del Fondo Palatino de la Biblioteca Nacional de Florencia se indica claramente que, para subir el oro de 18 a 22 quilates, se debe dar fuego al vaso durante doce horas “y este cimientto lo harás por dos veces y bastará”; pero advierte que si el proceso se repite tres o cuatro veces, es decir, si se le da fuego en total durante dos días, se hará oro de 24 quilates¹³.

Otro procedimiento habitual de afinar el oro era mediante el uso de la conocida técnica de amalgama de mercurio. Esta técnica se basa en la gran afinidad que presenta el oro por el mercurio de forma que, cuando ambos metales se ponen en contacto en pequeñas cantidades se forma una amalgama (aleación de oro y mercurio) que conlleva literalmente la disolución del oro en el mercurio. Para que el proceso sea efectivo es imprescindible que el material que se pone en contacto esté limpio de impurezas. De este modo, su uso solía recomendarse para la afinación del cimientto, es decir, para la extracción de las pequeñas cantidades de oro y de plata que habían sido absorbidas por el cimientto durante la realización del proceso. Con el título de “para apurar toda tierra que tenga algún metal”, una receta del ms. H490 de la Facultad de Medicina de Montpellier recomienda mezclar en una artesa la tierra resultante de la anterior operación con vinagre y mercurio (o, caso de no disponer de vinagre, con tártaro y sal) y, a continuación, tomar medio ladrillo o una piedra áspera e ir frotando esa tierra con dicha mezcla, operación mediante la cual todo el oro en ella contenido quedaba adherido al mercurio. Si concluido el proceso de refregado el mercurio estaba hecho “amalgama dura” es que continuaba habiendo metal, por lo que habría que añadir más mercurio y continuar frotando hasta que todo el metal quedara apurado. Este método aparece ya descrito en el recetario *Mappae Clavicula* y se trata de un proceso similar al que Francesco Pegolotti menciona para la extracción del oro que ha quedado mezclado con el cimientto: primero se mezcla el cimientto con mercurio, se refriega bien con una piedra o trozo de madera y, una vez adherido

12. Arfe, Juan. *Quilatador de oro, plata y piedras...*: 35-37; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores...*: 58-59; *Theophilus' On Divers Arts...*: 109; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura...*: 331-333; Agrícola, Georgius. *De Re Metallica...*: 466-467; Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 36 and 47; BNCF. Pal. 858, f. 89v; *Lazarus Ercker's treatise on ores and assaying*: 186.

13. *Theophilus' On Divers Arts...*: 109; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura...*: 332; Agrícola, Georgius. *De Re Metallica...*: 466-467; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores...*: 58-59; Alonso, Álvaro. *Arte de los Metales...*: 196-197; BNCF. Pal. 858, f. 89v, *Ma come lo volessi fare tre volte o 4 venerà a carate 24*.



el metal al mercurio, se calienta en el interior de una vasija de forma que “cuando el azogue sienta el calor del fuego se irá en humo y el oro quedará en la vasija amasado y sólido”. Los tratados de Fernández del Castillo y Álvaro Alonso Barba incluyen este procedimiento también para la recuperación de la plata que quedó mezclada con el cimientio: se coloca la tierra en un vaso, se mezcla con mercurio y se va amasando con un rodillo o piedra hasta que la plata se pega al mercurio, luego ambos metales se separan calentando el mercurio que se volatiliza¹⁴.

Otra de las modalidades “clásicas” de afinación del metal, conocida desde época grecorromana y que aparece mencionada en numerosos textos del siglo XV y en todos los grandes tratados metalúrgicos del XVI, era la llevada a cabo mediante el uso del azufre o del antimonio. El antimonio al que se refieren estas recetas es sulfuro de antimonio, no el metal puro, y tiene el mismo efecto que el azufre: reaccionando con una aleación de oro y plata, se forma sulfuro de plata (que no se mezcla con el metal), mientras que el resto del azufre contenido en el sulfuro de antimonio arrastra, consigo todo el oro que se deposita en el fondo de la vasija¹⁵. El antimonio se elimina finalmente por calentamiento debido a la formación de un óxido volátil. Una de las recetas del ms. H490 de Montpellier mezcla dos partes de azufre y una de sal, el metal del que se quiera separar el oro se hace láminas delgadas y se pone en el interior de un crisol “a lechos con los dichos minerales”. Una vez tapado y enlodado, el crisol se pone sobre el fuego y cuando el metal está fundido, tras dar unos golpes al crisol, se separa el oro (que “se irá abajo”) de la plata u otros metales que permanecerán encima. Si el método no da resultado, se repite una segunda vez añadiendo más azufre (tres partes por una de sal) y una sexta parte de plomo (lo que hace fundir a temperatura inferior) o de antimonio (“que es mejor”, en palabras del autor de la receta)¹⁶. También aparece reflejada esta técnica en una receta del Lapidario de Alfonso X, cuando indica “si el oro estuviere dañado con otro cuerpo vil [es decir, con un metal no noble], deben meter con él al fundir azufre y volver con él de la piedra que dicen marcasita porque esto le aparta de todos los otros metales y le limpia de toda suciedad, y esto es porque el azufre quema todos los otros cuerpos si mucho está con ellos sino el oro, y la marcasita tiene naturaleza de azufre”¹⁷.

Textos europeos, como el ms. Sloane 1754 de la British Library, incluyen recetas similares para la afinación del oro mediante la adición de azufre. La receta número 100 del manuscrito Pal. 941 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Florencia, titulada *A partire l'oro de l'argento*, describe un proceso similar, donde el metal del que se desea separar el oro es introducido en un crisol con azufre, se calienta una vez, se saca del horno y se deja enfriar, para luego volver a fundirlo hasta que se encuentre “el oro abajo”. El proceso se encuentra igualmente descrito en el manual de Pegolotti bajo el encabezamiento *A partire oro da ariento*, donde se va añadiendo azufre a la plata mientras se calienta al fuego

14. Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 38-39 and 47; Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura*...: 334; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores*...: 60; Barba, Álvaro. *Arte de los Metales*...: 197. Las recetas de Teófilo para la separación del oro mediante amalgama de mercurio han sido estudiadas por: López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado*: 123-124.

15. El uso de esta técnica desde época clásica es señalado por: Forbes, Robert. “Metallurgy”. *A History of Technology vol. II: the Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages*, Charles Singer, Eric Holmyard, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956: 42. Ver también las recetas sobre esta técnica en Teófilo o Archerius estudiadas por: López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado*...: 127.

16. Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 38-39 y 47.

17. *Primer Lapidario del rey Alfonso X el Sabio*, edición facsímil del códice h.I.15 de la Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Madrid, 1982: f. 21v.

de carbón para al final del proceso hallar el oro sólido en la parte baja de la vasija y los restantes metales, mezclados con el vapor del azufre, en su parte superior¹⁸.

Diversas recetas de cómo apartar oro y plata del *Proberbüchlein* del año 1500 testimonian también el uso del azufre o del antimonio en este proceso; la número 70, llamada “Cómo apartar plata del oro”, donde se mezcla la aleación oro-plata con una parte de antimonio, una de cobre y una de plomo, se introduce en un crisol con azufre, se cubre de forma que no escape vapor y se da fuego, cuando se enfría se halla el oro en la base. En la receta 85 se especifica que la materia usada para separar plata de oro está hecha de una libra de azufre, media de sal y un poco de sal amoníaco. Y hay una receta aun más parecida a la castellana, la número 102 titulada “Separando oro de plata” que recomienda poner la mezcla de dos libras de azufre y una de sal en el fondo de un crisol y la liga plata-oro encima, luego otra capa de materia, en capas como en la cimentación, se le da fuego y cuando se saca se encuentra el oro separado en la parte de abajo¹⁹. Este proceso de separar el oro mediante uso de antimonio o de azufre se encuentra también descrito en el manual de Biringuccio, en el capítulo titulado “Método de separar oro de plata por medio de azufre o antimonio”; en la *Beschreibung* de Lazarus Ercker; y en el manual de Álvaro Alonso Barba, “De otros modos con que se aparta el oro de la plata”, donde se explica que el azufre molido se introduce con el oro en una vasija y tras darle fuego “bájase con aquello el oro al fondo y la plata se queda arriba mezclada con el plomo y cobre y humor del azufre”, y se explica igualmente el método de separación mediante el uso de antimonio, en lugar de azufre²⁰.

Un último método de afinación del oro consistía en el uso del aguafuerte, ácido clorhídrico diluido en agua, usado tanto en metalurgia como en tintorería y otras técnicas. El objetivo de este proceso es la solubilización del oro mediante la formación de un complejo clorurado de oro soluble y la separación de la plata mediante la precipitación como cloruro de plata. Todos los manuales insisten en que el agua utilizada para esta operación debía de ser muy fuerte pues “no siéndolo no se ensaya el oro bien ni declara su fineza, y si es floja no afina el oro ni lo pone en su perfección”²¹. Una vez introducido el oro en la vasija y cubierto de aguafuerte, se colocaba a fuego bajo y se dejaba hervir; cuando la mezcla comenzaba a humear y el aguafuerte a hacer ciertos reflejos era señal “de que esta agua se ha aflojado y no tiene fuerza de comer más plata” (no pueda formar más cloruro de plata), momento en el cual se debía retirar la vasija del fuego y verter el agua en una redoma o vasija preparada para tal fin. Esta operación era repetida hasta tres veces, añadiendo cada vez aguafuerte nueva, hasta que a la tercera vez, cuando el oro estaba ya afinado, hacía ciertas señales “dando unos saltillos”, momento en el que se apartaba definitivamente del fuego, se lavaba con agua clara y se extraía de la redoma o cazuela²².

El aguafuerte utilizada para esta operación era una composición que podía ser preparada con distintos ingredientes entre los que destacan mordientes y sales minerales cuya reacción tenía por efecto la separación del metal precioso de la aleación en que se hallaba contenido, favoreciendo la

18. Campbell, Marian. “Gold, Silver and Precious stones...”: 110, citando la página 205 del mencionado manuscrito; BNCF, Pal. 941, ‘Ricette dal XVI secolo’, f. 15v; Pegolotti, F., *La pratica della mercatura*: 336-337.

19. *Bergwerk und Proberbüchlein*, eds. Anneliese G. Sisco, Cyril S. Smith. Nueva York: Yale University Press, 1949: 114, 120 y 125 (1ª edición: 1500).

20. Biringuccio, Vannoccio. *The Pirotechnia of Vannoccio Biringuccio. The Classic Sixteenth-Century Treatise on Metals and Metallurgy*, eds. Cyril S. Smith, Martha T. Gnudi. Nueva York, 1959: 201-202, cap. 6, libro IV; *Lazarus Ercker's treatise ...*: 195-196; Alonso, Álvaro. *Arte de los Metales...*: 192-193, caps. 11 and 12, libro III.

21. Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores...*: 30v.

22. Arfe, Juan. *Quilatador de oro, plata y piedras...*: 34-35; Fernández, Juan. *Tratado de ensayadores...*: 30v y 33r.



reducción de las sales de oro que pudieran estar presentes. Álvaro Alonso Barba afirma que las materias con que se hacía el aguafuerte solían ser caparrosa, alumbre, salitre, bol armenio, oropimente y cinabrio, de las cuales podían ser hechas diversas mezclas; oropimente es sulfuro de arsénico y el cinabrio contiene sulfuro de mercurio, en el que los dos elementos cumplen una función. Una vez incorporados los ingredientes, eran calentados en un horno, en un alambique que iba destilando el aguafuerte. Igualmente, Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo indica que, según recogen las ordenanzas de las casas de moneda indianas, el aguafuerte se hacía con caparrosa, alumbre y salitre, sustancias a las que se añadía en ocasiones sal amoniaco, puesto que la sal amoniaco es cloruro de amonio con una buena capacidad de formar complejos solubles con la plata y el cobre, entre otros²³.

Aunque no conocemos ninguna receta castellana directamente relacionada con la elaboración del aguafuerte utilizada en procesos industriales, ni tampoco se incluye ninguna en el manual de tintorería de Joanot Valero datado a fines del siglo XV, un manual catalán de tintoreros más tardío, el *Remallet de tinturas*, datado en el siglo XVII, sí que menciona varias de ellas. Este texto indica que las aguafuertes para el color de grana se preparan con 50 cántaros de agua clara que se calientan hasta que empiece a hervir, luego se vierten en una tina y se añaden cinco arrobas de salvado grueso y se dejan dos días en reposo, al cabo de los cuales se mueve la mezcla cada dos horas hasta que se enfríe, y al cabo de tres días se podrá usar. Otra receta explica que las aguafuertes para teñir es-carlatas y escarlatinas se hacen con dos onzas de oropimente, dos de verdete (cardenillo), dos libras de salitre refinado, tres de alumbre de roca y seis onzas de vitriolo romano, todo lo cual se coloca en un alambique bien enlutado («con la arcilla con la que los olleros tapan los hornos»), de forma que no pueda respirar, y se le da fuego manso. Y una tercera la preparación de las aguafuertes destinadas al teñido de paños escarlatines, según se usaba en Cataluña: veinte cubas de agua, seis medidas de salvado que se hacen hervir en caldera y se vierten en una tina, donde al cabo de una hora se vierten otras diez medidas de salvado y, pasada otra hora, tres o cuatro libras de alumbre, cuatro de arsénico, cuatro onzas de gres de vidrio o de sal gema, y al cabo de cinco horas se añade vinagre blanco, se deja cubierto un día entero y al cabo de cuatro días, descubierto el baño, se podrá usar²⁴.

2. Elaboración del Pan de Oro y de otras materias para el dorado

2.1. Panes de oro

La operación de reducir el metal a láminas de finísimas proporciones se conoce por el nombre de batir, porque era llevada a cabo mediante martilleo, y los artesanos que la realizaban fueron llamados batidores de hoja de oro o de plata o, por contracción de dichos términos, más simplemente batihojas²⁵. Los batidores o batihojas estaban obligados a utilizar el oro con una ley siempre supe-

23. Alonso Álvaro. *Arte de los Metales...*: 185-192, cap. 7 al 10, libro III, con ilustración de los hornos y alambiques en la página 188; Céspedes, Guillermo. *Las casas de moneda en los reinos de Indias, vol. 1, Las cecas indianas en 1536-1825*. Madrid: Fábrica Nacional de Moneda y Timbre-Museo Casa de Moneda, 1996: 127-130.

24. *Remallet de tinturas y breu modo de donar-las á totes robas de llana, teles y fil, ab lo modo de beneficiar alguns ingredients necessaris per los arts de la tintura y perayria, recullit de differents receptes de totes las parts de Europa per Phesio Mayo...* [pseud. del impresor], eds. Narcís Feliu, Bernat d'Aimeric-Cruïlles. Barcelona: Josep Moia, 1691: 15-19.

25. En Córdoba se conservan unas ordenanzas de mediados del siglo XVI que nos muestran de forma detallada las técnicas principales de su trabajo (Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba*. Córdoba: Caja Provincial, 1990: 253-257; Córdoba, Ricardo. "Los batihojas y las técnicas de ornamentación en metal (siglos XV-XVI)". *Estudios sobre Historia de la Ciencia y de la Técnica*, Esteban Piñeiro, ed. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1988: 755-772; véase también: de Quinto, M^a Luisa. *Los batihojas, artesanos del oro*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1984; Genís, Ramon. "El antiguo gremio de

rior a los 23 quilates, pues como indicábamos antes no resulta posible reducir el metal a una lámina tan fina como la de los panes con una ley inferior, de forma que todos ellos debieron ser expertos conocedores de los diferentes métodos de afinación del oro expuestos en el apartado anterior, por cuanto eran dichos métodos los que permitían obtener una ley suficiente para el metal procedente de monedas u objetos de más baja aleación²⁶.

Por lo que se refiere al proceso técnico seguido en esta labor, en primer término el lingote o barra de oro era reducido a una lámina de escaso grosor, operación que recibía el nombre de laminado y que solía hacerse reduciendo a lámina mediante martilleo la barra (o riel) que se obtenía tras fundir el metal en los hornos (y dejarlo enfriar sobre la mesa rielera). Venía luego la fase principal en la elaboración del pan de oro, que era la del batido propiamente dicho, realizado con ayuda de los instrumentos denominados *soldada* (o soldador) y *molde*. Consistían ambos en una serie de hojillas cuadradas de membrana animal entre las que se iban colocando las láminas de metal, hojas de un tamaño determinado que venía dado por el *caire*. El *caire* era un cuadrado pequeño de hierro o cobre que los batidores usaban para *recairar* los moldes y soldadas de batir, es decir, para cortar y disponer las telillas delgadas de que se componían las hojas del molde²⁷. Estas hojillas estaban hechas de finísimos recortes de piel o membranas de tejido animal, que en el siglo XV eran conocidas simplemente con el nombre de telas. Las ordenanzas de batidores de Córdoba del siglo XVI, y las de Barcelona de época posterior, recogen el uso de la soldada (también llamada soldador o batidor) y del molde como instrumentos de trabajo formados por dichas telas²⁸.

Una vez se tenían preparados los cuadrados de oro el batidor procedía a introducir entre cada tela de la soldada una lámina que tenía forma de cuadrado más pequeño que el de la tela y que se colocaba en la misma ocupando una posición central; se iban superponiendo unas sobre otras y luego se cerraba el conjunto con chapas o cartas de pergamino, para proceder a su martilleo. Con los golpes de martillo el cuadrado de metal se iba extendiendo por el interior del molde, hasta ocupar todo el espacio que lo separaba de los bordes de la tela, operación muy delicada pues el martilleo debía ser cuidadoso y homogéneo para lograr que el metal se extendiera por igual en todas las direcciones y se fuera adelgazando de forma pareja, sin roturas ni huecos²⁹. Cuando la lámina había ocupado todo el espacio interior de la soldada, se retiraba la sobrecubierta de pergamino, se limpiaban las rebabas sobrantes y se retiraban una a una las láminas de metal de entre las telas. De inmediato volvían a ser cortadas en cuadrados más pequeños e introducidas en el molde, repitien-

batihojas, oropeleros y guadamacileros de Barcelona". *Boletín de la Asociación Química Española de la industria del cuero*, 8 (1957): 210-214).

26. "Que los oficiales sean obligados a hacer el oro bueno y fino, de 23 quilates, antes más que no menos" (Ordenanzas de batidores de Córdoba, cap. 4; citado en: Córdoba, Ricardo. "Los batihojas y la técnicas de ornamentación en metal...": 762, nota 18); el oro reducido a hojas por los batihojas de Barcelona en el siglo XV debía alcanzar igualmente la ley mínima de 23 quilates y cuarto (Bonnassie, Pierre. *La organización del trabajo en Barcelona a fines del siglo XV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1975: 143).

27. Según las ordenanzas de batihojas de Nueva España, datadas en el siglo XVIII, el *caire* era una tablilla cuadrada de 81 x 81 mm con la que se establecía el tamaño de las telillas y, por lo mismo, de los panes (Gañán, Constantino. *Técnicas y evolución de la imaginaria policroma en Sevilla*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999: 194).

28. Para la Barcelona del siglo XVIII, Ramón Genis menciona el caso de un mercader catalán que detentaba a perpetuidad la exclusiva de comercializar "ciertos intestinos o telas del toro" que eran necesarias a batidores y oropeleros "para batir el oro y ponerle a su quilate" (Genís, Ramón. "El antiguo gremio de batihojas...": 214).

29. La dificultad de llevar a cabo esta operación de reducción del metal precioso a láminas finísimas, realizada en Barcelona por los llamados *batifullers* o *batidors de fulles d'or e d'argent*, mediante el simple uso del martillo ha sido destacada por: Carrere, Claude. *Barcelone, centre économique à l'époque des difficultés 1380-1462*. Paris-La Haye: Mouton et Cie, 1967: 389.



do la operación, aunque con una lámina mucho más fina de cuyo martilleo se obtenía ya el pan de oro. Las ordenanzas de Córdoba indican que el maestro que quisiera ser examinado del oficio de batidor debía saber cortar las telas del caire adecuado para un soldador de oro y para un molde de oro y otro para plata; saber preparar un soldador para hacer oro, con sus cartas de pergamino, dos moldes para oro y dos para plata; y saber hacer en un molde un millar de panes de plata, y luego en el soldador una soldada de oro grueso y en el molde para el oro, un millar de panes de oro fino³⁰.

La operación fue realizada con idénticas características en toda Europa y durante toda la Edad Media, pues aparece perfectamente descrita en el cap. 23 del Libro I de Teófilo, dedicado a la preparación de hojas de oro y en recetas altomedievales como el *Composiciones Lucenses* o el *Mappae Clavicula*³¹. Marian Campbell afirma que “el batido del oro era una tarea lenta, donde las barras debían primero ser reducidas a hojas, que eran luego golpeadas con una amplia variedad de martillos entre velos conocidos como pieles de batidores, que servían para proteger las hojas que se adelgazaban. Un cuadrado de oro se colocaba en mitad de un trozo de velo con otra pieza de velo encima y sucesivas capas de hojas de metal y velos sobre ellos. Cuando el martilleo lograba que el metal se extendiera hasta el borde del pergamino, el batidor cortaba cada pieza en cuatro nuevos trozos y repetía el proceso”; y Mark Clarke, que ha estudiado las recetas contenidas en manuscritos medievales europeos que describen esta técnica, afirma que la mayor parte de dichas recetas mencionan un primer batido realizado sobre el yunque y luego la realización de la operación repetida entre trozos cuadrados de membrana; Clarke destaca que algunas de las recetas son tan detalladas que nos informan sobre el tipo de martillo, el movimiento y la dirección de los golpes³².

El color obtenido por el oro durante su laminado o reducción a pan podía ser modificado mediante el uso de materias que hacían más intenso su color. Una de las recetas incluidas en el ms. H490 de Montpellier, que lleva por título “Recocción de oro”, explica cómo dar un color dorado más intenso a la lámina mediante la adición de una sustancia obtenida mediante la mezcla de cardenillo (acetato de cobre), almohatre (sal amoníaco) y salitre, a continuación destemplada con orina y aplicada sobre una lámina previamente lavada con sal y vinagre y bien seca; una vez untada la mezcla, la lámina era calentada sobre carbones hasta que se oscurecía, entonces se dejaba enfriar y era templada en orina para obtener la coloración y el tomo deseados³³.

Debido a su extrema delgadez y fragilidad, los panes no podían ser manipulados con la mano, pues el tacto y la grasa del cuerpo ocasionaban su ruptura; por ello eran extraídos de entre las telillas del molde mediante pinzas ligeras, y asentados sobre libros de hojas de papel o de pergamino para asegurar unas condiciones de comercialización óptimas. Esta actividad ha quedado perfectamente representada en uno de los conocidos grabados del *Libro de los Oficios* de Jost Amman, fechado en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, en el que aparece un artesano batidor manejando un martillo redondeado con el que golpea lo que parece ser un molde y otro que retira del molde los

30. Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba...*: 256; Córdoba, Ricardo. “Los batihojas y las técnicas de ornamentación en metal...”: 760.

31. López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 221-223.

32. Theophilus, *On Divers Arts...*: 109; Campbell, Marian. “Gold, Silver and Precious Stones”...: 131; Clarke, Mark. *Medieval Painters' Materials and Techniques: The Montpellier Liber diversarum arcium*. London: Archetype, 1991: 131; González-Alonso, Enriqueta. *Tratado del dorado, plateado y su policromía. Tecnología, conservación y restauración*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 1997: 127.

33. Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 22 y 44.

panes terminados con el uso de pinzas y los asienta sobre un libro; así como en documentación escrita datada en siglos más modernos³⁴.

2.2. Láminas de oropel

Las láminas de oropel consistían en finas láminas de latón cuyo color dorado las hacía semejantes a los panes de oro, aunque resultaban mucho más económicas y de ahí lo difundido de su uso. En época medieval, el latón se hizo mezclando calamina (atutía, carbonato de cinc) constituida por minerales oxidados de cinc (smithsonita) con cobre, al que se decía que proporcionaba color³⁵. Calamina y cobre eran tostados juntos en un crisol calentado a fuego manso, lo que permitía eliminar el oxígeno de la calamina y liberar el cinc; después de muchas horas el vapor de cinc procedente del mineral se condensaba sobre el cobre. El nombre de este proceso es cimentación, aunque sería más propio definirlo como condensación; cuando se alcanzaba este punto, la temperatura era elevada durante un tiempo para obtener la mezcla de los dos, proceso en el cual el cobre se volvía amarillo, perdiendo su habitual tonalidad rojiza. Esta es la causa por la que el latón fue conocido como *cüivre jaune* en francés, *gelbkupfer* en alemán o *arambre amarillo* en castellano, nombre por el que aparece citado en el Lapidario y en el Libro de Astronomía de Alfonso X. Cualquier calamina no podía ser utilizada para hacer latón porque numerosos depósitos llevan asociado mineral de plomo y, si se usa calamina mezclada con plomo, éste pasa también al cobre durante el proceso de cimentación y produce un latón inutilizable para hacer plancha (debido a la insolubilidad de plomo en el latón, que se separa en forma de finos glóbulos que reducen la resistencia mecánica de la aleación, causando su fragmentación durante el mecanizado). Teófilo señala la necesidad de usar cobre libre de plomo, pero no comenta nada acerca de la calamina que solía ser el agente que lo introducía en la aleación³⁶.

El latón podía ser usado bajo la forma de lingote o barra, base que habitualmente se empleaba para fundir el metal y hacer obras mediante la técnica del moldeado; y también en plancha, porque era susceptible de ser trabajado en frío mediante martilleo y batido, al igual que el cobre o los metales preciosos. El rebatido se realizaba en fraguas similares a las de los caldereros y con un plantel de herramientas idéntico en el que destacaban, además de la propia fragua y fuelles que la alimentaban, instrumentos de percusión como cepos, yunque, machos y martillos; de sujeción

34. Amman, Jost; Sachs, Hans. *The Book of Trades (Ständebuch)*, ed. Benjamin A. Rifkin. Nueva York: Dover Publications, 1973: 28 (representación del uso de la pelonesa) y 40 (martilleo del molde y traslado de hojas al libro). En el inventario de bienes de un batihoja palentino del siglo XVIII se incluyen útiles característicos del oficio desde la Edad Media como moldes, soldadores (soldadas), cuatro banquillos para sacar libros de oro, 19 caíres de diferentes tamaños (18 de pino y uno de metal), once martillos para batir el oro, cuatro piedras de álamo negro donde se bate el oro, 90 telares “donde se ponen las telas para hacer los moldes”, 184 libros viejos “para echar oro”, 42 libros de a cien panes de oro batido o 22 de a cien panes de oro subido (Barrio, José Luis. “El inventario de los bienes de Dionisio Sánchez Escobar, un batidor de oro palentino en el Madrid de Felipe V (1746)”. *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses*, 76 (2005): 516).

35. Tanelli, Giuseppe; Benvenuti, Marco; Mascaro, Isabella. “Aspetti giacimentologici dei minerali estratti in età preindustriale”, *Archeologia delle Attività Estrattive e Metallurgiche*. Florencia: All’Insegna del Giglio, 1993: 275.

36. *Theophilus’ On Divers Arts...*: 140. En Jaén el latón se obtenía en crisoles que contenían una mezcla de cobre usado, calamina y carbón vegetal, calentados juntos en un horno cónico bajo tierra (Parejo, M^a Josefa; Tarifa, Adela. “La minería en el reino de Jaén a fines de la Edad Media”, *Actas de las I Jornadas sobre Minería y Tecnología en la Edad Media Peninsular*. Madrid: Hullera Vasco-Leonesa, 1996: 296).



como tenazas, tornillos y tijeras; de corte, azuelas, destrales y tajadores; y de fundición, crazas (crisoles) y cucharas (recipientes provistos de mango) de fundir, moldes y bloques³⁷.

Trabajado en plancha seguía un proceso que se iniciaba con el majado del metal, consistente en machacar y extender el lingote de cobre hasta obtener plancha del grosor deseado. A continuación se cortaban tiras de esta plancha, en patrones adecuados al tamaño del objeto que se quería elaborar, y eran sometidas a una labor de martilleo (rebatido) sobre el yunque u otros elementos de soporte para hacerles adquirir el grosor deseado. Aunque, como en el caso del oro, el martilleo debía ser aplicado con suma habilidad a fin de evitar que se abrieran grietas u orificios en la plancha y para lograr proporcionar a la misma un espesor uniforme, lo cierto es que para rebatir el latón no se documenta el uso de los moldes de telillas de tripa empleados para hacer pan de oro, pues quedaban siempre con un grosor algo superior al de aquéllos. La plancha solía ser tratada en caliente, estado en que era más maleable y pastosa, mediante el golpeado con machos o martillos de cabeza muy ancha y redondeada para posibilitar el batido de un máximo de superficie³⁸.

Mediante martilleo aplicado con precisión se obtenían láminas de latón de una delgadez extrema, llamadas de oropel, empleadas como los panes de oro y plata para sobredorar otras materias y que fueron particularmente utilizadas por los oropeleros para dorar las pieles; de hecho, el propio término oropel hace referencia a este uso principal de las láminas de latón. En cualquier caso, solían ser elaboradas igualmente por los propios batihojas, aunque posteriormente fueran asentadas sobre el cuero por los oropeleros; así se evidencia en el acuerdo suscrito, en noviembre de 1505, entre Luis de Rueda, oropelero vecindado en la cordobesa collación de Santa María, y Fernando de Córdoba, batihoja de la misma ciudad, para hacer una compañía en el oficio de oropeleros por tiempo de dos años, compañía en la que Luis de Rueda se comprometía a aportar 2920 mrs., las pieles necesarias para el trabajo “y otras cosas tocantes al oficio excepto las herramientas”, y Fernando de Córdoba otros 2920 mrs. en efectivo y las citadas herramientas, prometiendo además el primero no adquirir hoja de oro ni de plata salvo del dicho Fernando³⁹.

2.3. Tintas de oro y sus imitaciones

Las tintas metálicas de oro y sus imitaciones fueron también muy empleadas en los procesos de dorado, en este caso de forma particular para la iluminación de pergaminos y la escritura de letras doradas (*crisografía*). Según Stefanos Kroustallis, el proceso de preparación del oro para hacer tinta comenzaba, al igual que para las restantes labores, con su afinación para obtener la ley deseada mediante el uso de los procedimientos descritos en el primer apartado de este trabajo. A continuación, el oro era reducido a granalla, es decir, a la forma de polvo o granillos de reducida volumetría porque así se facilitaba su posterior incorporación en forma de tinta. Granar el oro era un proceso habitualmente empleado para elevar su ley antes de hacerlo barra o plancha pues, como hemos

37. Una buena descripción de las técnicas de trabajo sobre el cobre y sus aleaciones puede verse en: Pernot, Michel. “Archéoméallurgie de la transformation des alliages à base de cuivre”. *L’innovation technique au Moyen Age*, Patrice Beck, ed. Paris: Édition Errance, 1998: 123-126; y una relación de los instrumentos habitualmente usados por los caldereros en su trabajo en: Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba...*: 246-247.

38. El batido de láminas de estaño se describe en numerosos textos medievales (*Composiciones Lucenses*, *Mappae Clavicula*, Teófilo), y se doraban sumergiéndolas en alumbre y vinagre o cubriéndolas con azafrán y vinagre, mientras que el batido de láminas de oropel aparece reflejado en el Manuscrito de Bolonia (López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 229-233).

39. 1505.11.15. AHPCO. Protocolos Notariales de Córdoba, Legajo 14143P, mano 10, f. 24r.

indicado antes, si el metal no tenía una ley mínima de 18 o 20 quilates no se dejaba batir para hacer láminas o panes. Fue una operación realizada con frecuencia en las casas de moneda durante el proceso de preparación del oro que se iba a acuñar, y así se evidencia en los libros de registro de cecas de la Corona de Aragón como las de Barcelona e Iglesias, que recogen las compras de carbón o cubas para hacer granalla y la existencia de metales que se hicieron granar en la ceca antes de proceder a su aleación⁴⁰.

Francesco Pegolotti describe el método más utilizado en época medieval para granar el oro. Para comenzar se ponía sobre el fuego una vasija llena de agua; a continuación se tomaba un crisol y se fundía en su interior la cantidad de oro que se deseaba granar. Cuando el agua de la primera vasija estaba hirviendo, se extraía el oro fundido del crisol y se iba depositando en el agua hirviendo en pequeñas partes, hilo a hilo, “porque si lo metes todo a la vez el oro se amasaría todo junto en el vaso de agua y no se desgranaría”; una vez introducido en el recipiente poco a poco, el oro se desgranaba en el agua, muy menudo, en forma de pequeños botones, de forma que solo había que vaciar posteriormente el recipiente sobre una criba que dejara pasar el agua y retuviera el oro hecho granalla⁴¹. Una vez obtenido el polvo de oro, era necesario añadir cierta cantidad de sal, salnitro, mercurio o goma arábica para evitar la formación de grumos; la materia resultante se limpiaba mediante continuos lavados y se guardaba en polvo y cuando se quería emplear la tinta metálica simplemente se mezclaba con un aglutinante⁴². En la receta número 77 del Manuscrito de Lucca se indica que, para la preparación de la tinta dorada, había en primer lugar que limar el oro de buena ley, a continuación triturarlo en un mortero de piedra mezclado con vinagre, añadiendo sal cuando adquiría una tonalidad negra; y el mismo proceso es descrito en la receta 79, para luego diluirlo con una parte de oropimente y otra de zumo de celedonia⁴³.

En los recetarios medievales aparece de forma habitual la preparación de estos compuestos de imitación de la tinta de oro mediante el uso de materias minerales como azufre y oropimente. El oropimente (*auripigmentum*) era un pigmento amarillo cuyo uso en la iluminación de manuscritos se documenta en Occidente desde el siglo VIII⁴⁴. Aunque presentaba el inconveniente de su elevada toxicidad y de su incompatibilidad con buena parte de los pigmentos y colorantes más habitualmente usados en la iluminación, fue muy empleado⁴⁵. El manuscrito 9226 de la Biblioteca Nacional incluye una receta titulada “Para hacer letras de color de oro sin oro”, donde la tinta se obtiene mediante la mezcla de una onza de oropimente y una onza de cristal fino muy bien moli-

40. Córdoba, Ricardo. *Ciencia y técnica monetarias...*: 167 (n. 234).

41. Pegolotti, Francesco. *La pratica della mercatura...*: 331.

42. Kroustallis, Stefanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum*: materiales y técnicas de la iluminación medieval”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 41 (2011): 760-761; Kroustallis, Stefanos. “La escritura y sus materiales”. *El Soporte de la Lengua*. Logroño: Gobierno de La Rioja, 2008: 158.

43. Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro. Ricettari medievali d'arte e artigianato (secoli IX-XI). Codici di Lucca e Ivrea*. Nápoles: Liguori Editore, 2003: 111.

44. Eastaugh, Nicolas; Walsh, Valentine; Chaplin, Tracy; Siddall, Ruth. *Pigment Compendium: A Dictionary and Optical Microscopy of Historic Pigments*. Oxford (UK): Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2008: 291.

45. Kroustallis, Stefanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum...*”: 789. Its use has been recorded in medieval manuscripts such as the *Book of Kells* (Fuchs, Robert; Oltrogge, Doris. “Colour material and painting technique in the Book of Kells”. *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a conference at Trinity College, Dublin, September 6-9*, Felicity O'Mahony, ed. Brookfield: Scholar Press, 1994: 133-171).



do; destemplado a continuación con clara de huevo, que actúa de aglutinante, era posible escribir letras doradas⁴⁶.

Otras tintas doradas se preparaban mediante el uso de compuestos vegetales y animales, como el azafrán o la hiel⁴⁷. El uso de colorantes vegetales amarillos, como azafrán, gualda y, con menos frecuencia, celidonia aparece de forma igualmente frecuente en los recetarios medievales⁴⁸. El proceso de preparación del azafrán era muy sencillo: las flores de la planta se maceraban en agua, a veces un poco alcalinizada con cenizas y, luego, se destemplaba con clara de huevo. Según el Libro del Arte de Cennini era un buen color para el pergamino, aunque su color podía desvanecer tras una larga exposición al aire⁴⁹. Por su parte, la hiel es un líquido amarillento que segrega el hígado de varios animales; para poder ser usada en crisografía se trituraba y era mezclada con alguna sustancia blanca (arcilla blanca, yeso, cerusa) para darle más cuerpo a la tinta; la hiel más empleada fue la procedente de peces de gran tamaño, cabras y tortugas, entre otras especies animales⁵⁰.

Recetas castellanas conservadas en los manuscritos 9226 de la Biblioteca Nacional de España y II/1393 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real incluyen el uso del azafrán y de la hiel para la elaboración de estas tintas de imitación. La primera, denominada para hacer “Licor que parece color de oro, sin oro”, menciona la mezcla de una parte de jugo o polvo de flores de azafrán con una parte de oropimente y con hiel de cabra o de pescado; se deja fermentar en un vaso colocado al calor del estiércol durante algunos días y se obtiene una tinta de color dorado que la propia receta califica como “muy lindo”. La segunda se recoge bajo el encabezamiento “Para escribir que parezca oro” y dispone la mezcla de cerumen y azafrán, a partes iguales, con hiel de macho cabrío para acto seguido, como en la anterior receta, hacer fermentar la mezcla en un casco de huevo sobre ceniza caliente hasta que se espese, hecho lo cual se obtiene la tinta “y escribe, que es muy bueno y probado”⁵¹.

Estas recetas castellanas presentan gran similitud con otras procedentes del ámbito cultural italiano, como las números 80 y 134 del Manuscrito de Lucca; con algunas de las que se contienen en los manuscritos del Fondo Palatino de la Biblioteca Nacional de Florencia, que prescriben la elaboración de tintas doradas mediante el uso de materias minerales, oropimente principalmente, y vegetales, como azafrán, celidonia y resina, aglutinadas luego mediante el empleo de goma, hiel de tortuga y clara de huevo; o con las que se documentan en otros manuscritos técnicos europeos, como el *Mappae Clavicula* o el tratado de Heraclio⁵².

46. BNE. Ms. 9226, f. 33; citado en Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial en la España medieval*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba (Tesis Doctoral), 2013. (Disponible en <<http://helvia.uco.es/xmlui/handle/10396/8628?show=full>>).

47. Kroustallis afirma que el oro y la plata se empleaban como metales preciosos y como colores, razón por la cual estaba permitido el uso de cualquier materia con el color y el brillo metálico del oro para dorar sin oro (Kroustallis, Stephanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum...*”: 791).

48. Clarke, Mark. *Medieval Painters' Materials and Techniques...*: 186-87; Clarke, Mark. “Colours versus colorants in art history: evaluating lost manuscript yellows”, *Medieval Colours: between beauty and meaning*, eds. Maria Miranda, Maria Melo, Mark Clarke. *Revista de História da Arte*, 1 (2011): 139-151; Kroustallis, Stephanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum...*”: 789.

49. Kroustallis, Stephanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum...*”: 790-791.

50. Kroustallis, Stephanos. “La escritura y sus materiales”: 158.

51. BNE. Ms. 9226, f. 33; BPR. Ms. II/1393(6), f. 4r; citado en: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial...*: 371.

52. Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 113 y 150; Brunello, Francesco. *De Arti Illuminandi...*: 171; Pomaro, Gabriella. *I Ricettari del Fondo Palatino della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*. Milán: Giunta Regionale Toscana-Editrice Bibliografica, 1991: 117-118, por ejemplo Pal. 796, f. 10r; López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 242-244

Una última receta, extraída del manuscrito II/1393 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real, menciona una forma diferente de hacer “Doradura para pintar” mediante el uso de sustancias vegetales. Consiste en tomar tres libras de aceite de linaza y dos libras de resina de pino, y cocer cada materia de forma separada en una vasija al fuego, poniendo “en cada una un cañón de ansar y cuando la dicha materia quemare al cañón entonces está cocida”; luego se unen aceite y resina, y a cada libra de dicha mezcla se añaden dos onzas de acíbar cicotrí (de Socotora) rubio como aglutinante, moviendo hasta que se incorpora bien dentro al fuego, y es conservado después en una jarra⁵³.

2.4. Oro músico

La imitación más extendida de cuantas aparecen en los tratados y recetarios técnicos de fines de la Edad Media es la preparación de un sulfuro de estaño, especie de purpurina en polvo, que constituyó el sustitutivo más importante del oro para la iluminación de miniaturas y que fue conocido por el nombre de *aurum musicum* u oro musivo. Este pigmento era obtenido del disulfuro de estaño y, al igual que ocurría en el caso de las láminas de oropel, permitía la sustitución del caro y auténtico oro por una variedad cromática similar para escribir, pintar y dorar⁵⁴.

Sobre el origen del nombre existen diversas teorías y muchas dudas, aunque la mayor parte de los especialistas opinan, siguiendo a Milanesi, que este oro era llamado músico o musivo porque servía para dorar las teselas de los mosaicos⁵⁵. Su empleo en iluminación de manuscritos presentaba dos problemas; el primero que, al no estar hecho con auténtico oro, sino con sulfuro de estaño, la tonalidad no siempre se parecía exactamente a la de aquél, como podría esperarse, sino que arrojaba un color algo más oscuro; el segundo, que era muy inestable una vez aplicado y el propio Cennini recomendaba en su Libro del Arte que no fuera muy usado⁵⁶. Pero ello no impidió su extenso uso; de hecho, análisis de pigmentos efectuados sobre manuscritos alemanes del siglo XV han evidenciado la aplicación del oro musivo en numerosas miniaturas de la época, lo que prueba la relación existente entre las recetas contenidas en los manuscritos y la práctica de los talleres⁵⁷.

Entre las recetas castellanas consagradas a la preparación de esta materia destaca la n. 37 del manuscrito H490 de la Facultad de Medicina de Montpellier, titulada “Para hacer oro músico”. Recomienda prepararlo con una libra de estaño fundido y una libra de mercurio; a continuación,

53. BPR. Ms. II/1393, f. 10v; cit. Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial...*: 371.

54. Doerner, Max. *Los materiales de pintura y su empleo en el arte*. Barcelona: Reverte, 2005: 268; Matteini, Mauro; Moles, Arcangelo. *La química en la restauración*. San Sebastián: Nerea, 2008: 90-91.

55. Milanesi, Carlo. *Dell'Arte del vetro per mosaico. Tre trattatelli dei secoli XIV e XV*. Bologna, 1864: 133. Como *aurum musicum* aparece citado en las recetas medievales redactadas en latín. Solía afirmarse que la primera mención conocida se encuentra en una colección de recetas hebraicas escritas en 1262 en Portugal, el llamado manuscrito De Rossi, conservado con el número 945 en la Biblioteca Palatina de Parma (Blondheim, David. “An Old Portuguese Work on Manuscript Illumination”. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 19 (1968): 97-135; Abrahams, Harold. “A Thirteenth-Century Portuguese Work on Manuscript Illumination”. *Ambix*, 26 (1979): 93-99; pero la receta 48 del *Codex Matritensis*, datado en el siglo XII, indica ya la preparación de un compuesto para dorar similar al oro musivo, realizado a base de estaño y mercurio (Burnam, John M. *Recipes from Codex Matritensis A16 (ahora 19)*. Cincinnati: Cincinnati University Press, 1926: 20); Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 27.

56. Cennini, Cennino. *El Libro del Arte*, ed. Franco Brunello. Madrid: Akal, 1988: 159.

57. A partir del siglo XIV, las recetas sobre elaboración del oro musivo han sido documentadas en numerosos manuscritos de toda Europa, muchos de ellos germanos (Schiessl, Ulrich. “Musivgold. Eine pigmentgeschichtliche Skizze”. *Maltechnik Restauro*, 87/4 (1981): 219-229; Fuchs, Robert, Oltrogge, Doris. “Utilisation d'un livre de modèles pour la reconstitution de la peinture de manuscrits. Aspects historiques et physico-chimiques”, *Pigments et colorants de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age. Teinture, peinture, enluminure, études historiques et physico-chimiques*. Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique Éditions, 2002: 314-315).



se trituran juntas una libra de azufre y otra de sal amoniaco; el compuesto resultante de mezclar las cuatro materias se introduce en una redoma “de cuello largo” que se enloda con barro para taponar las juntas y se deja secar; a continuación, se pone sobre fuego de carbón por espacio de dos o más horas, “y hacerse ha como oro”; oro que, antes de ser utilizado, debía ser destemplado con goma arábica. El color amarillo obtenido al final del proceso se debe a la formación del sulfuro de estaño. El Manuscrito de Nápoles, *De Arte Illuminandi*; el *Libro de cómo se fazen as cores* (receta “Para fazer o oro de musico con que escrevas”); el *Liber de coloribus iluminatorum*, manuscrito Sloane 1754 (f. 213, “Ad aurum musicum faciendum”); el tercer tratado publicado por Gaetano Milanesi en su obra *Dell’Arte del Vetro* (receta de 1443, “A fare purpurino overo oro musico”); el capítulo 159 del *Libro del Arte* de Cennini; las recetas 141 a 145 incluidas en el capítulo sexto del *Manuscrito de Bologna*, editado por Mary Merrifield; o algunas de las contenidas en los manuscritos del Fondo Palatino de la Biblioteca Nacional de Florencia (796, 811, 851, 866, 934, 1072) incluyen recetas idénticas a la castellana del manuscrito H490 para la preparación del oro musivo, recetas que en muchos casos definen esta preparación como purpurina⁵⁸.

Dos recetas castellanas pertenecientes al manuscrito II/1393 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid mencionan la elaboración de tintas para dorar de naturaleza bastante similar a la del oro músico, pero donde el estaño es sustituido por materias como el latón y el cardenillo. En la primera de ellas, se mezclan dos onzas de latón con una de azufre y una de mercurio (azogue), se ponen al fuego en el interior de una vasija por espacio de cuatro horas y antes de emplear la tinta debe ser destemplada con vino blanco diluido en agua gomada; en la segunda se mezclan, en el interior de una caldera de cobre, una onza de cardenillo, una de azufre y dos de vinagre blanco, se pone al fuego hasta que mengüe un tercio de la mezcla y se deja enfriar, para añadirle antes de ser usada un poco de azafrán⁵⁹.

3. La aplicación del Dorado

Como norma general, antes de dorar cualquier material la superficie de contacto debía ser tratada mediante algún compuesto que sirviera para el posterior asiento del oro. Dichos compuestos contemplan el uso de una enorme variedad de sustancias y formas de aplicación, según fuera el soporte de base, ya que para dorar pergamino se usan unos asientos de materias distintas a las empleadas para el dorado de metales y maderas. En cualquier caso, lo que tienen en común la aplicación de estos asientos o tratamientos previos es el estar destinados a la consecución de un triple objetivo: delimitar con color la zona a dorar, procurar un mejor y más resistente asentamiento del oro (ya fuera éste aplicado posteriormente bajo la forma de lámina, tinta o polvo) y posibilitar

58. Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 26-27 y 45-46. Todas estas recetas incluyen el uso de estaño, mercurio (argento vivo), azufre y sal amoniaco, en una mezcla incorporada al fuego y destemplada con goma arábica o clara de huevo (Brunello, Francesco. *De Arte Illuminandi*...: 57-59; Thompson, Daniel. “Liber de Coloribus Illuminatorum sive Pictorum from Sloane Manuscript n° 1754”. *Speculum*, 1 (1926): 280-307; Thompson, Daniel. *An anonymous fourteenth-century treatise: De Arte Illuminandi*, New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1933: 37; Cennini, Cennino. *El Libro del Arte*: 180; Manuscript of Bologna, cap. 141-145 y 168, (*Original Treatises dating from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Centuries on the Arts of Painting*, ed. Mary Merrifield. Nueva York: Dover, 1967: 458-477); Pomaro, Gabriella. *I Ricettari*: 100-102 y 118). Teófilo incluye en el cap. 30 del Libro I como decorar con estaño imitando el oro; se toma estaño, se tritura muy fino y se aplica como si fuera oro, destemplado con goma, luego se bruñe con diente y después se toma azafrán del que se usa para teñir seda y con él se deja cubierto el estaño durante un día (*Theophilus’ On Divers Arts*...: 37). También: González-Alonso, Enriqueta. *Tratado del dorado*...: 138-139; López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado*...: 249-251.

59. BPR. Ms. II/1393, fol. 5r: citado en: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial*...: 370-371.

un bruído de mayor perfección⁶⁰. A partir de ese primer tratamiento, el oro solía ser adosado a la materia de base mediante la aplicación de calor, porque el fuego servía para provocar las reacciones químicas de los materiales aplicados que favorecían la posterior fijación y estabilidad del dorado.

3.1. Sobre pergamino

Para aplicar los panes y tintas de oro sobre un soporte escritorio se comenzaba por la elaboración de la llamada *sisa*, base o soporte que servía para garantizar la adhesión del metal al pergamino. La *sisa* debía tener buena capacidad adhesiva y, por tanto, la materia de base usada para su composición debía quedar reducida a una granulometría finísima, motivo por el cual se utilizaban con frecuencia minerales como yeso, albayalde, creta o bol armenio. Puesto que la *sisa* no debía encrepsarse con el tiempo, alterando o rasgando el oro asentado, solían añadirse sustancias plásticas coagilantes como goma arábica, cola de pescado, cola de piel, pez o resina; y aunque el adhesivo que con más frecuencia aparece en los tratados medievales de tecnología artística es la clara de huevo, encontramos también ampliamente documentado el uso de las gomas arábica y de ciruelo y el de colas proteínicas (de pescado o de piel) muy recomendadas cuando el oro se aplicaba en polvo. También solían ser añadidas sustancias de carácter suavizante, como azúcar, miel, leche de higuera, vinagre o cerumen del oído, todas ellas perfectamente tamizadas y libres de impurezas; azúcar, miel y leche de higuera aportaban flexibilidad al aglutinante y hacían la película pictórica más resistente debido al látex que contienen; a las colas y azúcares se añadía el vinagre para evitar su gelificación. La *sisa* podía ser coloreada con sustancias amarillentas o anaranjadas para hacer más cálido el tono del oro con el fin de impedir que si la hoja de oro se adelgazaba mucho y quedaba traslúcida o un poco rota se viera el fondo claro del pergamino o el rojo del bol que servía de base; de ahí que resultara habitual colorear la mezcla con extracto de azafrán a fin de que su fuerte color amarillo se confundiera con el de la superficie dorada⁶¹.

Diversas recetas castellanas tratan sobre la preparación de la *sisa*, ofreciendo modalidades de realización muy variadas. La número 38 del manuscrito H490 de la Facultad de Medicina de Montpellier recomienda emplear en su preparación dos partes de yeso, una de bol armenio y una de azúcar, mezcla que permanecerá incorporada durante veinticuatro horas en agua con cola de pez o de piel, para a continuación añadir azafrán y dejarla secar; la número 39 del mismo manuscrito menciona el empleo de yeso (en cantidad similar al tamaño de un huevo), bol (como una nuez), azafrán (tres hebras) y “acibar cicotrí” (jugo extraído del aloe sucotrina, así llamado por proceder de la isla africana de Socotora, de cuyas hojas se obtenía un jugo resinoso muy amargo que, en este caso, hace como tal resina la función coagilante que cumple la cola de pez en la anterior y de la que se añade “tanto como un garbanzo pequeño”); en ambos casos la *sisa*, aparejada para su uso,

60. González-Alonso, Enriqueta. *Tratado del Dorado...*: 155.

61. Sobre el uso de materias aglutinantes en la iluminación de manuscritos: Kroustallis, Stephanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum*”: 791-794; sobre materiales y procesos de elaboración y aplicación de la *sisa*: Gilissen, Léon. “L’or en enluminure”. *Pigments et colorants de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Age...*: 203-204; Borradaile, Viola; Borradaile, Rosamund. *The Strasburg Manuscript. A Medieval Painters’ handbook*. London: Alec Tiranti, 1966: 59; Brunello, Francesco. *De Arte illuminandi...*: 100-103; Blondheim, David. *Livro de como se fazen as côres*. Nueva York: Columbia University Press, 1930: 80; Clarke, Mark. *Medieval Painters’ Materials and Techniques...*: 117; López, Eva, *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 301-305.



era conservada bajo la forma de “pildorillas” que habían de ser destempladas con clara de huevo o con agua gomada cuando se querían utilizar⁶².

Entre los textos europeos que recogen recetas similares a éstas sobre la preparación de la sisa podemos citar el Manuscrito de Nápoles, donde la titulada “Del yeso para fijar el oro sobre el pergamino” recomienda la mezcla de “yeso cocido y limpio que usan los pintores para fijar el oro sobre las telas, es decir del más sutil que puedas, y una cuarta parte de óptimo bol armenio, muélelo sobre una piedra de pórfido con agua de cola o de pergamino y añades tanta miel como juzgues conveniente”; el Libro del Arte de Cennino Cennini, en cuyas recetas 157 y 158 la sisa se obtiene mediante la mezcla de yeso, albayalde, bol y azúcar, para ser luego destemplada con clara de huevo; el Manuscrito de Bolonia, donde la receta 160 prescribe su elaboración con yeso, bol, cola, azúcar y cerumen; o los manuscritos del Fondo Palatino de la Biblioteca Nacional de Florencia (por ejemplo, los números 934 y 1001) donde aparecen compuestos de yeso, bol, albayalde y miel, destemplados con clara de huevo y eventualmente con adición de azafrán⁶³.

Para aplicar la sisa sobre el pergamino que se iba a dorar, primero se limpiaba y alisaba perfectamente la superficie para a continuación extender sobre ella la sisa. La receta 39 del manuscrito H490 indica, sobre el acondicionamiento de la superficie del pergamino en que se va a asentar la sisa, que si estaba excesivamente grasa había que frotarla fuertemente con una miga de pan a fin de que la grasa no impidiera la correcta adhesión de la sisa. Para extenderla, solía aplicarse diluida en vinagre y se dejaba secar antes de asentar la lámina. Una de las recetas del ms. 9226 de la Biblioteca Nacional de España indica que la sisa guardada había de ser cocida en vinagre antes de ser aplicada y, una vez extendida, había que dejarla secar asentar el oro sobre ella, especificando que si no *mordía* lo suficiente para fijar el oro debía ser tratada con vaho de la boca. Una vez extendida, había que dejarla completamente lisa, para lo cual la mayor parte de las recetas recomienda raer la sisa con un cuchillo, dejándola muy fina; la número 38 del manuscrito H490 de Montpellier habla de aplicar la sisa sobre las letras o superficies que se quieren dorar y dejarla secar, para acto seguido raerla con un cuchillo hasta que quede bien plana, bruñirla y asentar el oro. La número 39 recomienda allanar la sisa con cuchillo tras asentarla en el pergamino. Para finalizar el tratamiento acondicionador del pergamino, la sisa era pulida mediante el uso de algún tipo de materia con la que se frotaba, operación que tenía como objetivo que el oro asentado no quedase rugoso; las recetas del manuscrito 9226 indican que, tras aplicarla, se debía pulir con algodón, “cuando esté seco límpialo con un algodón” y “cúbrela ligeramente con algodón restregándolo y quitarse ha lo que no estuviere asentado”⁶⁴.

Según Stefanos Kroustallis, para aplicar el oro sobre la sisa existían dos sistemas: en la manera húmeda, el pergamino se dejaba secar primero, luego se humidificaba con un aglutinante y acto seguido se aplicaba el oro; en la manera seca, se añadían miel o azúcar, que dejaban la superficie

62. Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 29-30 y 46.

63. Brunello, Francesco. *De Arte Illuminandi...*: 83-85 y 168-169; Cennini, Cennino. *El Libro del Arte...*: 179-180, caps. 157 and 158; Cennini, Cennino. *El Libro del Arte...*: 179-180, caps. 157 y 158; Manuscrito de Bolonia, cap. 160; Merrifield, Mary, ed. *Original Treatises...*: 466; Pomaro, Gabriella. *I Ricettari...*: 120-122.

64. BNE. Ms. 9226, f. 34, 38 and 41; citado en: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial...*: 368-369; Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un recetario técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 29-30. Cennini dice que después de asentada, la sisa se rae con la punta de un cuchillo para limpiar el yeso (Cennini, Cennino. *El Libro del Arte...*: 180, cap. 158). Gilissen afirma que los instrumentos empleados para pulir la sisa eran los mismos que se utilizaban para el bruñido del oro, dientes de lobo o perro, ágatas o hematites, y este pulido confería ya a la iluminación un brillo que el oro no hacía sino aumentar (Gilissen, León. “L’or en enluminure...”: 204).

pegajosa, y el oro se fijaba por presión. Además, cuando el iluminador procedía a aplicar el oro, bajo la forma de panes o tinta, podía o no hacer uso de la sisa elaborada con los materiales que hemos descrito; en numerosas ocasiones el oro se aplicaba sobre el pergamino de forma más directa, en cuyo caso el aglutinante utilizado solía ser cola de pescado o de ajo (mezclada con goma arábica) o clara de huevo, muchas veces teñido de amarillo (con azafrán) o de rojo (con bermellón) para evitar que se diferenciara del tono del oro⁶⁵. Algunas de las recetas castellanas incluidas en el manuscrito 9226 de la Biblioteca Nacional de España mencionan la preparación del asiento usando como material de base, en lugar de materias minerales como yeso o bol, sustancias vegetales, como jugo de ajo, leche de lechuga o de higuera. En concreto, una de las recetas recomienda pelar y majar tres cabezas de ajos hasta obtener “çumo dellas lo más que pudieres”, añadir un poco de azafrán y frotar con esa mezcla las partes del pergamino destinadas a recibir el dorado para, una vez seca, calentar las letras al fuego y asentar la hoja de oro; otra menciona el uso de leche de lechugas amargas, leche de higuera o agua de goma, mezcladas con acíbar (aglutinante) y azúcar piedra (suavizante), compuesto que se incorporaba al fuego hasta que se reducía a la mitad y se dejaba secar sobre el pergamino antes de asentar el oro⁶⁶.

Incluso otras recetas hispanas, incluidas tanto en ese manuscrito 9226 de la Biblioteca Nacional como en el II/1393 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real, resultan aun más simples puesto que en ellas se prescinde del uso de toda materia de base para emplear solamente sustancias aglutinantes y suavizantes. En la primera de las recetas del manuscrito 9226, titulada “Para pegar el oro en panes”, se prescribe la mezcla a partes iguales de goma arábica y sal amoniaco, bien molida y destemplada con vinagre, “y escribe con ello lo que hubiere de ser dorado y antes que se seque echa el oro encima”; en la segunda, titulada “Para hacer la sisa para letras de oro”, se mezclan sal amoniaco (una avellana), hiel (medio garbanzo), azúcar y miel, el compuesto se echa en una escudilla vidriada para destempearlo con vinagre y se cuece “hasta que tenga el mordiente necesario”, se cuela por cedazo o paño y está listo para ser usado. En cuanto a las incluidas en el manuscrito II/1393, bajo el título de “Escribir con oro o plata”, la primera recomienda la aplicación sobre el pergamino de una mezcla de goma diluida en agua y miel “y des que seco va échalo y asienta el oro en panecillos”, y la segunda la simple aplicación de azúcar cande⁶⁷.

Las recetas incluidas en el manuscrito H490 de la Facultad de Medicina de Montpellier y en el II/1393 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real indican que el oro, después de asentado, era bruñido con un bruñidor hecho de diente de diversos animales o de piedras (ágatas, hematites) reparando con cerumen las quebraduras que se pudieran producir⁶⁸. El bruñido de la lámina de oro se aplicaba con carácter general por los iluminadores, que solían comenzar por los bordes, seguía por las zonas centrales y debía ser reiterado con fuerza⁶⁹.

65. Kroustallis, Stephanos. “*Quomodo decoratur pictura librorum...*”: 795; Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 151.

66. BNE. Ms. 9226, f. 34 and 126; citado en: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 368-369. Recetas de elaboración de la sisa mediante el uso de jugo de ajo destemplado con goma aparecen en textos como el *Composiciones Lucenses* y el *El Libro del Arte* de Cennini (citado en: Brunello, Francesco. *De Arti Illuminandi...*: 167); el jugo de ajo contiene un aceite esencial formado prevalentemente por sulfuros orgánicos, disulfuro y trisulfuro de alilo, que posee una elevada capacidad adhesiva (Gañán, Constantino. *Técnicas y evolución de la imaginaria...*: 131).

67. BNE. Ms. 9226, ff. 38 and 41; BPR. Ms. II/1393, f. 5r; citado en: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 368-369.

68. BPR. Ms. II/1393, f. 5; citado en: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetas de técnica industrial...*: 368-369; Córdoba, Ricardo. “Un manuscrito técnico castellano del siglo XV...”: 29.

69. Gillissen, León. “L’or en enluminure...”: 206.



3.2. Sobre piel

Una de las fórmulas más habitualmente utilizada para dorar la superficie de una piel consistía en decorarla mediante el uso de láminas de oropel. Para asentar las hojas de estaño dorado sobre la piel se comenzaba por granearla; granear o *granir* el cuero consistía en llenar su superficie de puntos muy espesos con un graneador (instrumento achaflanado rematado en multitud de puntas), para a continuación grabar al humo⁷⁰. Sobre esta superficie trabajada se asentaban los panes de oropel, de los que las propias ordenanzas afirman que era frecuente que se rasgasen durante el proceso, y por último se bruñían mediante el uso de piedras. En 1501 Diego de Jaén, batidor de oro, vecino de la cordobesa collación de Santa María, acordaba con el guadamacilero Juan de Palencia, entregarle el sábado de cada semana tres docenas de piezas de oropel doradas, a precio cada docena de 224 mrs. “buenas de dar y de tomar para guadameciles, doradas de dos manos”; el batidor se comprometía igualmente a entregar en el plazo diez días 10 libras de barniz fino de grasa y otras 10 de resina, materias mediante las que se conseguía el abrillantamiento de la lámina de oropel⁷¹.

Otra modalidad diferente consistía en frotar previamente la superficie de la piel mediante un compuesto integrado por sustancias coaligantes y adhesivas que facilitaba la posterior aplicación del oro en lámina. De esta técnica no conocemos ninguna receta incluida en manuscritos hispanos, pero sí varias procedentes del ámbito italiano que muestran un *know-how* muy parecido. Heraclio incluye una receta de ocre aglutinado con cola y clara de huevo, luego bruñido; el *Mappae Clavicula* prescribe que la piel se frote, se aplique clara de huevo y goma de tragacanto, y luego los panes se barnicen con aceite de linaza, cola y azafrán; Audemar prescribe la aplicación sobre la piel de un mordiente hecho con goma arábiga, cola de ciruelo y clara de huevo antes de aplicar la lámina; el Manuscrito de Lucca, en su receta número 81, recomienda que para dorar una piel ésta sea raspada previamente con piedra pómez, se lave con agua templada y, una vez seca, se aplique clara de huevo o goma con una esponja antes de asentar la hoja de oro; por su parte, la receta número 111 del mismo texto aconseja, para dorar la piel mediante la aplicación de oro en hojas, frotar previamente la superficie con aceite de lino y azafrán. En la misma línea, el ms. 1001 del Fondo Palatino de la Biblioteca Nacional de Florencia habla de frotar la piel con una mezcla de aceite de linaza, resina de pino, áloe sucotrina e incienso amarillo; luego se extiende sobre la piel con la mano y sobre ella se colocan las hojas, que serán bruñidas con piedra para concluir la operación de dorado, repitiendo la misma en cuatro o cinco ocasiones⁷².

70. Las ordenanzas de guadamecileros de Córdoba, de 1543, establecían que para acceder a la maestría los oficiales debían saber granear una pieza de guadamecil; y en las de 1528 se estipulaba que la piel usada para asentar sobre ella láminas de plata no fuera demasiado delgada, porque al granear se horadaba y quedaba inservible (Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba...*: 215).

71. 1501.s.d., AHPC. PNCo, Legajo 14140P, mano 7, f. 20r. En otro contrato, Alfonso de Jaén, oropelero, vecino también en Santa María, acordaba la entrega al guadamacilero Pedro de Soria, en un plazo de veinte días, de 20 docenas de oropel dorado bueno y bien acabado por precio de 1000 mrs., y que Pedro de Soria le diera la corambre para asentar las dichas 20 docenas de oropel (1502.07.28, AHPC. PNCo, Legajo 14141P, Cuaderno 22, f. 10v).

72. Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 113 and 135; Pomaro, Gabriella. *I Ricettari...*: 143-144; López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 301-303.



3.3. Sobre metal

Como hemos comentado al inicio de este apartado, todas las materias destinadas a llevar una cubierta sobredorada debían ser tratadas previamente mediante la aplicación de sustancias que sirvieran de asiento al oro. También fue así en el caso de los objetos metálicos elaborados con hierro o aleaciones de cobre, pues su dorado constituía, en cierto modo, una especie de soldadura entre metales, ya que la superficie de contacto entre ambos estaba constituida precisamente por el metal, y por eso las recetas técnicas destinadas al dorado del metal conectan de cerca con aquellas otras dedicadas a la descripción de los procedimientos de soldadura⁷³. La idea general que preside ambos procesos es la de que, antes de efectuar la unión, resulta absolutamente necesario asegurarse de que el oro agarrará de forma adecuada sobre la superficie del metal a dorar o, por emplear el léxico de los soldadores, de que el metal de aportación (oro) *mojará* el metal de base (hierro, cobre, bronce, etc.); eso solo puede ocurrir cuando las superficies de ambos están completamente limpias, pues no debe existir sustancia alguna entre ellos para que la estructura de ambos se una. Si las superficies están limpias, el dorado mojará el metal y subirá hasta llenar los espacios entre las superficies contiguas, pero si no lo están no ocurrirá la operación del mojado y no se llenará la unión. Como quiera que casi todos los metales se oxidan con la simple exposición al aire, y hasta la capa más delgada de óxido impide que la unión moje el metal, resulta imprescindible el uso, junto con el metal de aportación, de un compuesto integrado por sustancias fundentes que sirva para aislar la superficie del contacto del aire, disolver y eliminar los óxidos que puedan formarse y favorecer el mojado del material base por el oro de aportación, consiguiendo que éste pueda fluir y se distribuya en la unión⁷⁴.

Históricamente los fundentes y reductores más utilizados, porque aíslan el metal de la acción del oxígeno con mayor eficacia, han sido resinas y sales metálicas como el bórax y los fluoruros (ácidos alcalinos). Entre las sustancias empleadas con esta finalidad en la metalurgia antigua y medieval destacan algunas materias resinosas y grasas de origen vegetal, como pez, almáciga y aceite; pero, sobre todo, fundentes minerales como bórax, alumbre, vitriolo, salnitro y sal amoniaco, ampliamente utilizados en el tratamiento del oro, estaño, cobre y otros metales. El uso del bórax como fundente está bien documentado en la metalurgia pues aplicado sobre las piezas a soldar, y con el auxilio del calor, se funde antes que el metal de aportación y posibilita que éste, gracias a su actuación previa, se adhiere al metal de base en cuanto se pone incandescente; Anna-Catherine Robert-Haughlustaine destaca su uso en la soldadura metálica como un progreso fundamental de la metalurgia medieval⁷⁵.

Según testimonian las ordenanzas municipales y los contratos notariales de la Córdoba del siglo XV, el primer paso para asentar los panes de oro sobre un objeto metálico (de base hierro, cobre,

73. Sobre las recetas de soldadura documentadas en recetarios del período: Córdoba, Ricardo. "Técnicas de soldadura de metales según recetarios italianos de los siglos XV y XVI", *Estudios en homenaje al Profesor Emilio Cabrera*. Córdoba: UcoPress, 2015: 139-150.

74. Giachino, Joseph W.; Weeks, William. *Teoría y Práctica de la soldadura*. Barcelona: Reverte, 1995; Jeffus, Larry. *Soldadura. Principios y aplicaciones*. Madrid: Paraninfo, 2008.

75. Lipinsky, Angelo. *Oro, argento, gemme e smalti. Tecnologia delle arti dalle origini alla fine del Medioevo*. Florencia: Olschki, 1975: 223; Robert-Haughlustaine, Anna Catherine, "Le soudage de l'or: études à partir des textes antiques et médiévaux". *Outils et ateliers d'orfèvres des temps anciens*, ed. Christiane Eluère. Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Musée des Antiquités Nationales, 1993: 113-114 y notas 45-47, donde señala su aparición en recetas medievales desde el *Liber Sacerdotum* al manual de Teófilo o al de Benvenuto Cellini. Ver también: Sánchez, Julio. *De minería, metalurgia y comercio de metales*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1989: 163.



latón, bronce) era limar la superficie de la pieza a dorar, pues cualquier rebaba o aspereza podía romper el pan u ocasionar su mala colocación. Una vez acondicionada la base, se unían a ella los panes al calor rojo por presión y, a continuación, se completaba el proceso bruñendo los panes mediante el uso del bruñidor, especie de barra terminada en punta de ágata o hematites que se pasaba con fuerza sobre su superficie⁷⁶. La operación del bruñido podía ser la denominada en la documentación castellana del siglo XV *añirar*, que dotaba al objeto de su brillo definitivo y conseguía que la lámina quedase perfectamente asentada; curiosamente, esta operación del añirado, que las ordenanzas de Sevilla del siglo XVII recomiendan efectuar con buen *añir* (añil), y que ha dado lugar a la frecuente aparición en los inventarios de objetos dorados y *añirados*, no se encuentra mencionada en los recetarios de la época⁷⁷.

Una de las recetas incluidas en el manuscrito 2019 de la Biblioteca Nacional de España detalla el procedimiento utilizado para dorar objetos de hierro mediante aplicación del pan de oro al calor rojo por presión, en un proceso similar al que acabamos de describir. En primer lugar, recomienda limpiar y alisar bien la pieza de hierro que se pretende dorar, primero con una lima y luego “con el punzón de acero esquinado que llaman rascador”; a continuación el metal era colocado sobre el fuego, cubierto con ascuas, y cuando alcanzaba el rojo (“como pavonado”), se retiraba y limpiaba, aplicándole un primer bruñido con piedra de bruñir; devuelto al fuego y puesto de nuevo al rojo, se asentaban los panes de oro sobre la superficie frotando con la piedra de bruñir; sacado del fuego, el metal se dejaba enfriar, se limpiaba de la ceniza con un paño y de nuevo se bruñía con piedra para obtener el brillo deseado; “y para que quede mejor dorado se suele dorar dos o tres veces, y si se levantara algo el oro tórname de pegar otro poco y brúñelo”. Esta era la técnica más simple, la de incorporación de la lámina de oro por simple calentamiento, y la más próxima de las utilizadas para el dorado de objetos de metal a una auténtica soldadura metálica⁷⁸.

Una segunda modalidad de dorar los objetos metálicos, tan habitualmente empleada como la anterior o quizás más, fue mediante la técnica de amalgama, es decir, mediante aplicación de oro y mercurio mezclados en uno que luego eran calentados con la finalidad de conseguir la volatilización del mercurio y la permanencia del oro puro sobre la superficie dorada⁷⁹. Esta operación solía constar de una doble fase: en primer término, el objeto que se pretendía dorar solía ser sumergido en la mezcla que muchos manuscritos denominan “agua de dorar”, donde la superficie del hierro,

76. Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba...*: 259-260. Una piedra de dorar (bruñidor) y un plumazón (pe-lones) aparecen citados entre los útiles con los que el cuchillero cordobés Juan Rodríguez de Soria doraba mangos de cuchillos (1507.03.22, AHPC. PNCo, Legajo 11827P, f. 238r).

77. La cita de objetos de metal añirados y dorados es muy frecuente en las relaciones de bienes del siglo XV. Un buen ejemplo de este tipo de piezas lo tenemos en el contrato firmado, en septiembre de 1494, por Martín Ruiz, cintero cordobés, vecino en la collación de San Nicolás de la Axerquía, con Lope de Valpuesta, vecino de Toledo, al que acuerda vender 100.000 mrs. de mercancía “de jaces de la ginetá y otras obras de cuero de su oficio de cintero”, entre las que se citan unas estriberas plateadas y añiradas, apreciadas en 305 mrs., y unos frenillos dorados y añirados, en 95 mrs. El acuerdo consistía en hacer entrega al citado mercader, en Toledo y a mediados del mes de octubre siguiente, de 80.000 mrs. en piezas de metal plateado y dorado y 20.000 mrs. en riendas, arcones, cinchas y cosas de cuero del oficio (1494.09.02, AHPC. PNCo, Legajo 13670P, f. 932v).

78. BNE. Ms. 2019, f. 61r: citado en: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial...*: 143.

79. El uso del dorado al fuego se documenta en la Península Ibérica desde la segunda mitad del I Milenio a.C. Para una discusión sobre los orígenes y el proceso de difusión de esta técnica en la protohistoria: Martiñón-Torres, Marcos; Ladra, Lois. “Orígenes del dorado por amalgama. Aportaciones desde la orfebrería protohistórica del noroeste de la Península Ibérica”. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 68 (2011): 187-198, que aporta nuevos datos a las anteriores reflexiones de Lins, Andrew; Oddy, Andrew. “The Origins of mercury Gilding”. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 2 (1975): 365-373, y Oddy, Andrew. “A history of Gilding with particular reference to statuary”, *Gilded Metals: history, technology and conservation*, Terry Drayman-Weisser, ed. London: Archetype, 2000: 1-19.

cobre o cualquier otro metal de base era acondicionada para fijar mejor el oro de aportación; a continuación, se aplicaba la mezcla de oro y mercurio para finalizar el proceso, una vez evaporado el mercurio al calor, bruñendo el oro. Algunas recetas italianas mencionan las sustancias empleadas como ingredientes de este agua de dorar, que cumplía la misma función que la sisa o asiento para el dorado del pergamino, y entre ellas destacan minerales como oropimente, cardenillo o verdete (acetato de cobre), vitriolo, alumbre, tártaro, salitre y sal amoniaco, a veces con adición de vinagre⁸⁰.

Una de las recetas incluida en el manuscrito 2019 de la Biblioteca Nacional de España describe esta técnica bajo el encabezamiento “Dorar de molido”; comienza afirmando que el procedimiento es utilizado “para dorar imágenes y cosas de figuras menudas, que no se pueden bien limpiar con los hierros ni bruñir con la dicha piedra”, y que resulta más costoso que el dorado al calor rojo “porque lleva el doble de oro”, pero también más durable. La receta recomienda calentar un poco la pieza que se pretende dorar y ponerla en una escudilla con un poco de agua de dorar “y no la dejes allí mucho, porque se deshará”; una vez sacada y limpia, se echa en otra vasija el mercurio (azogue), “en el cual revolverás la pieza que se ha de dorar dándole muy bien con el dedo hasta que tome el azogue y quede como plateada”; después se pone al fuego “donde se consume el azogue y queda de su color de oro” y, una vez enfriada, se bruñe⁸¹. Benvenuto Cellini incluye en su obra una receta pareja sobre el dorado mediante amalgama de mercurio, en la que se parte de unos panes de oro que serán, primeramente, golpeados hasta lograr el grosor de una hoja de escribir, hecho lo cual el oro se cortará y troceará en pequeños fragmentos; seguidamente se introducirá en un crisol nuevo y previamente calentado junto al azogue, cada uno en la proporción que se acostumbra, la octava parte de oro sobre ocho partes de azogue, y se dejará hasta que el oro se deshaga y se mezcle con el mercurio. Una vez la mixtura esté perfectamente hecha se retirará el crisol del fuego y se echará en un recipiente con agua limpia. Mientras el objeto a dorar se pulirá perfectamente y una vez pulido se tomará la pieza y con un pincel u otro instrumento se aplicará sobre su superficie la mezcla de mercurio y oro, permaneciendo al fuego hasta que el mercurio se volatilice⁸².

En el contexto europeo son numerosas las recetas que se refieren a este método, de uso tan frecuente entre los doradores medievales, especificando al mismo tiempo el empleo de las aguas de dorar o fundentes minerales utilizados para fijar mejor las láminas de oro. La número 133 del Manuscrito de Lucca aconseja tomar las hojas de oro, añadir mercurio y calentar la mezcla de forma que el mercurio se volatilice quedando el oro pegado al recipiente, aclarando que el mismo procedimiento vale para el hierro pero tratando previamente su superficie con alumbre, vitriolo y un poco de sal y vinagre. El mismo tratado recoge otra receta sobre cómo dorar el hierro que recomienda aplicar previamente sobre la superficie del objeto una mezcla de vitriolo, alumbre, sal y goma de tragacanto, mezcla que diluida en agua se deja hervir durante una hora y reposar antes

80. Entre las numerosas recetas procedentes del Fondo Palatino de la Biblioteca Nacional de Florencia que se hacen eco de estos compuestos podemos citar las incluidas en los mss. Pal. 885, f. 263, *Para hacer agua que dore el hierro y la espada*; Pal. 1021, f. 103r, *Hacer agua fuerte para dorar el hierro*; Pal. 915, f. 15r, mezcla alumbre de roca, vitriolo y salnitro; Pal. 869, f. 95r, donde se elabora mediante la incorporación de una onza de vitriolo, una onza de alumbre y media de salnitro, hervido todo en vino blanco; o mediante la mezcla de sal común, rasura (tártaro), alumbre de roca, sal amoniaco, salnitro y vitriolo romano; y Pal. 858, f. 58r, donde para dorar el hierro se mezclan ocho onzas de vitriolo con dos de alumbre y una de sal amoniaco, destemplado en vinagre (Pomaro Gabriella. *I Ricettari...*: 162-163 y 167).

81. BNE. Ms. 2019, f. 62r; citado en: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial...*: 141.

82. Cellini, Benvenuto. *Tratados de orfebrería escultura, dibujo y arquitectura*, ed. Fernando Checa. Barcelona: Akal, 1989: 140-142.



de ser aplicada sobre las partes del objeto destinadas a recibir el dorado para, una vez aclarada, proceder a la aplicación del oro y a su posterior bruñido. Recetas semejantes se recogen en los manuscritos del Fondo Palatino, como el Pal. 869, y reflejan la preparación de compuestos de las citadas sustancias (vitriolo, alumbre, salnitro, sal armoniaco, tártaro, diluidas en vinagre o vino) en los que se baña la pieza de hierro antes de ser puesta al fuego rojo; se aplica la amalgama de oro y mercurio y, tras concluir el proceso, se refriega con pie de liebre hasta obtener un perfecto bruñido. Por último, el Libro de Secretos de Isabella Cortese, datado igualmente en el siglo XVI, incluye una receta semejante sobre cómo se dora el hierro: se prepara el agua de dorar con alumbre, tártaro, cardenillo y sal, se introduce en ella el objeto de hierro previamente caldeado y durante un corto espacio de tiempo y a continuación se aplica la amalgama de oro y mercurio, que se expone al fuego hasta que se volatiliza el segundo y se obtiene la pieza dorada⁸³.

3.4. Sobre madera, hueso y tejido

A la hora de comentar la técnica empleada para la aplicación del dorado sobre un material como la madera, ya fuera bajo la forma de figuras o de retablos, nos encontramos con el mismo proceso técnico que en los materiales anteriores, la necesidad de realizar un tratamiento previo que permitiera la fijación del dorado; de hecho, el tratamiento aplicado sobre la madera recuerda mucho al utilizado para dorar el pergamino mediante sisa, porque los materiales más utilizados son yeso y bol, junto a sustancias coaligantes, adhesivas y suavizantes.

La primera de las técnicas que documentan los recetarios y tratados de la época es la denominada *Dorado al agua*. Se trata un procedimiento tradicional que consistía en preparar la superficie de manera previa con una base de yeso ligado con cola animal, sobre la que se aplican varias manos de bol molido muy fino y diluido en cola de pergamino o clara de huevo, para después pulimentar con un paño y humedecer las superficies destinadas a recibir el dorado a fin de que el aspecto final de la obra resultara muy brillante; a continuación, se procede a adherir las láminas de oro con agua y un adhesivo cuando la superficie está todavía húmeda; y una vez seco, el pan de oro se bruñe con piedra de ágata o hematites o con dientes de animales⁸⁴. Recetas de aplicación del dorado al agua sobre madera se recogen en numerosos textos técnicos de la Europa medieval, desde Pedro de San Audemar, que menciona el empleo de capas de yeso aglutinado con cola y clara de huevo, que se rasca con lija antes de asentar el oro y bruñirlo; o el Libro del Arte de Cennini, que detalla el sellado de la superficie con cola de pergamino y la aplicación de un primer sustrato de yeso grueso,

83. Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 149 y 103; BNCF. Ms. Pal. 869, f. 95r, una onza de vitriolo, una de alumbre, media de salnitro, hervido en vino blanco; y también mezcla de sal común, rasura, alumbre de roca, sal amoniaco, salnitro y vitriolo romano, con estos compuestos (Pomaro, Gabriella. *I Ricettari...*: 162-163); Lib. II, Cap. 59, *Para dorar hierro (I Secreti de la signora Isabella Cortese, ne' quali si contengono cose minerali, medicinali, arteficiose, e alchimiche, e molte dell'arte profumatoria, appartenenti a ogni gran signora; con altri bellissimi secreti aggiunti*, Venecia: Giouanni Bariletto, 1565: 53); citado en: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial...*: 160-163.

84. Este fue el procedimiento más utilizado, dado que las capas de yeso y bol aseguraban un mejor asiento del oro y permitían su bruñido, obteniéndose un acabado más brillante, de ahí que aparezca detallado en numerosos textos de la época (Teófilo, Cennini). Sobre sus principales rasgos se pueden consultar, entre otros muchos trabajos: López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 274-281; González-Alonso, Enriqueta. *Tratado del dorado...*: 156; Matteini, Mauro. *La Química en la restauración: los materiales del arte pictórico...*: 139; López, Eva; Dalmau, Consuelo. "Materiales y técnicas de dorado a través de las antiguas fuentes documentales". *PH. Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico*, 61 (2007): 110-129; Martínez, Sofía. "El dorado: técnicas, procedimientos y materiales". *Ars Longa: Cuadernos de Arte*, 11 (2002): 139-140.

un segundo de yeso fino y un último de bol⁸⁵. Las ordenanzas de pintores de Córdoba de 1493 detallan este procedimiento al referirse al dorado de los retablos, indicando que antes de asentar el oro se debe aplicar sobre su superficie la llamada *emprimadura*, efectuada a base de extender sobre la madera una capa de yeso que luego era raída e igualada mediante el uso de cuchillas de hierro, nunca con lija, de la misma forma que era raída la sisa en el pergamino. Una vez asentadas las láminas de metal eran bruñidas⁸⁶.

La segunda técnica es la que se conoce como *Dorado al óleo*, y aunque es similar a la anterior en lo que se refiere a la aplicación previa de una base para el dorado, se distingue de ella en que dicha preparación se realiza por lo general con cola y clara de huevo, o bien mediante aceite de linaza. Esta técnica fue menos valorada al no permitir el bruñido de los panes (sin la base de yeso o bol se rasgaría el oro) y resultar la obra menos brillante; por ese motivo, se usaron mordientes como ajo molido, minio, ocre o verdigris, para darle estabilidad al dorado, y adición de barnices al final del proceso sustitutivos del bruñido para obtener el color y brillo deseados (oropimente, alumbre, azafrán, hiel, mastique, azúcar, goma, resina de pino)⁸⁷. Una de las recetas del manuscrito 2019 de la Biblioteca Nacional de España recoge el proceso recomendado para dar color de bronce dorado a figuras de madera mediante la aplicación de barniz o pintura de oro en una doble fase: primero se aplican sobre la pieza sucesivas capas de *emprimadura* (la primera a base de cola suave, la segunda con aceite de linaza y la tercera con mezcla de negro y azarcón), en la que se mezclan las sustancias adhesivas con las suavizantes, para a continuación aplicar la purpurina⁸⁸.

La participación conjunta de batidores de oro y pintores en la aplicación de estas técnicas de dorado de la madera fue una constante en este período histórico. Valga como ejemplo el contrato suscrito en julio de 1494 entre Manuel Ruiz, batihoja, vecino de Sevilla en la collación de Santa María la Blanca, Juan de Robledo, pintor sevillano vecino en la de San Vicente, con el también pintor Antonio Núñez, vecino del barrio de San Román, porque éste había fiado a Pedro de Trujillo, pintor vecino de Sevilla en la collación de Santiago, en diversas obras de su oficio, entre las que se citan cinco chambranas de oro bruñido, veinte cabezas de alfarjías de oro, catorce cabezas de canes de oro bruñido, ciertas almenillas de un castillo de órganos, seis cajas bruñidas de oro, una pina grande, unas molduras de una salutación y un letrero que viene debajo de los dichos órganos, y de unas púrpuras de oro y de unos damascos de encima de la caja de los mismos órganos que el dicho Pedro de Trujillo estaba obligado a hacer en la iglesia de Santa Clara de la villa de Moguer⁸⁹.

Por lo que se refiere al dorado de material óseo, el procedimiento solía consistir en la preparación de otra agua de dorar, obtenida siempre mediante destilación, en la que el hueso se sumergía

85. López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 258-267.

86. Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba...*: 332-333; el uso de cuchillas para eliminar el exceso de enyesado es también referido por Cennini en el capítulo 115 de su *Libro del Arte* (González-Alonso, Enriqueta. *Tratado del dorado...*: 146; Gañán, Constantino. *Técnicas y evolución de la imaginería policroma en Sevilla*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999: 150-156).

87. López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 281-291; López, Eva; Dalmau, Consuelo. "Materiales y técnicas de dorado a través de las antiguas fuentes documentales..." : 110-129; Martínez, Sofía. "El dorado: técnicas, procedimientos y materiales..." : 138; Maltese, Carlos. *Las técnicas artísticas*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2006: 65-67.

88. BNE. Ms. 2019, *Para dar color de bronce a figuras*, f. 46; citado en: Criado, Teresa, *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial*: 136. El Manuscrito de Lucca recoge una receta similar, la número 108, que aconseja el uso para dorar madera de goma de almendra humedecida durante un día, a la que se añade azafrán, todo calentado a fuego lento (Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 135), mientras que una de las recetas del *Mappae Clavicula* recomienda la aplicación de una sola capa de azafrán y huevo como asiento del oro en la madera (López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 259).

89. 1494.07.21, AHPS. PNSe, Leg. 2154, f. 684r.



durante un tiempo para adquirir la tonalidad deseada. Las dos recetas castellanas que nos informan sobre el tema se incluyen en el manuscrito II/1393 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real y reflejan el mismo procedimiento: se toma cal viva mezclada con vinagre fuerte y se destila en alambique, en el agua que se obtiene se echan panes de oro y se deshacen (“y con la fuerza desta agua se deshará todo en ella”), y sumergiendo el hueso en este compuesto por espacio de seis o siete días se saca “de color de oro puro”⁹⁰.

Por último, los recetarios nos ofrecen algunas indicaciones sobre las técnicas empleadas para el dorado de productos textiles. Estas técnicas responden básicamente a las mismas que hemos definido como dorado al agua y dorado al óleo en el caso de la madera, con aplicación de procesos y materiales muy semejantes. Aunque no hemos hallado ningún texto sobre el particular incluido en recetarios hispanos, las ordenanzas de pintores de Córdoba de 1493 mencionan el uso de un procedimiento de aplicación del dorado al agua en una doble fase, en la primera de las cuales el lienzo es tratado con una *emprimadura* realizada a base de yeso y materias adhesivas y suavizantes que facilitan la posterior fijación del oro. En concreto, el proceso comenzaba aplicando una primera capa sobre la superficie del lienzo con cola con engrudo, cola de pergamino o cola de vaca mezclada con miel, la cual se incorporaba con la cola porque, como las propias ordenanzas indican, “hace blandos los asientos y ayuda a que no se quiebren las figuras doblando el paño”; a continuación se daba una segunda mano consistente en una mezcla de yeso molido desleído en agua templada y mezclado con engrudo también desleído. Y sobre esta base era aplicado el oro en forma de panes o pintura⁹¹.

Por su parte, algunos textos europeos mencionan un segundo procedimiento de aplicación, más semejante a la técnica de dorar al óleo. Por ejemplo, Teófilo, en el capítulo 30 del Libro I, trata de cómo aplicar pintura de imitación del oro sobre una base de azafrán, aconsejando “toma el azafrán con que se da color a la seda, vertiendo encima la clara de huevo sin agua, y déjalo así durante una noche”; Heracio señala que las telas se sumergen en cola de pergamino diluida en agua caliente, y se estiran y pulen con un vidrio antes de aplicar las hojas de oro; en el *Mappae Clavicula* se habla del aceite de linaza, que actuaba como adhesivo sobre unas telas, previamente tratadas con un mordiente de goma de almendras, goma y azafrán; Pedro de San Audemar mezcla goma arábiga, yeso y clara de huevo; y algo parecido hace el Manuscrito de Lucca, en su receta 108, en la que para dorar tejido o pared recomienda tomar clara de huevo y añadir azafrán, si se desea mezclado con aceite de lino y goma⁹².

4. A modo de conclusión

El dorado de materiales diversos constituyó una actividad muy destacada en el marco de los procesos artesanales y artísticos llevados a cabo en el mundo europeo e hispánico a fines de la Edad Media. Su frecuente uso no solo sirvió a iluminadores, pintores, escultores y otros artistas para realizar obras de arte (miniaturas, pinturas, tallas y retablos, lienzos), sino a los artesanos de

90. BPR. Ms. II/1393, *Para hazer un hueso color de oro y Para color de puro oro*, f. 4r and 9v; citado en: Criado, Teresa. *Tratados y recetarios de técnica industrial...*: 167.

91. Córdoba, Ricardo. *La industria medieval de Córdoba...*: 334.

92. López, Eva; Dalmau Consuelo. “La técnica del dorado sobre soportes diversos a través de fuentes literarias antiguas”. *Pátina*, 15 (2008): 75-84; López, Eva. *Estudio de los materiales y procedimientos del dorado...*: 308-311; Caffaro, Adriano. *Scrivere in oro...*: 135.



los oficios que hacían objetos de uso cotidiano, batidores que elaboraban las hojas de oro, plata u oropel, doradores que aplicaban el dorado sobre espadas, bacines y un sinnúmero de elementos de la vida cotidiana, oficiales de la piel, del metal o de la madera que lo empleaban en sus producciones. La brillante apariencia exterior que un objeto de material humilde podía conseguir mediante el sobredorado determinó el gusto de la sociedad medieval por estas producciones y el habitual conocimiento por parte de los artífices de las técnicas usadas para su elaboración.

Ello explica que los testimonios que poseemos sobre dichas técnicas sean tan abundantes y aparezcan tanto en documentos de archivo, relacionados con las compra-ventas de objetos o acuerdos para su elaboración, con la regulación de las corporaciones de oficios o con las propias ordenanzas de cada sector, como en recetarios y tratados de técnica artesanal de la época, hoy conservados bajo la forma de manuscritos en tantas bibliotecas europeas, sobre todo italianas, y peninsulares. Si hasta hace poco tiempo solo era posible el conocimiento de estas técnicas acudiendo a los textos europeos (desde los recetarios medievales *Compositiones Lucenses*, *Mappae Clavicula*, Heraclio o San Audemaro, a los más detallados tratados bajomedievales y renacentista de Teófilo, Cennini, Cellini, Manuscritos de Lucca y Bolonia, etc.), el reciente hallazgo y estudio de manuscritos castellanos (como el H490 de la Facultad de Medicina de Montpellier, los números 2019 y 9226 de la Biblioteca Nacional de España, o el II/1393 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid) y el conocimiento de los grandes tratados hispanos de los siglos XVI y XVII (Arfe, Fernández del Castillo, Barba) ha permitido comprobar que también en la Península Ibérica eran conocidas y aplicadas las mismas técnicas. La información de carácter complementario ofrecida por tales fuentes permite obtener un conocimiento cercano de los procesos de trabajo del oro para aquilatarlo y fijar su ley, mediante el uso de cimiento real, amalgama de mercurio, azufre, antimonio o aguafuerte; para reducirlo a delgada lámina o pan de oro, polvo o granalla, tinta de oro o cualquiera de sus numerosas imitaciones; y, finalmente, para aplicarlo sobre diversos soportes, entre los cuales sobresalen el pergamino, piel, metal y madera.

Y permite igualmente constatar la importancia y el valor alcanzado por los trabajos y técnicas relacionadas con el dorado durante los siglos XV y XVI. Una importancia que viene acreditada, por una parte, por la conservación hasta nuestros días de un amplio conjunto de obras y piezas sobredoradas que, elaboradas durante aquellos siglos, han sido frecuente objeto de estudio por parte de los historiadores del arte desde hace décadas y, desde hace algo menos, por quienes se dedican a la realización de análisis científicos de los materiales y técnicas utilizados para su realización. Y, por otra, gracias a las numerosas menciones a objetos de esta naturaleza que aparecen en la documentación escrita, bajo la forma de inventarios, relaciones de bienes, contratos artesanales y tantos otros textos que, conservados en nuestros archivos, evidencian el extendido uso que de ellos hizo la sociedad bajomedieval para las actividades cotidianas.

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EL CENTRE D'INVESTIGACIÓ MEDIEVAL I MODERNA (CIMM). APORTACIONES DOCUMENTALES

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RESUMEN

El siguiente artículo trata sobre el estudio de la pintura medieval y moderna a la Corona de Aragón a través de la documentación localizada por el Centro de Investigación Medieval y Moderna (CIMM) de la Universitat Politècnica de València y la Universitat de Lleida. Este estudio incluye una totalidad de dieciocho documentos, diez de los cuales son inéditos. Cada uno de los documentos han sido revisados y completados en los archivos y perfectamente transcritos, exclusivamente para esta publicación. A partir de la fecha del primer documento, antes de 1450, esta investigación se considera importante para el conocimiento estilístico del Gótico tardío y de la influencia Flamenca que llegó a Valencia en mitad del siglo XV, y continúa hasta las primeras décadas del siglo XVI. Los documentos de Jacomart contribuirán a perfilar a este gran artista, pintor del rey Alfons V el Magnánimo².

El *Centre d'Investigació Medieval i Moderna* (CIMM), formado por un equipo de investigadores de la Universidad Politècnica de Valencia, trabaja de forma colegiada con el Grupo de Investigación Consolidado de la Generalitat de Catalunya *Art i Cultura d'Època Moderna* (ACEM), y con el *Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna* (CAEM) de la Universitat de Lleida.

Su principal objetivo se centra en el estudio de las fuentes documentales que tratan sobre los pintores y las obras de las épocas medieval y moderna en el ámbito de la Corona de Aragón. El grupo de investigación está formado por un equipo multidisciplinar compuesto por paleógrafos, documentalistas e historiadores del arte, cuya diversidad garantiza que la edición de los documentos trabajados sea rigurosa. Sus miembros cuentan, además, con una amplia experiencia en la búsqueda, localización y transcripción de nuevos documentos sobre pintura de las mencionadas épocas.

1. Universitat Politècnica de València: Joan Aliaga, Nuria Ramón, Lluïsa Tolosa; Universitat de Lleida: Ximo Company, Isidre Puig; Universitat de València: Borja Franco; Università degli Studi di Cagliari: Stefania Rusconi.

2. Este estudio se inscribe en el marco de un Proyecto de Investigación I+D+I del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia e Innovación de España, que lleva por título: *La consolidación de la pintura del Renacimiento en la Corona de Aragón: la extraordinaria influencia del paradigma de Joan de Joanes* (HAR2012-32199), cuyo investigador principal es el Dr. Ximo Company, catedrático de Historia del Arte de la Universitat de Lleida. También ha contado con el soporte del equipo científico internacional del "Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna" (CAEM) y del Grup de Recerca Consolidat de la Universitat de Lleida, reconocido por el Departament d'Innovació, Universitats i Empresa de la Generalitat de Catalunya: "Art i Cultura d'Època Moderna" (ACEM) (2009 SGR 348), dirigido por el profesor Company. Todos los autores que firman el presente trabajo pertenecen al CIMM, al CAEM y al ACEM; véanse más datos específicos sobre cada autor y sobre cada uno de los tres centros o grupos citados en <<http://caem.udl.cat>>. Queremos expresar nuestra gratitud a Salvador Ferrando Palomares por la ayuda prestada en la revisión de los documentos que ofrecemos en el presente trabajo.

Por otra parte, y de manera simultánea, no sólo se están completando, revisando, fotografiando y cotejando *in situ* todos los documentos publicados hasta ahora, (muchos de ellos incompletos, con errores de transcripción, con confusas erratas de imprenta y a menudo con manejo de cronologías desenfocadas), sino que ya se ha revisado minuciosamente una gran parte de las fuentes bibliográficas alusivas al mundo de la pintura y la documentación en general, desde finales del siglo XIX al XXI, atendiendo de forma especial a las nuevas aportaciones de recientes investigadores. Ello permite que a través de las bases de datos del CIMM el investigador disponga de información completa y fidedigna y esté al día de lo que se está trabajando, descubriendo y publicando de los archivos valencianos (o de otros archivos de la Corona de Aragón) referente al mundo de la pintura valenciana medieval y moderna.

Además del trabajo en los archivos históricos, el CIMM también se ocupa de la catalogación de obras de arte (fundamentalmente pintura, aunque también miniaturas, esculturas, textiles u orfebrería) que actualmente se conservan en museos, colecciones públicas, privadas y religiosas. Para ello, nuestros investigadores realizan un importante trabajo de campo con el fin de obtener fotografías de alta definición y reflectografías de infrarrojo con cámaras profesionales de alta gama que permiten la obtención de imágenes digitales exclusivas que, posteriormente son procesadas para su uso en los análisis formales, estilísticos y técnicos de las obras. En lo referente a dichas tareas está resultando extraordinariamente fértil el cruce transversal de técnicas y metodologías de trabajo que el CIMM comparte con el Gabinete Técnico y Analítico del Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna (CAEM) de la Universitat de Lleida.

La actividad investigadora del equipo humano del CIMM viene desarrollándose en distintos frentes desde hace 25 años. En 1989 el *Institut Valencià d'Estudis i Investigació*, (IVEI), de la Generalitat Valenciana concedió una ayuda al proyecto titulado *Exhumación de documentos inéditos sobre el Arte Valenciano, s. XV-XVII* (1989-1992), dirigido por el profesor Ximo Company en el cual colaboraron Luisa Tolosa y Maite Framis. Este fue el inicio oficial de un grupo investigador que desde entonces no ha dejado de perseverar en el estudio riguroso y profundo de la pintura medieval y moderna. Poco tiempo después, el equipo científico se consolidó con un nuevo proyecto I+D+I titulado *Análisis de las fuentes, documentos y obras de la pintura valenciana Medieval y Moderna. Base de datos de referencias bibliográficas y documentales Pere Nicolau* (1996-1998), concedido por la Dirección General de Enseñanzas Universitarias e Investigación de la Generalitat Valenciana a los profesores Felipe Vicente Garín (dir.), Joan Aliaga y Ximo Company. Esta ayuda permitió establecer intercambios con investigadores europeos como Mathieu Hériard-Dubreuil (+), Claudie Ressort, Gennaro Toscano o Mauro Natale. A partir de estos hechos el Departamento de Historia del Arte de la Universidad Politécnica de Valencia, actualmente Departamento de Comunicación Audiovisual, Documentación e Historia del Arte (DCADHA), acogió al grupo de investigación del CIMM, dotándolo del equipamiento técnico necesario. Además, en el campo estrictamente académico lanzó un programa de doctorado interuniversitario titulado *La Cultura Mediterránea en el Mundo Medieval y Moderno*, dirigido por el Dr. Joan Aliaga.

Frecuentemente, los investigadores del CIMM realizan numerosas actividades, además de las reseñadas, en colaboración con el ACEM y el CAEM, como son la dirección científica, coordinación y comisariado de exposiciones; es especialmente destacable la muestra: *La Llum de les Imatges. Lux Mundi. Xàtiva 2007*, organizada por la Generalitat Valenciana (con más de 625.000 visitantes), o *San*



Francisco de Borja, Grande de España. Arte y espiritualidad en la cultura hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII, promovida por el Ayuntamiento de Gandía en 2010³.

Pero lo más significativo dentro del perfil investigador del grupo ha sido la apertura de una línea editorial sobre documentación de pintura valenciana. Actualmente, se han publicado cuatro volúmenes bajo el título genérico de *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna* en la colección *Fonts Documentals* de la Universitat de València que cuentan con una gran aceptación en el contexto científico internacional⁴.

El primer libro se editó en 2004 y recoge un corpus completo de documentos desde 1238, fecha del inicio de la conquista de Valencia hasta el año 1400. Se trata de una cronología muy extensa de más de 150 años de la que se pudieron publicar, en su momento, 987 documentos. No obstante, la cifra de noticias localizadas de este periodo ha ido creciendo hasta la actualidad y, todas las novedades se encuentran registradas en la base de datos *Documenta* del CIMM.

El segundo volumen se publicó en 2007 y, en esta ocasión, se optó por un trabajo monográfico sobre un extenso y extraordinario documento que se encuentra en el Archivo Municipal de Valencia. Se trata de un libro de cuentas sobre los gastos ocasionados entre 1401 y 1402 con motivo de la primera entrada real en Valencia del rey Martín el Humano, con su esposa María de Luna y su nuera Blanca, reina de Sicilia. Un espectacular acontecimiento en el que participan más de 40 pintores de la ciudad en la construcción de obras efímeras: las “rocas” (carros decorados que posteriormente se utilizaron en la procesión del Corpus) que protagonizarán el desfile real. Entre los artistas registrados se encuentran muchos decoradores pero, se especifica claramente los que son pintores de retablos, quienes perciben mayores sueldos, como Gerardo Starnina, Marçal de Sas, Gonçal Peris, Gonçal Sarrià, Antoni Peris o Pere Nicolau.

El tercer volumen, publicado en 2011, abarca una cronología de 25 años y, de nuevo, optamos por publicar un *corpus* de documentos ordenado desde 1401 a 1425. A pesar de tratarse de un periodo muy inferior al volumen I, el número de noticias sobre pintores aumenta considerablemente hasta un total de 1.304, lo cual, evidencia el desarrollo del comercio de la pintura valenciana en un momento socioeconómico favorable. Al inicio del siglo XV la producción de retablos se incrementó considerablemente impulsada por una clientela exigente que atrajo a pintores de distintas procedencias, con el fin de establecer sus talleres en la capital del reino. Como en los volúmenes anteriores, el trabajo en los archivos por parte de nuestro equipo en los últimos dos años ha hecho crecer el número de documentos inéditos que también se encuentran registradas en la base de datos *Documenta* del CIMM.

En 2013 acaba de publicarse un cuarto tomo de la colección, en esta ocasión a cargo de M. Milagros Cárcel Ortí y Juan Vicente García Marsilla, profesores de la Universitat de València, que trata

3. Company, Ximo; Pons, Vicent; Aliaga, Joan. *La Llum de les Imatges. Lux Mundi. Xàtiva 2007*, 2 vols. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2007; Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan, dirs. “San Francisco de Borja Grande de España. Arte y espiritualidad en la cultura hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII”. *Catálogo de la exposición celebrada en Gandía del 4 de nov. de 2010 al 9 de enero de 2011. Casa de la Cultura Marqués de González de Quirós*. Catarroja: Afers, 2010: 51-66.

4. Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Framis, Maite (responsable de la ed.); Nuria Ramón (contribuidora), *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna, I (1238-1400)*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2005; Aliaga, Joan; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Company, Ximo, eds; Silvestre, Aureli (contribuidor). *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna. II. Llibre de l'entrada del rei Martí*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2007; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan, dirs. *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna. III. (1401-1425)*, Ferran García-Oliver, coord. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2011; Cárcel, Milagros; García, Juan Vicente. *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna, IV*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2013.

sobre una nueva entrada o recepción real, esta vez la del rey Ferran d'Antequera, con su esposa Elionor de Alburquerque y el primogénito, futuro Alfonso el Magnánimo, en 1413.

Desde la aparición del primer volumen en 2004 hasta la actualidad, muchos investigadores han referenciado en sus publicaciones como fuente documental los libros de la colección *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna*. En este sentido es reseñable la notable y positiva incidencia que los volúmenes publicados por el CIMM han ejercido en el desarrollo de diversas tesis doctorales defendidas en la Universitat de València y en la Universidad Politécnica de Valencia como las de las doctoras Núria Ramón (2005), Matilde Miquel (2006), Asunción Mocholí (2010), Carme Llanes (2011), Teresa Izquierdo (2011) y Encarna Montero (2013)⁵. Por otra parte, los miembros de nuestro equipo investigador también han profundizado en diferentes aspectos de algunas de las noticias inéditas exhumadas, cuyos resultados han sido presentados en congresos o publicados en revistas especializadas como es el caso del *paper*, "Documents on Valencian Late Gothic Painting. Contributions from the Centre for Medieval and Modern Research" publicado en el *International Medieval Meeting Lleida* en 2011⁶, en el que se presentaron revisiones y ampliaciones sobre pintores como Lluís Dalmau, Lluís Alimbro, Jaume Bacó, alias Jacomart, Paolo da San Leocadio; Rodrigo y Francesc d'Osona o el mismo Jan Van Eyck. Además, recientemente ha aparecido el artículo titulado "Una Flagelación de Joan Reixach de colección particular. Nuevos documentos y consideraciones sobre el binomio Jacomart-Reixach" publicado en la revista *Archivo Español de Arte*⁷. El resultado de este trabajo ha sido la incorporación de una nueva pintura al catálogo de atribuciones del pintor Joan Reixach y la aportación de un documento importante, inédito, exhumado en el Archivo del Reino de Valencia (ARV) durante el verano de 2011, en el que, por primera vez, encontramos unidos a los pintores Reixach y Jacomart *magistros Iacobum Jacomart et Iohannem Rexach, pictores* en 1449, para arbitrar sobre una obra de otro pintor llamado Felip Porta⁸. Otros trabajos han permitido la filiación de obras que hasta ahora mantenían una autoría en clave de incógnita, o bien que su existencia era prácticamente desconocida; así ocurre en el artículo "Jaume Mateu y el Retablo de San Sebastián de Villar del Cobo (Teruel)", en el que se rescatan los restos de un magnífico retablo conservado en un pequeño municipio del interior de Teruel, y sobre el que, además, hemos podido relacionar una documentación inédita muy valiosa que nos ha permitido vincular dicha obra con el pintor Jaume Mateu. También queremos destacar el artículo "Nuevas aportaciones a la pintura del Gótico Internacional, Berenguer Mateu y el Retablo de San Jorge de Jérica (Castellón)", en el

5. Ramón, Nuria. *La iluminación de manuscritos en la Valencia Gótica. Desde los inicios hasta la muerte de Alfonso V el Magnánimo (1290-1458)*. Valencia: Universitat de València (Tesis Doctoral), 2005, publicada en: Ramón, Nuria. *La iluminación de manuscritos en la Valencia Gótica (1290-1458)*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2007; Miquel, Matilde. *Talleres y mercado de pintura en Valencia (1370-1430)*. Valencia: Universitat de València (Tesis Doctoral), 2006, publicada en: Miquel, Matilde. *Retablos, prestigio y dinero. Talleres y mercado de pintura en la Valencia del gótico internacional*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008; Mocholí, Asunción. *Estudi dels documents dels pintors i altres artífexs valencians. Segles XII, XIV i XV (1238-1450)*. Valencia: Universitat Politècnica (Tesis Doctoral), 2010, publicada en: Mocholí, Asunción. *Pintors i Altres artífexs de la València Medieval*. Valencia: Universitat Politècnica, 2012; Llanes, Carme. *L'obra de Pere Nicolau i la Segona Generació de Pintors del Gòtic Internacional a València*. Valencia: Universitat de València (Tesis Doctoral), 2011; Izquierdo, M. Teresa. *El Fuster, definició d'un ofici en la València medieval*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia (Tesis Doctoral), 2011; Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión del conocimiento en los oficios artísticos. Valencia, 1370-1450*. Valencia: Universitat de València (Tesis Doctoral), 2013.

6. Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan; Tolosa, Lluís; Puig, Isidre; Ramon, Nuria; Rusconi, Stefania. "Documents on Valencian Late Gothic Painting. Contributions from the Centre for Medieval and Modern Research", *Late Gothic Painting in the Crown of Aragon and the Hispanic Kingdoms*, Francesc Fité, Alberto Velasco, eds., en prensa.

7. Company, Ximo; Franco, Borja; Puig, Isidro; Aliaga, Joan; Rusconi, Stefania. "Una Flagelación de Joan Reixach de colección particular. Nuevos documentos y consideraciones sobre el binomio Jacomart-Reixach". *Archivo Español de Arte*, 340 (2013): 363-373.

8. ARV. Protocolo de Martí Doto, 10.422.



que se publica el contrato inédito que realizó en 1430 el pintor Berenguer Mateu con los cofrades de San Jorge, precisamente para pintar el retablo que actualmente se conserva en el Museo Municipal de Jérica⁹. Significativo ha sido también el descubrimiento del contrato matrimonial entre Jaume Llopis, banquero de Valencia, y el famoso pintor italiano Paolo da San Leocadio, en el que se acuerda el enlace entre dicho pintor e Isabel Llopis, hermana de Jaume. El banquero ofrece una dote bastante respetable de 4.000 sueldos y el pintor añade 2.000 sueldos más en razón de la virginidad de la prometida. El documento es importante porque aunque se había citado en varias ocasiones la realidad de este matrimonio¹⁰, no poseíamos el documento concreto que lo avalaba y sancionaba de un modo definitivo¹¹.

Entre las publicaciones internacionales cabe destacar el estudio “Bertomeu Coscollà and the main altarpiece of the cathedral of Valencia. New documents”, próximo a aparecer en la revista norteamericana *La Corónica*. Trata sobre el primitivo retablo mayor de la catedral de Valencia destruido en 1464. La investigación recoge noticias referentes a la actividad de los plateros Pere Bernés y Bertomeu Coscollà, gracias a las órdenes de pago que se han documentado¹².

En estos momentos el equipo investigador está profundizando en el análisis de la documentación sobre Joan Reixach y Jacomart, cuyos resultados saldrán a la luz en un volumen monográfico, y por otra parte se trabaja en el análisis de la documentación y las obras relacionadas con Miquel Alcanyís. Para el estudio de este último pintor el equipo investigador ha realizado estancias en la *Hispanic Society of America* y el *Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York* así como en el Museu de Mallorca, Museu Diocesà de Palma y Museu Capitular, Museu Parroquial d'Alcúdia (Mallorca), Convento de la Concepción de Palma, así como en los archivos del Reino de Mallorca, el Archivo de la Catedral de Mallorca y el Diocesano de Mallorca. Al mismo tiempo está a punto de finalizar la revisión completa de todos los documentos relativos a Joan de Joanes, uno de los pintores más importantes del Renacimiento hispano, con novedades documentales inéditas muy importantes. Un importante trabajo, además, que se ha visto complementado con la obtención de valiosas imágenes de alta definición y con reflectografías de infrarrojo absolutamente inéditas, pertenecientes a muchas de las obras conservadas de Joan de Joanes, de su hijo Vicente Joanes, y de su padre Vicente Macip¹³.

Todo el trabajo documental desarrollado en los últimos años cuenta con el soporte de la base de datos *Documenta* que en la actualidad contiene alrededor de 3.500 registros con fotografías digitales de los documentos y más de 10.000 fotografías de obras. Para ello se han vaciado sistemáticamente numerosos protocolos, notales, libros de cuentas, de fábrica, justicias, etc. en aquellas fechas o notarios susceptibles de contener noticias sobre pintura o pintores en los principales archivos

9. Aliaga, Joan; Llanes, Carme. “Jaume Mateu y el Retablo de San Sebastián de Villar del Cobo (Teruel)”. *Ars Longa: cuadernos de arte*, 23 (2014): en prensa; Aliaga, Joan; Rusconi, Stefania. “Nuevas aportaciones a la pintura del Gótico Internacional, Berenguer Mateu y el Retablo de San Jorge de Jérica (Castellón)”, en prensa.

10. Tramoyeres, Luis. “Los cuatrocentistas valencianos, el Maestro Rodrigo de Osona y su hijo del mismo nombre”. *Cultura Española*, 9 (1908): 143, nota 11. Tramoyeres cita que Paolo da San Leocadio contrajo matrimonio en septiembre de 1493 con Isabel López o Llopis, pero nunca dio a conocer la fuente documental consultada.

11. ARV. Protocolo de Vicente Artés, 20.068; Rusconi, Stefania; Company, Ximo. “Nuevos datos documentales sobre Paolo da San Leocadio”. *Ars Longa: cuadernos de arte*, 22 (2013): 87-92.

12. Aliaga, Joan; Ramón, Nuria. “Bertomeu Coscollà and the main altarpiece of the cathedral of Valencia. New documents”, *La Corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures & Cultures*, 42/2 (2014): 15-55.

13. En este proyecto de investigación participan diversos investigadores del CIMM, liderados por el Dr. Isidro Puig Sanchis, de la Universitat de Lleida.

de Valencia (Archivo de Protocolos de Colegio de Corpus Christi de Valencia, Archivo del Reino, Archivo de la Catedral y Archivo Municipal). Por otra parte se han realizado búsquedas más concretas en otros archivos como los citados anteriormente de Mallorca, o bien en Morella (Castellón), Vila-real, Castelló, Xérica, Ontinyent, Gandia, Lleida, Verdú, Vic, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona) y, en el extranjero, Archivo Segreto Vaticano, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio Curia Vescovile di Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Archivio di Stato di Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Archivio di Stato di Cagliari, y el Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

1. Nuevos documentos sobre el pintor Pere Nicolau. Una muerte trágica

Para la presente publicación queremos presentar como novedad unas noticias que nos permiten valorar más profundamente la dimensión social del pintor catalán, Pere Nicolau, en el contexto de la primera década del siglo XV, marcado por la violencia y la tensión que ocasionó el enfrentamiento de las luchas de los “Bandos” sociales de aquella época. En relación con estos datos creemos también que podemos dar soporte documental a las tablas de las *Escenas de la vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán* conservadas en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia, una obra que hasta el momento estaba considerada como una atribución al citado Nicolau¹⁴.

Pere Nicolau es un pintor muy valorado por la historiografía en el marco del gótico internacional valenciano junto a otras personalidades como Llorens Saragossà, Marçal de Sas o Gerardo Starina entre otros.¹⁵ Nicolau es originario de Igualada (Barcelona), pero a fecha de hoy no se tienen

14. Saralegui, Leandro de. “Miscelánea de tablas valencianas. En torno a Pedro Nicolau”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 41 (1933): 103-104; Saralegui, Leandro de. *El Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos. Tablas de las salas 1ª y 2ª de Primitivos valencianos*. Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1954: 59-69, láminas 17-20.

15. Entre los estudios sobre el pintor destacamos: Tramoyeres, Luis. *Guía del Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia*, Valencia, 1915; Tormo, Elías. *Levante*. Madrid: Guías Calpe, 1923; Tormo, Elías. “El Museo Diocesano de Valencia”. *Arte Español*, 6 (1935): 293-300 y 354-365; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1930: III; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1930: VII; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1938: VII; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1947: IX; Saralegui, Leandro de. “En torno a Pedro Nicolau Un retablo de su escuela”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 19 (1933): 3-30; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Pedro Nicolau”, *Almanaque Las Provincias*. Valencia: 1941; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Miscelánea de tablas valencianas. En torno a Pedro Nicolau”...: 103-104; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Pedro Nicolau. I: Introito biográfico”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española*, 49 (1941): 76-107; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Pedro Nicolau II: Obras”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española*, 50 (1942): 98-152; Saralegui, Leandro de. *El Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes...*; Gudiol, José. *Pintura gótica*. Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1955: IX; Camón, José. *Pintura medieval española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1977: XXII; Dubreuil, Hériard. “Importance de la peinture valencienne autoutre de 1400”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 46 (1975): 13-21; Dubreuil, Hériard. *Valencia y el Gótico Internacional*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987; Dubreuil, Hériard. “Gótico Internacional”. *Historia del Arte Valenciano*, 69 (1988): 182-235; Catalá, Miguel Ángel. “La pintura medieval valenciana. Temas y fuentes literarias”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 46 (1977): 117-126; Garín, Felipe M^a. *Historia del Arte de Valencia*, 49 (1978); José i Pitarch, Antoni. *Pintura gótica valenciana: el periodo internacional*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1982; José i Pitarch, Antoni. “Les arts plàstiques: l'escultura i la pintura gòtiques”. *Historia de l'Art al País Valencià*. Valencia, 1986: I, 163-239; José i Pitarch, Antoni. *Retauls de la Santa Creu*. Museu de Belles Arts de València. *Obra recuperada del trimestre, abril, 1998*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1998; Pérez, Alfonso E. “Arte”. *Valencia (Colección “Tierras de España”)*. Madrid: Noguer, 1985: 145-393; Rodrigo, Carmen. “El retablo de Sarrión: Análisis documental y estilístico”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 68 (1987): 8-16; Rodrigo, Carmen. “Aproximación al retablo de Pere Nicolau ‘Los Gozos de la Virgen María’ en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao”. *Urtakaria Bilbao* (1988): 9-24; Rodrigo, Carmen. “El retablo de los Siete Gozos del Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 71, (1990): 39-46; Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura valenciana medieval*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1996; Gómez, José. *El retablo de San Martín, Santa Úrsula y San Antonio Abad*. Madrid: Generalitat Valenciana, 2004; Miquel, Matilde. *Retablos, prestigio y dinero. Talleres y mercado de pintura en la Valencia del gótico internacional*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2008; Ruíz, Francesc; Montolio, David. “De pintura medieval valenciana”. *Espais de Llum*. Valencia: La Llum de les Imatges, 2008: 125-169; Llanes, Carme. *L'obrador de Pere Nicolau i la Segona Generació de Pintors del Gòtic Internacio-*



datos de este periodo inicial en Cataluña, por lo que las propuestas sobre su formación artística no dejan de ser conjeturas que por el momento son insostenibles¹⁶. Durante los últimos años del siglo XIV se produjeron migraciones en el Principado como consecuencia de la crisis, los conflictos sociales, las guerras o las epidemias. La ciudad de Valencia, sin estar exenta de estas amenazas, se convirtió en receptora de inmigrantes atraídos por la oferta de una ciudad en auge, en crecimiento urbano y edificación de obras. Los primeros datos documentales conocidos sobre Pere Nicolau lo sitúan en Valencia en 1390, cuando ya disponía de un importante taller que dominaba el mercado de la pintura de retablos y, especialmente, el entorno de la Catedral. En aquel momento ya se registra como pintor “vecino” de Valencia, lo que significa que su llegada a la capital debió de producirse unos años antes¹⁷. El conjunto de noticias sobre Pere Nicolau revelan una actividad constante, y en ocasiones intensa; en apenas dos décadas trabaja tanto en distintos ámbitos de la ciudad como fuera de ella; en las Torres de Serranos; la Catedral; la Casa de la Ciudad; las cartujas de Valldecris (Altura), Portaceli (Serra); así como en diversas poblaciones valencianas y de Teruel. Pere Nicolau fue el dueño de una potente empresa de producción de retablos en la que el maestro llegó a contratar puntualmente a otros pintores para llevar a cabo, con eficiencia, el trabajo del taller; Miquel Alcanyís fue uno de ellos. También participaron con él numerosos aprendices que colaboraban regularmente en el taller para llegar a ser futuros pintores. Jaume Mateu es el ejemplo más destacado de un joven aprendiz formado con Nicolau en un proceso de unos catorce años (desde 1394 a 1408). Pero sobre todo, son muy significativos los acuerdos de colaboración entre Nicolau y el pintor del norte de Europa Marçal de Sas. Nicolau-Sas formaron un importante y fructífero binomio profesional. Juntos firmaron capitulaciones y recibieron los pagos de diversos retablos importantes, aunque de los dos maestros, el más afortunado fue el catalán. Así pues, desde finales del siglo XIV y hasta su muerte en 1408, Pere Nicolau fue el líder indiscutible del mercado de la pintura de retablos en Valencia, propietario de un taller por el que transitó una gran diversidad de pintores y con una gran capacidad para negociar contratos con eclesiásticos, clientes de la burguesía y la nobleza.

nal a València. Valencia: Universitat de València (Tesis Doctoral), 2011; Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión del conocimiento en los oficios artísticos. Valencia, 1370-1450*. Valencia: Universitat de València (Tesis Doctoral), 2013.

16. Ruiz Quesada propuso que la formación de Pere Nicolau fue en el taller del pintor Esteve Rovira de Chipre pero no hay ningún indicio documental que nos lleve a aceptar esta afirmación, ni existe ninguna obra documentada de Esteve Rovira que nos permita relacionar ambos estilos. Ruiz, Francesc. “L’estil cortesà a Barcelona”, *L’art Gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura II*. Barcelona: Enciclopedia Catalana, 2005: 48-53. Sobre Pere Nicolau han aportado documentación autores como Agustín Arqués: Arqués, Agustín. *Colección de pintores, escultores desconocidos sacada de instrumentos antiguos, auténticos*, Inmaculada Vidal, Lorenzo Hernández, eds. Alcoy: Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros de Alicante y Murcia, 1982; de Alcahalí, Barón. *Diccionario biográfico de artistas valencianos*. Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 1987; Sanchís, José. *La Catedral de Valencia. Guía histórica y artística*. Valencia: Vives Mora, 1909; Sanchís, José. *Pintores medievales en Valencia*. Barcelona: Massó, Casas, 1914; Sanchís, José. “Pintores medievales en Valencia”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 15 (1928): 3-64; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 29 (1958): 95-123; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 34 (1963): 63-156; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 39 (1968): 92-98; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 42 (1971): 23-36; Fuster, Francisco. *Cartuja de Portaceli: Historia, vida, arquitectura y arte*. Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1994; Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura...*; Llanes, Carme. “Pere Nicolau i la Catedral de València. Aclaracions sobre els retauls de ‘Santa Clara i Santa Isabel’ (1403) i ‘Sant Maties i Sant Pere Màrtir’ d’Onda’ (1405)”. *Boletín de la Sociedad castellonense de Cultura*, 80 (2004): 83-96; Llanes, Carme. *L’obra de Pere Nicolau...*; Company, Ximo. *Documents de la pintura...*, 2005; Miquel, Matilde. *Retablos, prestigio y dinero...*; Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*, 2011.

17. Un estudio pormenorizado sobre la trayectoria vital de Pere Nicolau puede verse en: Llanes, Carme. *L’obra de Pere Nicolau...*: 98-117.

Sin lugar a dudas, Pere Nicolau tuvo una vida profesional intensa con relaciones sociales diversas en el marco de una ciudad conflictiva.

Hasta la fecha sabíamos que Pere Nicolau había muerto repentinamente el 25 de julio de 1408, festividad de San Jaime, sin haber tenido tiempo de hacer testamento. Sin embargo, gracias a la transcripción de nuevos documentos localizados por el equipo investigador del CIMM en el Archivo del Reino de Valencia, podemos presentar la noticia de que el motivo de la muerte del pintor fue el asesinato a manos de Ramon Torres, escudero de Felip Boïl; un noble aliado en la citada lucha de bandos. Fenómeno social que provocó una gran inestabilidad en los primeros años en la Valencia del siglo XV. El Consell de la Ciutat lo expresa así: *e lo punt en què la ciutat era per ocasió de persones de bandos e guerres e altres de sinistra intenció per adversar a la cosa pública*¹⁸.

La muerte de Nicolau debió de provocar una gran conmoción entre sus colegas pintores y, su desaparición marcó un antes y un después en la Escuela de pintura Valenciana que todavía hoy resulta perceptible en las obras conservadas. Dos días después del óbito de nuestro artista, el sobrino del difunto, Jaume Mateu, reclamaba al Justicia Civil ser reconocido como el heredero de los bienes de su tío. Esta demanda, es un documento excepcional que ha aportado a los investigadores una información extraordinaria sobre la vida familiar y profesional en el taller valenciano más importante de la primera mitad del siglo XV. Se complementa con un segundo proceso abierto un año más tarde cuando Mateu, de nuevo, interpone otra demanda para percibir el dinero de su sueldo que Nicolau no le pagó durante catorce años¹⁹. El interés del sobrino por conseguir precipitadamente la herencia puede ser interpretada como una astucia de Jaume Mateu que quiso aprovechar la ausencia de su madre, hermana de Nicolau, y de su propio hermano para convertirse en heredero universal y percibir todos los bienes materiales, así como también el negocio (los clientes y el dominio del mercado) creados por Pere Nicolau²⁰.

Tan solo una parte del primer documento fue publicado por Luis Cerveró en 1968 y tuvo una repercusión considerable en la historiografía²¹. Pero la verdadera dimensión de la noticia se obtuvo con la revisión completa, realizada por el equipo investigador del CIMM, de dos volúmenes del Justicia Civil de Valencia y el hallazgo del segundo proceso de 1409. La transcripción íntegra de ambos documentos ya fue estudiada en la tesis doctoral de Joan Aliaga, *Anàlisi dels documents i obres atribuïdes als pintors Gonçal Peris i Gonçal Sarrià*, defendida en la Universitat Politècnica de València en 1994²². Recientemente se ha profundizado sobre el tema en las tesis doctorales de Carme Llanes y Encarna Montero citadas anteriormente.

A pesar de la importancia y extensión de los documentos mencionados, en la redacción del texto nunca se hace referencia al motivo de la defunción de Pere Nicolau. Tan sólo el testimonio

18. AMV. Manual de Consells. A-24, f.64v-66. Publicado en: Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*: 200. More information about the conflict of the factions: Narbona, Rafael. *L'univers dels prohoms*. Valencia: Edicions 3 i 4, 1995; Narbona, Rafael. *València, municipi medieval. Poder polític i luchas ciudadanas (1239-1418)*. Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1995.

19. El primer proceso se encuentra en: ARV. Justicia Civil, 3.703, 11, f. 16-16v and 34-36v. El segundo proceso empieza en Mayo 7, 1409, y puede ser encontrado en ARV. Justicia Civil, 3.700, 8, f. 10-10v; 9. f. 17-24v. y mano 10, ff. 25-26v. El primer documento fue publicado parcialmente por: Cerveró, Luis. "Pintores...": 97. Documento publicado íntegramente en: Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura...*: 154-174.

20. El documento refiere que Jaume Mateu era el único pariente que se encontraba en el Reino de Valencia y por ley le correspondía la herencia.

21. Cerveró, Luis. "Pintores valentinos...": 97.

22. La tesis fue publicada en: Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura...*: 145-174. Una transcripción del documento, revisada y actualizada, puede verse en: Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*, 2011: 183-188 (doc. n. 381) y 214-217 (doc. n. 428).



del estudiante, Pere Vallés, declara que no pudo verlo muerto pero, indica, que el suceso había trascendido por toda la ciudad y tenía la certeza de que había sido herido *et dix que ell, testimoni, no havia vist mort lo dit Pere Nicholau ne nefrat, mes sabia que aquell era mort per comuna fama de molts que són en València*. Desde el conocimiento de la noticia en 1994, la sospecha de que la muerte de nuestro artista hubiera podido ser trágica, era una sospecha constante. En el momento de editar el tercer volumen de *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna III*, (2011), se incluyó un documento, que ya había sido publicado por Luis Cerveró, relacionando los procesos judiciales mencionados, cuya transcripción fue revisada y corregida por nuestro equipo²³. Se trata de un pago realizado por Jaume Mateu a requerimiento de una mujer llamada Catalina por el trabajo de servir en la casa de Pere Nicolau. En la notificación fechada del 23 de noviembre de 1408, Mateu figura como heredero universal. La transcripción de Cerveró (1963) contenía un error importante que impedía la comprensión de la noticia cuando indicaba [...] *den Pere Nicolau, pintor, omnes per testes [...] en vez de [...] d'en Pere Nicolau, pintor, occís, per testimoni [...]*. Hasta dos veces la palabra *occís* fue transcrita como *omnes*. *Occís* significa asesinado, expresión que no aparece nunca en los procesos del *Justícia Civil* pero en cambio sí en el *Justícia dels 300 Sous*.

Los nuevos documentos (vid. docs. 1 y 2) que presentamos aportan información esclarecedora de las circunstancias, vinculando al pintor con la familia Boïl. El 1 de septiembre de 1408, Guillem Ramon de Montcada, gobernador del reino y oficial de la corte del rey, pide al gobernador de río Uxó (Castellón) que se proceda contra Ramón Torres en base a la denuncia presentada por Jaume Mateu. La carta detalla la condición de Torres como escudero del noble Felip Boïl y de Jaume Mateu como el pariente del pintor asesinado, Pere Nicolau. Torres permanecía encerrado en la prisión de Castellón acusado de matar a oficiales del rey, así como a otras personas y estuvo presente en el momento del asesinato de Pere Nicolau. El segundo documento corresponde a un proceso iniciado el 2 de septiembre, en el que se relata la llegada por la noche a Castellón de un grupo de hombres armados dirigiéndose a la prisión gritando *Boïl, Boïl, Boïl [...]*. Ya en las puertas atracaron el calabozo hasta localizar al escudero que se encontraba encadenado. Aunque el apasionante relato supera las novelas de ficción, sólo hay una alusión al asesinato de nuestro pintor cuando el lugarteniente, Bartomeu Miralles, informa que Ramon Torres estaba relacionado con la muerte de Nicolau y destaca que durante las ejecuciones estaba presente su señor. Seguramente la condición de manco de Felip Boïl le obligaba a disponer de un escudero²⁴.

Los Boïl fueron una familia poderosa originaria de Aragón cuyo linaje se introduce en Valencia al participar en la conquista de Valencia Pere I Boïl y Mur. Su nieto, Pere II Boïl de Aragón, fue el primer señor de Manises. Este último se casó con Altadona de la Scala, de cuyo matrimonio nacieron nueve hijos, uno de ellos, Ramon Boïl de la Scala, un personaje muy poderoso. Ramon Boïl, cabeza de la segunda línea de los Boïl, fue consejero de Alfons IV, embajador en Granada en 1325, estuvo vinculado a la casa real de Aragón como tesorero de Pere IV el Ceremoniós y embajador de

23. Cerveró, Luis. "Pintores valentinos...", 1963: 123 y 138; Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*, 2011: 195 (doc. n. 394). Encarna Montero recoge esta corrección en su tesis doctoral y advierte también que Nicolau pudo ser asesinado: Montero, Encarna. *La transmissió...*: 61-62.

24. Debemos advertir que en la investigación de Encarna Montero se intuye la posibilidad de la tragedia de Pere Nicolau. Véase: Montero, Encarna. *La transmissió...*: 557: "No sería descabellado pensar (aunque se trate de una mera suposición sin fundamento documental alguno), que Nicolau se pudo ver envuelto, en el verano de 1408, en alguna cuestión de armas relacionada con una familia para la que había trabajado en encargo tan bien retribuido".

la Corna ante el papa en 1338; también participó en la campaña del Rosellón contra Jaume III de Mallorca. Casó con Berenguela Castellar con la que tuvo dos hijos, Pere y Lluís²⁵.

Felip Boïl y Dies, el personaje que hemos documentado en relación con la muerte de Pere Nicolau, era hijo de Pere Boïl Castellar y hermano de Ramon Boïl, gobernador de Valencia desde 1393 hasta 1407, cuando fue asesinado la noche del 21 de marzo por Berenguer Reixac, en venganza por la captura de su hermano Felip Reixac. Ramon fue enterrado en la sala Capitular del convento de Santo Domingo de Valencia.

Con motivo de este altercado, Felip Boïl perdió la mano derecha como consecuencia del castigo real al abofetear a uno de los nobles acusados como instigadores del asesinato de su hermano. Casó con Leonor Soler, hija de Ramón Soler con la que tuvo tres hijos y una hija, Aldonça.

Esta parte de la rama familiar de los Boïl se posicionó a favor de los Vilaragut en los bandos valencianos de los primeros años de las disputas y, posteriormente, con los Soler, vinculados mediante alianza familiar. Este fenómeno bélico nobiliario comienza a manifestarse ya en los primeros años del siglo XIV. Parece ser que su origen se debería al intento de las clases nobiliarias por mantener su status social y económico, en un momento en el que algunas de las fortunas más importantes estaban en quiebra. En el tema valenciano destaca el caso de la ruina de Gilabert de Centelles, uno de los bandos de este movimiento. A finales del siglo XIV, a los bandos nobles se incorporan los oficios y el subproletariado que se inclinará por uno u otro sector según su conveniencia. Estas luchas estarán abanderadas por dos familias. Por un lado, los Centelles encabezados por Gilabert de Centelles; por otro lado, Jaume Soler, sucesor de la causa de los Vilaragut. En 1398 Pere Centelles es asesinado y, su hermano Gilabert convierte la venganza de esta muerte como un acto de honor. Años más tarde, en 1403, es asesinado Jaume Soler, desconocemos si se trataba del cuñado de Felip Boïl. Con la llegada del rey Martín el Humano en 1406 se consiguió establecer una relativa calma que se verá rota con el asesinato del gobernador Ramon Boïl, hermano de Felip Boïl, nuestro personaje.

Otro documento inédito (vid doc. 3) aportado recientemente por Encarna Montero permite relacionar a los pintores Pere Nicolau y Marçal de Sas con los parientes de Felip Boïl, Peirona Llançol y su esposo Lluís Boïl²⁶. Se trata de un acto del notario Pere Bigueran conservado en el Archivo de Protocolos del Corpus Christi de Valencia con fecha del 1 de julio de 1416. El documento es relativo a una testamentaria en la que se relacionan diferentes cartas, títulos y escrituras encontrados por los albaceas de la noble y viuda Peirona Llançol. Según se indica, Peirona testó el 3 de julio de 1400, siendo publicado unos pocos meses después, según se puede atestiguar en el mismo documento:

noble madona Peyrona Lançol, muller [del] noble mossèn Lois Boïl, defuncts, segons [de la dita] marmissoria consta per testament [per la] dita noble madona Peyrona feyt a tres dies de juliol en [el any] MCCCC e publicat per lo dit notari [Pere de Loças]²⁷.

25. Para profundizar en los datos históricos puede verse: Hinojosa, José. *Diccionario de historia medieval del Reino de Valencia*. Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 2002: I; Rubio, Agustín. "II. El segle XIV", *Història al País Valencià: de la conquesta a la Federació hispànica*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1988: II, 261-264.

26. La autora explica y argumenta la información del documento pero no lo transcribe. Aquí se aporta la transcripción completa. Montero, Encarna *La transmisión...*: 552-557.

27. Hemos podido comprobar que sobre el notario aludido no se conservan protocolos en los archivos valencianos.



Los albaceas originales del testamento fueron Guerau Llançol, canónigo y deán de la Catedral, y Arnau Llançol, también clérigo, aunque ambos fueron relevados en el documento de 1416 por Jaume Romeu y Joan Llançol.

Según se constata, Aldonça Llançol fue usufructuaria de todos los bienes de Peirona Llançol. Pudo ser a la muerte de la dicha Aldonça cuando se efectuó el inventario de los bienes que poseía la difunta; sus albaceas testamentarios debieron localizar todas las ápoas, títulos y escrituras que se detallan:

Aquestes són aquelles cartes, cauteles, scriptures e alb[arans] que a present ha atrobat ésser [e pertànyer] a la dita marmessoria [...] que si d'aquí avant atrobars [altres] béns ésser e pertànyer a la dita [marmessoria], aquelles pusca posar en [...] en altre inventari [...] esdevenidor.

Entre los diferentes ítems que se apuntan, destaca una ápoa que corresponde al que podría ser el último pago que se efectuó el 15 de octubre de 1400 a los pintores Pere Nicolau y Mestre Marçal (Marçal de Sas) por los trabajos realizados en un retablo. La cantidad pagada fue de 2.100 sueldos, una suma muy elevada y, más si se trata de un pago parcial como se indica. La noticia de la ejecución de este retablo es inédita, y corresponde a un nuevo ejemplo de obra de colaboración entre ambos pintores. Por otro lado, también encontramos en la testamentaria otros dos pagos realizados a Vicent Serra, un carpintero que justo un año antes también había realizado un retablo en madera destinado a la Catedral de Valencia para los mismos pintores. El primer abono es del 2 de octubre de 1400, cuando Nicolau y Marçal perciben de los albaceas de Peirona Llançol 200 sueldos. El segundo se efectúa el 11 de abril de 1401, percibiendo entonces 15 florines y medio de oro de Aragón. Los documentos no revelan el concepto de los pagos al carpintero, pero es lógico pensar, dada la aparición en el mismo documento del asiento referente a Nicolau y Sas, que se tratara del retablo de madera para la misma obra que terminan los pintores.

A lo largo de la lectura del extenso y deteriorado documento encontramos otros datos que coinciden y confirman la información publicada por el historiador fray José Teixidor (1694-1775) sobre las sepulturas de los Boil en el Convento de Santo Domingo²⁸. La construcción de la Sala Capitular del Convento (1310-1320) fue costeada por Pere Boil de Aragón como panteón familiar. Todavía se conserva *in situ* el doble sepulcro de sus descendientes Ramón Boil Dies y Ramón Boil Montagut²⁹. Los datos documentales apuntan a que Lluís Boil († 1386) también fue enterrado en el monasterio *dels Freres Prehcadors*. Su codicilo testamentario fue redactado el 30 de diciembre de 1385; según Teixidor, encargó que se pagasen 400 sueldos al año, así como que se hicieran otros pagos por las misas y aniversarios realizados sobre su sepultura situada en dicho convento:

lo qual convent y frares de aquell volem que cascun any en per tots temps en aquells dies e a[n]y, tantes vegades com a la noble dona Na Peyrona Llançol, muller nostra, volrra e elegirà, sien tenguts fer aniversaris et celebrar

28. Teixidor, José. *Capillas y Sepulturas del Real Convento de Predicadores*, 3 vols. Valencia: Acción Bibliográfica Valenciana, 1949-1952 (Manuscrito fechado en 1755).

29. Sobre este sepulcro véase el apartado dedicado en: Español, Francesca. *El escultor Bartomeu de Robio y Lleida eco de la plástica toscana en Catalunya*. Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 1995: 135-142; ver: de San Petrillo, Barón. *El doble sepulcro de los Boil que se conserva en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional y en el Provincial de Valencia no es de los señores de Manises*. Valencia: [s.n.], 1920, discurso leído en Madrid el 16 de 1920.

*misses en los dies que aquells faran et anar a fer absolució sobre la nostra fossa o tomba a coneguda de la dita muller nostra*³⁰.

En la transcripción del documento que presentamos aparecen varios asientos en los que se confirma la realización de estos pagos. Esta época es importante, ya que coincide la cantidad pagada con la que Lluís Boil en su testamento ordena que se le pague cada año a este monasterio. Así, el 16 de noviembre de 1400 Tomás Gaçó, del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Valencia, recibe 400 sueldos de los albaceas de la noble Peirona Llançol. También aparecen otros abonos, uno realizado el 13 de agosto, a Domingo Agramunt, prior, con la cantidad de 208 sueldos. A principios del mes de octubre, no podemos precisar si el 2 ó 3, Guillem Ortoneda, monje del monasterio recibe 50 sueldos de los albaceas de la señora Peirona. El 6 de octubre del mismo año se le paga al fraile Francisco 50 sueldos. Ese mismo día Bertomeu Gaçó cobra 100 sueldos. Finalmente, el 24 de noviembre de 1400 se le pagan al prior 100 sueldos.

Este claro vínculo de la familia Boil con el convento de Santo Domingo de Valencia, por lógica permite adscribir el retablo aludido en los papeles de la testamentaria a dicho convento. Según el bibliotecario del Convento de Predicadores, José Teixidor³¹ y siguiendo al cronista Sala, a principios del siglo XVIII en la Sala Capitular había un retablo dedicado la Virgen con escenas de su vida “muy a lo antiguo”. Es evidente que si ya existía un retablo en la Sala Capitular el encargo a los maestros valencianos debió tener un emplazamiento diferente. Sabemos que en 1395 Pere Nicolau ya había pintado otro retablo para la capilla de San Lorenzo del mismo convento. El nuevo trabajo documentado el 15 de octubre de 1400 es una obra conjunta de dos grandes maestros en la que pudo colaborar igualmente el joven aprendiz de pintor, Jaume Mateu. Además, los pintores percibieron una suma muy elevada (aunque no determinada en su totalidad), lo mismo que sucedió con la notable cantidad percibida por el carpintero, datos que podrían justificar que se tratase de una obra de gran tamaño. Los propietarios optaron por los mejores pintores, y más cotizados, que en ese momento se encontraban en Valencia. Téngase en cuenta que, en ese mismo periodo, Gerardo Starnina todavía se encontraba en Valencia ocupado en otra gran empresa, el retablo de la iglesia del monasterio de San Agustín, para el obispo de Doglia, Joan Beciaco, por el que se pagaron hasta 550 florines de oro.

Teixidor describe el retablo mayor de la iglesia del Convento de Santo Domingo indicando que todas las imágenes eran de tamaño natural. En la parte central se encontraba la Virgen con el Niño, a la derecha, San Pablo y San Pedro entregando el báculo a Santo Domingo y, a la izquierda, el beato Reginaldo de Orleans recibiendo el escapulario de manos de la Virgen. En los laterales estaban representados San Pedro Mártir y San Agustín. El autor indica que en 1403 se añadieron columnas y adornos de talla. Leandro de Saralegui ya identificó parte de las pinturas de este gran retablo con una predela con pasajes de la vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán que actualmente se conservan en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia y que atribuyó a Pere Nicolau, relacionándolo estilísticamente con el retablo de Sarrión (Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia) y con el de los *Gozos de la Virgen* (Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao)³². En los catálogos del Museo de Bellas Artes de 1847 y 1850 figuran

30. Teixidor, José. *Capillas y Sepulturas...*: III, 139-140.

31. Teixidor, José. *Capillas y Sepulturas...*: III, 114.

32. Saralegui, Leandro de. “Miscelánea de tablas...”: 103-104; Saralegui, Leandro de. *El Museo provincial...*: 59-69, lám. 17-20.



alusiones a los “Asuntos de la Vida de Santo Domingo. Tablas al óleo y temple. Escuela alemana”, pieza que ingresó en el museo de 1837 con la Desamortización³³.

En realidad, se trata de un fragmento de la predela con tres paneles en los que se representan pasajes de la “Leyenda Dorada”. Así, de izquierda a derecha se encuentran: *El sueño de Juana de Aza*, según el cual, la madre de St. Domingo sueña que tenía en sus entrañas un perro (blanco y negro, como el hábito de los dominicos) que al salir llevaba una llama en la boca como símbolo de la predicación; *el Sueño de Inocencio III*, que narra la historia en la que el papa sueña que Santo Domingo sostiene la Basílica de Letrán que se está derrumbando en referencia a la crisis de la iglesia romana; y *La ordalía de Fanjeaux*, el juicio para salvar los libros católicos de los libros heréticos. A tenor por el tamaño de estas piezas conservadas (88 x 172 cm.) y, sus características estructurales, debían corresponder a la predela de un retablo de un tamaño considerable, lo cual coincide perfectamente con la descripción de Teixidor. A todo ello podemos sumar la referencia del año 1403, cuando se añadieron los adornos de talla, circunstancia que nos indica que el retablo se tuvo que pintar antes de esa fecha. Todos los datos expuestos permiten relacionar el documento de la testamentaria de Peirona Llançol con la predela del Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia. La devoción familiar por el convento de Santo Domingo y, fundamentalmente, el elevado pago retribuido a los pintores Pere Nicolau y Marçal de Sas en 1400 son elementos cruciales para sostener esta hipótesis. Por otro lado, un análisis detenido de la técnica y estilo pictórico de las tablas de los dominicos nos permite visualizar aspectos diferenciales entre las fisonomías de los personajes representados. Los modelos de los novicios tonsurados junto a Santo Domingo, parten de un mismo patrón formal, característico de los esquemas creativos de Pere Nicolau, algo que también encontramos en los retablos del Museo de Bilbao y Sarrión. Nuestro pintor utiliza pinceladas finas y transparentes de color con gran seguridad en el dibujo, como si se tratara de un miniaturista, resolviendo las luces con toques blancos direccionales. Las manos, con los dedos alargados, siguen la moda introducida por Starnina, tal y como se puede ver en el retablo de Bonifacio Ferrer. Por otro lado, las figuras que aparecen en segundo término son más expresivas y caricaturescas, aproximándose a los modelos de Marçal de Sas en la *Duda de Santo Tomás* de la Catedral de Valencia.

En conclusión, los documentos aportados permiten sostener la hipótesis que los pintores Pere Nicolau y Marçal de Sas pintaron en 1400 el retablo mayor del Convento de Santo Domingo de Valencia, una obra importante de la cual todavía se conservan tres escenas de la predela en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia. La obra fue encargada por Peirona Llançol, esposa de Lluís Boïl, quien se ocupó de cumplir las voluntades de su esposo en relación con el mismo convento y su Sala Capitular donde fue enterrado.

Los enfrentamientos sociales entre linajes valencianos de distintos bandos a principios de siglo XV provocaron un gran número de muertes. El conflicto se extendió a los menestrales, los oficios y corporaciones. En 1407 fue asesinado Ramón Boïl, sobrino de Lluís Boïl. Un año después, el 25 de julio, la tragedia llegó al maestro pintor más importante que había en Valencia, Pere Nicolau. Fue asesinado a manos de Ramon Torres, escudero del noble Felip Boïl, hermano de Ramón. Desconocemos los motivos que impulsaron al manco de los Boïl a ordenar la ejecución a su escudero. Es más probable que tuviera relación con el liderazgo de Nicolau en el oficio de pintores que con el retablo pintado para su tía Peirona en 1400.

33. Catalán, Joaquín. *Museo de Pintura y Escultura de la ciudad de Valencia*, 1847, n. 189; Catalán, Joaquín. *Catálogo de los cuadros que existen en el Museo de Pinturas establecido en el Convento del Carmen de esta capital*, 1850, n. 189.

Apéndice

Documento número 1

1408, septiembre, 1. Valencia.

El gobernador del reino de Valencia manda a Bertomeu Miralles, su lugarteniente en el riu Uxó (Castellón), con motivo de la denuncia de Jaume Mateu, pariente de Pere Nicolau, pintor asesinado, que proceda contra Ramon Torres, escudero del noble Felip Boïl.

ARV, *Governació*, núm. 2.793, mà 1, f. 26r.

De nós, en Guillem Ramon de Muncada [Montcada], conseller e carmelenc del molt alt senyor rey e governador de regne de València, al honorable en Berthomeu Miralles, lochtinent de governador nostre del riu de Uxó en là, saluts e honor. Com vós tingats pres Ramon Torres, scuder del noble mossèn Phelip Boïl, d'aquell és nomenat e denunciat denant nos e cort nostre per en Jacme Matheu, parent e conijuncta persona de Pere Nicholau, pintor occís, cridat del qual clam clos e segellat et fide plenissima adibeatur, vos trametem pertal de part del dit senyor rey, vos dehim e manam que encontinent proceschats contra la persona de aquell e altres caps per nos a vos comananats tro a sentència inclusive. E açò per res no detardats.

Datum Valencie, prima die septembris, anno a Nativitate Domini M^oCCCC^oVIII^o.

Documento número 2

1408, septiembre, 2. Valencia.

Proceso contra Ramon Torres, escudero del noble Felip Boïl, sobre los hechos ocurridos en la Vila de Castellón durante un asalto a la cárcel. En el informe de Bartomeu Miralles, lugarteniente del riu Uxó, se dice que Ramon Torres está relacionado con la muerte de Pere Nicolau.

ARV, *Governació*, núm. 2.198.

[...] era vengut a la vila de Castelló en Ramon Torres, scuder del dit noble mossèn Felip Boil, lo qual se dehia que seria stat en diverses aguats ab lo dit noble mossèn Felip Boil, per matar alcun officials reys e altres persones e sia stat a la mort d'en Pere Nicholau, pintor, ab lo dit mossèn Felip [...].

Documento número 3

1416, julio, 1. Valencia.

Inventario hecho por Jaume Romeu y Joan Lançol, substitutos de Guerau y Arnau Lançol, albaaceas del testamento de Peyrona Lançol, mujer de Lluís Boïl, en que se registran las cartas pertinentes a la herencia de la fallecida en que, entre otras, se registra una àpoca con fecha del 15 de octubre de 1400 en que Pere Nicolau y Marçal Sas, pintores de Valencia, declaran haber recibido 2.000 sueldos para la realización de un retablo.

APCCV. *Protocol de Pere Bigueran*, núm. 25.322.³⁴

D[i]e [mer]curii, prima mensis iulii, anno predicto MCCCCXVI.

34. Documento citado por Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión...*: 552-557.



Com per esguinar tota form e [...] [mar]mess[ors], tudors e curadors de [...] deffunt[...] son tenguts fer [...] que aquells per traspassament [...] o amagar se pusquen. Em peramor de açò yo, en Jacme Romeu, menor de dies, cavaller, habitador de València, marmessor e executador ensemps ab lo honorable mossèn³⁵ Johan Lançol, cavaller, habitador de la dita ciutat³⁶, subrogats en loch dels honorables mossèn Guerau Lançol, canonge e deguà de la Seu [de] València, e de mossèn Arnau Lançol, cavaller, habitador de la dita ciutat, [deffunts/, marmes[sors] e executadors del derrer testament [de la] noble madona Peyrona Lançol, muller [del] noble mossèn Loïs Boil, deffuncts, segons [de la dita] marmissoria consta per testament [per la] dita noble madona Peyrona feyt a tres dies de juliol en [el any] MCCCC e publicat per lo dit notari [Pere de Loças], mes e any MCCCC. E[...] sub rogacionibus mei et dicti [hon]orabilis Iohannis [L]ançol cum duobus [...] in curia officialatus Valencie confrates iudiciales coram honorabili [...] Bartholomeo Salat, clerico, locumtenenti [...] officialis Valencie, uno scilicet [...] Lançol, XI die [mar]cii, anno a [Nativitate Domini mill]esimo CCC^o quintodecimo, in posse discreti Bernardi Floris, notarii publici, dictam curiam regentis, alio vero nostri dicti Iacobi, XIII die septembris dicti anni millesimi quadrigentesimi quintodecimi in posse discreti Berengarii Dezcamps, notarii. Dels quals bens de la dita madona Peyrona, la noble madona Aldonça Lançol fon usufructuaria de tota sa vida e, après mort de la dita madona Aldonça Lançol, los dits bens fossen per sos marmessors e per [...] surrogats en lo dit testament [...] e donats segons per lo dit testament app[ar] [...], per tal lo senyal de la Santa e Verdadera Cr(+)eu precedent dels [...] e drets que apresent he atrobat [...] bens de la dita marmessoria [...]. Confés e en veritat reconech [ha-ver] atrobats tots aquells XVI milia [sous], VII diners e M, los quals son es[tats entre]gats a la dita marmessoria [...] e [...] per los honorables [mossèn] en Gar(cia) Pont e en Dionís Cerverà per les causes e rahons en la dita sen[tència] contengudes e expresssades, la qu[al] fon [sig]nada en Valencia, a XII dies de deembre de l'any M CCCXV en posse de [...] Joan de Caldes, notari, [...]. [La qual] sentència és començat sots kalendari de XXVII de setembre del dit any MCCCXV en poder del dit notari, segons en la dita sentència largament és contengut.

Ítem, enaprés confés haver atrobats los títols e cartes e vltres scriptures/ per la dita marmessoria faens:

Primerament, una carta en la qual appar com los honorables [mossèn] Pere Maresme, cavaller, e micer [Guillem] Çaera, licenciat en leys, ha[b]itador de València, axí com a tudors e generals administradors dels bens de la [no]b[le] Matheua de Castellet, filla e hereua [de la no]b[le] n-Aldonça Lançol, muller quòndam [noble n-][Anth]oni de Castellet, deffunt, [... ..] e transportaren a nosaltres, dits [marmessors], en pagua e prorrata de [...] quinze milia cent dotze sous [...] [...] testades a nos appar [...] per los dits mossèn Pere [Maresme] e micer Guillem Çaera, en los dits noms, de aquells XVI CCCCLXXIII sous, VII diners en los quals foren condemp[nats a pagar segons la] dessús dita sentència [...] [a nosa]ltres, dits marmessors, la qual fon feta en València a V de juny de l'any present MCCCXVI, closa per lo discret en Jacme de Blanes, notari.

Ítem, altra carta pública ab la qual appar com los nobles mossèn Pere de Centelles e na Johana de Centlir, muller sua, e³⁷ l'onrat en Jacme Dezplà, notari, en lurs noms propis e la dita na Johana, axí com a hereua uni[versal] de tots los bens e drets que foren de [la ho]norable dona na Sança, muller [de l'ho]norable n-Arnau Scrivà, cavaller, vene[fren] a la noble n-Aldonça Lançol, muller del [quòndam] noble n-Anthoni de Castellet, [com] a dona poderosa e usufructuaria [e general] administradora de tots [los bens] e drets que foren de la [dita] noble [madona] Peyrona Lançol, de una part de tres-[cent] setanta-tres sous, moneda [reals] València, censals, rendals e anuals de loïsme, fadiga etcètera, per preu de [...] tres milia DCCCXXXIX sous de la [dita] moneda, e de altra part veneren a la dita noble dona CCXXVII sous, censals, rendals e anuals [...] [per] preu de dos milia moneda [reals de València] [...]. Los quals censals pugen en quantitat de sis-cents sous carregats

35. Texto tachado: "Eximen Pereç".

36. Texto tachado: "ensemps del".

37. Texto tachado: "en Jac".

specialment e expressa sobre aquelles Mⁱ D sous censals, los quals lo honorable en Johan de Boïl, habitador de València, senyor de Maçalavêç, e na Blanca de Bonastre a la dita madona Sança carregaven sobre lo dit loch de Maçal[avêç], segons consta de la venda dels [dits] sis-cents sous ab carta pública feta en València a XXIII de juliol, any [M] CCCCVII, closa per lo discret en Johan [...] [notari], una clausula del testament [de la] dita madona Sança ab la qual [...] dita madona Johana [...] és hereua, feta en València a [...] de juliol, any MCCCCXII, [clo]sa [per lo discre]t en Bernat de Montalbà, notari.

[Íte]m, altra carta pública ab la qual [appar] com los honorables en Johan [de Boïl], senyor del loch de Maçalavêç, e na Blanca de Bonastre, muller sua, veneren a la honorable madona Sança, muller del quòndam honorable n-Arnau Scrivà, [...] censals carregats sobre lo dit loch per preu de denou milia e cinch-cents sous, ab carta pública feta en València a XXVIII de abril, any MⁱCCCLXXXI, closa per lo discret en Jacme Maestre, notari.

Ítem, altra carta pública feta en València, XXX die iunii, anno a Nativitate Domini millesimo CCC^oLXXX^oIII^o, rebut en València e clos per lo discret Pere Basella, notari, per lo qual appar que-l noble en [Johan] de Boïl vene al noble en Pere de M[ontagut], senyor del loch de la Alcudia, cinch-cent sous censals per preu de sis milia sous, s[egons] un trelat de la propdita carta feta en València a XV de octubre en [l'any] de la [Nativitat] de Nostre Senyor mil CCCC, clos e [signat] per lo dit Pere Basella, [notari].

[Ítem, altra] carta pública per la qual appar que en Pere de Montagut vene a la no[ble] Damiata de Boïl, muller quòndam del [noble] Dalmau de Cruelles, los dits D sous [...], feta en València a XXIX de octubre, [any M] CCCLXIXVI, rebuda per lo discret en Pere [Basella], notari.

Ítem, altra carta o trelat de la dita carta fet en València a XV d'octubre any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, altre trelat per lo qual appar que lo honorable en Pere Eximeneç de Lomberri vene al dit noble en Loïs de Boïl un alberch situat en la parròquia de Sent Esteve de la dita ciutat, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari, lo segon dia d'abril any MCCCXCVII³⁸.

Ítem, un testament [pú]blich de la dita noble madona Pey[ro]na en dues peces de pergamí, lo qual [fon fet en] València a III de juliol, any de la Nativitat de Nostre Senyor mil [...], e clos per lo discret en Pere [Basella, notari].

Ítem, un inventari fet [per l'hono]rable mossèn Guerau Lançol, ca[nonge] d[e la] Seu de València, e mossèn Arnau [Lançol], cavaller, e n-Aldonça Lançol, axí [com a] marmessors de la dita noble ma[dona] Peyrona dels bens seus, fet en València a XXI de juliol, any M^oCCCC, clos per lo discret en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, un quern de paper en lo qual eren escrites XIII cartes majors en lo qual [...] de la dita marmessoria de la noble madona Peyrona scrit de propia mà del dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altre quern de paper en lo qual eren escrites VII cartes majors e era la almoneda dels bens de la dita noble madona Peyrona Lançol.

Ítem, altre quern de paper en lo qual eren scrites quatre cartes majors en lo qual eren expressades les solucions [...] de la marmessoria de la dita noble [ma]dona Peyrona.

Ítem, una carta [...] solució feta per lo honorable mossèn [...] Dolç, doctor en decrets, [...] procurador del senyor bisbe de València, a[ls] marmessors de la dita madona [Peyrona] Lançol, de la reddició de [...] marmessoria, fet en València en] la cort del oficial de la [...] a XXI de juliol, en l'any [de la Nativitat] de Nostre Senyor MCCCC, clos [e sig]nat per lo discret en Bernat Floris, [notari].

38. Texto tachado: "Ítem, altra carta pública feta en València a XXIII de juliol, any M[...], rebuda e closa per lo discret en Johan [...], notari, per la qual".



Ítem, una carta de àpoca per la [qual] lo honorable mossèn Guerau Lançol confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors de la dita madona [Peyrona] XXV lliures per rahó de [...] [de la] dita marmessoria, fet en València lo noven dia de setembre, en l'any de la Nativitat de Nostre Senyor MCCCCII, clos e signat per lo dit en Pere de Locas.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo honorable mossèn Bringuer Vives de Cavemarc, cavaller, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors M sous reals de València, fet en València lo primer dia de febrer del dit any MCCCCII, clos e signat per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual la dona na Francesca, filla quòndam d'en Johan Fuster, confessa haver rebut [dels] dits marmessors sis-cents sous, [feta en] València a VII de febrer de l'any [...], closa e sotssignada per lo dit Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta de [àpoca per] la qual lo discret en Pere Fabra confessa haver hauds e rebuds [dels dits] marmessors XXX florins d'or [comuns] d'Aragó, feta en València, lo VII de febrer del dit any MCCCCII, [closa] e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [altra carta] de àpoca per la qual n-Anthoni Bo[...] confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors C sous, feta en València lo primer dia de març del propdít any, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual la dona na Lorença, muller d'en Francesch Ferrando, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, feta en València a nou de juny, any MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo dit [en] Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta [de àpoca] per la qual en Berenguer Fabra, ciutadà de València, c[onfe]ssa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CC sous, feta en València a XIII de juliol, any dessús dit MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca [per la qual] lo honorable en Jacme [...], [...] de València, confessa haver rebut dels [dits] marmessors mil sous reals [de València], feta en València a II de octubre [del des]sús dit any, closa e signada per [...] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo honorable en Bernat Lançol, [habita]dor de València, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors doents sous, feta en València a tres de octubre del dit any M[...], closa e signada per lo dit en Pere [de] Lo[ças], notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo honorable mossèn Arnau Lançol, cavaller, habitador de València, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors XX florins d'or comuns de Aragó, feta en València a XXIX de juliol en l'any de la Nativitat de Nostre Senyor MCCCChu, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo honorable mossèn Ramon Boil, cavaller, habitador de València, hereu universal de tots los bens e drets que quòndam foren del noble en Loís de Boil, cavaller, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors diverses quantitats de moneda, feta en València a XIX de juliol, [any] MCCCC[...], [closa] e signada per lo dit en [Pere Base]lla, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca [per la qual lo] honorable mossèn Jacme Ro[meu], [cavaller], habitador de València, tudor [e curad]or dels fills e hereus del honorable [Bereng]uer Lançol, cavaller, senyor [del caste]ll o vall de Vilalongua, confessa [haver] rebut dels dits marmessors qua[...] milia sous, feta en València lo nove dia de agost, en l'any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, [...] un full de paper en lo qual eren los legats fets per la dita noble madona Peyrona Lançol a les parròquies de València, en lo qual eren los segells dels dits parròquies.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual en Pere Nicholau e Mestre Marçal, pintors, confessaren³⁹ haver rebut dels dits marmessors dos milia cent sous restants de maj[or] quantitat per rahó de un retaule, feta en València a XV de octubre, any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual [lo honorable] Draquo de los Campos confessa haver [re]buts dels dits marmessors VI[...] d'or comuns d'Aragó, feta en València [a die] XIII de juliol, any MCCCC [...], [closa e signada] per lo dit en Pere [...], notari.

[Ítem], altra carta de àpoca [per la qual lo honorable] [...] Bonshomes, apotecari, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors [...], feta en València a XIII de j[...] MCCCChu, closa e signada [per] [...], notari.

Ítem, un albarà per lo qual frare Johan Dominguo de l'orde de Sent Johan de Hierusalem, confessa haver rebut [dels dits] marmessors quatre florins e mig d'or comuns d'Aragó, feta en València a XII de juliol, any MCCCCI.

Ítem, altre albarà per lo qual n-Anthoni Belloc, prevere, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XXVI sous, fet en València a dos de juliol, any MCCCCI.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual la dona na Sibila de Romaní, muller quòndam d'en Ramon Dezsplà, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors C sous, feta en València a XII de juliol del dit any MCCCCI, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual en Pere Roqua, notari, [confe]ssa haver [re]but dels dits marmessors XI florins d'or comuns d'Aragó, [feta en] València a XXX de octubre, any mil [...], [closa e] signada per lo dit en Pere [...], notari.

[Ítem], altra carta de àpoca per la qual [la dona] Bertomeua, muller [de] [...], laurador de València, confessa [haver re]but dels dits marmessors setanta [...], fet en València a XIII d'agost, any [...], closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [alium] instrumentum apoce per lo qual lo honorable mossèn Berenguer Vives de Canemars, cavaller, senyor del loch de Benifayó, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors u[nes cor]tines de cendat verd e un cubertor, feta en València a XXI de juliol, any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual la dona Francescha, muller quòndam d'en Joan Fuster, texidor de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors trenta florins d'or [comuns] d'Aragó, feta en València a XIII de agost, any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo honorable mossèn Guerau Lançol, canonge de la Seu de València, confessa haver reebut de la dita noble madona [Al]donça Lançol, axí com a usufructuaria dels bens de la dita noble madona [Aldonça] Lançol, mil sous reals de València, [feta] en València a XIX de febrero, [any] [...], closa e signada [per lo dit Pere] de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra [carta de àpoca] per la qual en Johan [...] [con]fessa haver reebut dels dits [marmes]sors tres florins d'or comuns [d'Aragó], feta en València a XI de agost, [en l'] any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta [de àpoca] per la qual en Vicent Serra, fuster, confessa haver reebut dels marmessors quinze florins e mig d'or comuns d'Aragó, feta en València a XI d'abril, any dessús dit MCCCCI, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per al qual lo dit en Vicent Serra, fuster, confessa haver reebut dels marmessors do-ents sous, feta en València a dos d'octubre any MCCCC, closa per lo dit [notari].

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la [qual] en Pere Lopeç, mercader, confessa [hav]er reebut dels dits marmessors VII [...] sous, VI diners, feta en València a [...] de deembre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

39. "confessaren" repetido dos veces.



Ítem, [altra carta de] àpoca per la qual en Johan [...] confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors VII florins d'or comuns d'Ara]gó, [feta e]n València a XVIII [...] del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual frare Thomas Gaçò, del monestir de frares preycado]rs de València, confessa haver haut dels [dits] marmessors quatre-cents sous, la qual [fon] feta en València⁴⁰ a XVI de noembre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual appar com en Francesch Company, laurador de València confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual fon [feta] en València a XIX d'abril de l'any MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo discret en Pere Bonanat, notari, procurador del monestir de la Çaydia, confessa haver reebut [dels] dits marmessors cent sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de noembre de l'any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo [dit] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca [per la] qual frare Domingo Agramunt [del mo]nestir de frares preycadors [de València] confessa haver reebut dels [dits marmes]sors cent sous, la qual fon [feta en Valèn]cia a XXIII de noembre [del di]t any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo dit frare Dominguo Agramunt, prior del dit monestir, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CCVIII sous, feta en València a XIII d'agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo propdít notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual frare Guillem Ortoneda, del monestir de frares preycadors de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual fon feta en València a II d'octubre de l'any dessús dit MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual en Nicholau Perpenyà, pre[vere], [admini]strador e distribuïdor dels percases de la esglèsia de Sent Esteve, confessa] haver reebut dels dits marmessors [certes] quantitats de mone-da, [la qual fon] feta en València a XX de juliol de l'any MCCCC, closa e signada [per el dit] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per] la qual frare Francesch [...] [del] dit monestir de frares preycad]ors de Vallència, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual [fon] feta en València a VI d'octubre de l'any Mil CCCC, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual lo dit [fra]re Bertomeu Gaçò, del dit monestir de frares preycadors, confessa haver reebut [dels dits] marmessors cent sous, la qual fon feta en València a VI d'octubre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual frare Francesc Eximeneç, del monestir de frares menors de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cent sous, feta en València a VI d'octubre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual lo discret en Matheu Agramunt, prevere, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors, cinquanta sous [com] a procurador de la casa de Sent La[tzer], feta en València a XXVI d'agost [del dit] any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo [dit] en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, [altra carta de àpoca] per la qual na Elionor [...], prioressa del monestir de [...], confessa haver reebut dels [dits marmessors] XXX sous, la qual fon [feta en] València a XXVI de agost de dessús dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual frare Berenguer [...], [del] monestir de la Trenitat, confessa [haver] reebut dels dits marmessors [...], la qual fon feta en València a XXV de agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

40. Texto tachado: "per lo prop dit".

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual la honorable na Clara March, abadessa del monestir de la Çaydia, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors L sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXVI de agost de l'any dessús dit MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca [per la qual] sor Margalida de Xenoneyers, [abadessa] del monestir de Santa Clara, [confessa haver] reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXV d'agost del propdit any [MCCCC], closa e signada per lo dit notari.

[Ítem, altra c]arta de àpoca per la qual Francesch de Sent[...], prior del monestir de Santa [Maria del] Carme, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors L sous, feta en València a X[...] d'agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual frare Dominguo Loret, prior del monestir de Sant Gerònim, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors [...], la qual fon feta en València a XXV d'agost del propdit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual frare Johan de Josa, procurador del monestir de Santa Maria de la Mercè de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XXXX sous, la qual fon feta en València a XX[...] d'agost del propdit any MCCCC, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual frare Francesch Gostantí, prior del monestir de [Sent] Agostí de València, confessa h[aver rebut] dels dits marmessors cinquanta [sous], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de agost del propdit any MCCCC, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [altra] ca[rta de] àpoca per la qual frare Bernat [...], guardià del monestir de [...] de València, confessa haver reeb[ut dels dits] marmessors L sous, la qual [fon] feta en València a [...] d'agost del propdit any, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo discret en Jacme Vilatzen, notari, procurador del monestir de Santa Maria Mag[da]lle[na], confessa haver reebut dels dits [m]ar[mess]ors L sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXV d'agost del dit any, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per la qual en Gabriel [...]als, draper, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors X florins d'or comuns d'Aragó, la qual fon feta en València a [...] d'agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual en Pere Sanxo, sartre de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits [marme]ssors cent-trenta sous, la qual [fon feta] en València a XIII d'agost del [dit any] MCCCC, closa e signada per lo [dit notari].

Ítem, altra carta d'àpoca per [la qual] appar com en Johan Bonshoms [...] confessa haver reebut dels dits [marme]ssors certes quantitats de moneda, la [qual fon] feta en València a XI de agost del [dit any] MCCCC, closa per lo dit en Pere [...], notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca [per la qual] en [G]u[il]lem Portales, apothecari, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors tre-ents nou sous, XI diners, la qual fon feta en València a XXX de juliol del dit any Mil CCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per [la qual] en Thomas de Caxi, mercader de València, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors quaranta florins e quatre sous d'or comuns de Aragó, la qual fon feta en València a XXIX de juliol del propdit any, closa per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual lo discret n-Albert Fexinet, prevere, maioral e clavari de la confraria de la Verge Maria, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XI lliures, VI sous, feta en València a XXVIII de juliol del dit any, closa per lo [dit notari].



Ítem, altra carta de època [per la qual] lo discret en Pere d'Orcal, prevere [beneficiat] en la Seu de València, procurador [...] de la dita Seu, confessa haver [rebut] dels dits marmessors XX[...], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de juliol del dit any en poder del dit notari.

Ítem, altra [carta de època per] la qual en Draquo [...] confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XVII florins [d'or comuns] d'Aragó, la qual fon feta en València a XVII de setembre del dit any en poder del dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de [època per la qual] frare Domínguo Gil, prevere, [...] casa de sant Johan de Hierusalem, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CXIII sous, VI diners, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de juliol, any damunt dit, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Bernat Balaguer, corredor de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors quaranta-quatre lliures, dos sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de juliol del propdit any, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta [de època] per la qual n·Anthoni Navarro confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors mil sous, la qual fon feta en València a VIII de juny, any MCCCCIII, [closa] per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

[Ítem, altra] carta de època per la qual en [Draquo] de los Campos, ciutadà de València, e [...], muller sua, confessaren haver [rebut dels dits] marmessors M sous, la qual fon feta en València a VII de juliol del propdit any MCCCCIII, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta per la qual na Sanxa Esplugues, muller quòndam del honorable [...] Roig de Corella, confessa haver [rebut dels] dits marmessors do-ents sous, la qual fon feta en València a [...] juny en l'any de la Nativitat de Nostre [Senyor] MCCCCIII, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Johan Fuster, clergue de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CC sous, feta en València a VI de [julliol del dit any MCCCCIII, closa e signada per lo propdit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Ramon Bo[...], corredor, confessa haver reebut dels dits [mar] messors quinze florins d'or comuns de Aragó, feta en València a XXVIII de març en l'any MCCCCIII en poder del dit [notari].

Ítem, altra carta de època per la [qual lo] honorable mossèn Arnau Lançol, [cavaller], habitador de València, confessa haver [rebut] dels dits marmessors quatre-cents [...], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de març del propdit any MC[...], [closa per lo dit] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo discret en [...], notari, confessa haver [rebut dels dits] marmessors XIII florins [d'or comuns] d'Aragó, feta en València a XXVII de març del dit any MCCCCIII, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual la noble madona Sanxa Lançol, [muller] del honorable en Dalmau de [...], [confessa] haver reebut dels dits marmessors sis milia sous de reals de València, los quals la dita noble madona Peyrona li havia lexat, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de març del dit any MCCCCIII, closa e signada pe lo dit en Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual la dita noble madona Aldonça Lançol confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors VI milia sous, los quals la dita defuncta li havia lexat, la qual [fon] feta en València a XXIII de març del [dit] any MCCCCIII, closa per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de ab[...], feta entre los nobles [...] Boil e los dits mossèn Arnau [Lançol], Guerau e madona Aldonça [Lançol], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de juliol, any MCCCCI, closa e signada [per el] dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, [altra] carta de època per la qual lo honorable mossèn Arnau Lançol confesa haver reebut dels dits marmessors de una [part] [...] milia sous e d'altra part mil sous [...] [que la] dita defuncta a ell [havia lexat], la qual fon feta a XXIII de març del propdit [any M]CCCCIII, closa per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de àpoca per la qual na Sança [...] Pomar, muller quòndam del honorable n-Arnau Sanç, ciutadà de Xàtiva, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cent sous, los quals la dita deffunctua li havia lexat, la qual fon feta en València a X de octubre de l'any MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo discret en Ramon Dez[...], notari.

Ítem, un albarà destrictual del honorable justícia de la ciutat de València tro en suma de CCC sous de XX florins d'or comuns d'Aragó, lo qual fon fet en València a XIX de juliol en [el any] MCCCCI.

Aquest son aquelles cartes, cauteles, scriptures e alb[arans] que a present ha atrobat ésser [e pertanyer] a la dita marmessoria [...] que si d'aquí avant atrobars [altres] bens ésser e pertanyer a la dita [marmessoria], aquelles pusca posar en [...] en altre inventari [...] esdevenirdor.

Testimonis foren a les dites coses apellats lo honorable e discret Gerard Dezponte, Dionís Cerverà, notari, ciutadans de València.



ELS ARXIS PATRIMONIALS I LA HISTÒRIA MEDIEVAL: UN DIÀLEG NECESSARI

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RESUM

Aquest article exposa la importància que tenen els arxius patrimonials per al coneixement de la Història Medieval, concretant-ho en Catalunya. Per tal d'arribar a copsar aquesta importància s'expliquen els problemes que hi ha entorn d'aquesta tipologia d'arxius. El principal és el de l'accés i les dificultats que tenen els investigadors per treballar-hi. Per això s'exposen també possibles solucions a aquesta dificultat.

L'article es centra en un exemple concret d'arxiu patrimonial, l'arxiu Fontcuberta, del qual es mostren les seves característiques, la documentació d'època medieval que conserva. També es tracten les actuacions que s'estan duent a terme per tal de facilitar l'accés de la comunitat científica a aquest arxiu¹.

Actualment els historiadors hem assumit de forma normal i lògica aquell pensament de Lucien Febvre, segons el qual, per a fer Història cal utilitzar tots els textos. I encara afegeix que no es tracta únicament de les fonts d'arxiu sinó també altres fonts². Han passat molts anys des d'aquestes paraules però entenem que encara són vigents i no s'han de perdre mai de vista. D'altra manera, qualsevol estudi històric seria parcial, fragmentari i restaria incomplet. Aquesta és la teoria, però la pràctica no sempre és així. Fins i tot podem sumar-nos a l'afirmació que fa Flocel Sabaté quan diu que "en el cas de Catalunya, és ben clar que els nombrosos dipòsits de pergamins ens recorden sovint que tenim la gosadia d'escriure la història medieval del país quan sols controlem minúsculs percentatges del contingut de les petges documentals"³. La lectura que es desprèn d'aquesta idea és que hi ha una quantitat important de documentació que, segons diu, està fora dels circuits arxivístics que no estan a l'abast dels investigadors. Aquesta documentació és, bàsicament, la que configura el conjunt d'arxius privats. Entre aquests, hi ha els familiars, personals, d'empreses, entitats privades i els patrimonials. D'ençà del comentari de Flocel Sabaté, l'any 1997, la situació ha anat canviant i el treball arxivístic amb aquesta documentació ha anat augmentant gràcies a la iniciativa de l'Administració però també a la recerca des de l'àmbit acadèmic. I encara hi podem afegir altres iniciatives portades a terme per associacions, com el Taller d'Història de Maçanet de la Selva, citat per Santi Soler⁴. Aquestes circumstàncies han provocat un augment de l'ús de la

1. Projectes HAR2008-01748; HAR2012-33755 i PGIR-08/09. Abreviatures utilitzades: DOGC, Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya.

2. Febvre, Lucien. *Combates por la Historia*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1970: 29-30.

3. Sabaté, Flocel. "Pròleg", *Pergamins de Privilegis de la ciutat de Balaguer*, Dolors Domingo. Lleida: Universitat de Lleida-Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1997: 8.

4. Soler, Santiago. "Els arxius patrimonials". *Revista de Girona*, 197 (1999): 67-69.



documentació patrimonial per a la investigació. En aquest article, ens volem centrar en l'estudi de la situació general dels arxius patrimonials a Catalunya i la seva utilitat per a la Història Medieval. L'objecte d'atenció són els arxius patrimonials per ser els més adients, entre els arxius privats, per estudiar diversos aspectes de l'època medieval.

1. Els arxius patrimonials, des de l'Arxivística i la història

L'any 2002, un conegut estudi sobre els arxius patrimonials posava sobre la taula diversos aspectes referents a aquests fons documentals⁵. Des de fixar el concepte i diferenciar-lo d'altres tipologies arxivístiques, fins a exposar els tipus documentals que es conserven en aquests arxius i el seu tractament arxivístic. No obstant, aquest estudi de Pere Gifre, Josep Matas i Santi Soler no va adreçat únicament als arxivers. També es dirigeix als historiadors i investigadors d'aquests arxius, perquè no es pot treballar amb profunditat amb un arxiu patrimonial, si no es coneix la seva estructura, les tipologies documentals, la història de la seva formació, la història de la família que l'ha generat, etc. El treball amb els arxius patrimonials requereix, doncs, una estreta relació entre l'Arxivística i la Història, sense que cada disciplina perdi de vista els seus objectius principals.

A partir d'aquestes consideracions posem sobre la taula l'interès creixent que hi ha pels arxius patrimonials, tant des del punt de vista arxivístic com des de la historiografia⁶. Així, l'administració promou la recuperació d'arxius patrimonials i la seva incorporació als arxius públics mitjançant donacions, dipòsits o altres figures jurídiques. El tractament arxivístic no implica, però, únicament el dipòsit, sinó també l'organització i descripció, tasques que han de tenir posada la mirada en l'objectiu final de tot plegat, que és facilitar l'accés dels investigadors a aquesta documentació. Arran de l'ingrés d'arxius patrimonials en institucions públiques, es realitzen les tasques d'organització i descripció necessàries per part dels arxivers i, en ocasions, es divulga el contingut dels arxius a través de publicacions⁷. L'objectiu de la publicació dels inventaris o de la notícia de l'existència d'un determinat arxiu patrimonial no és altre que fomentar la recerca, però també promocionar el dipòsit d'aquests arxius per preservar-los i per facilitar-ne la consulta. D'aquesta manera, trobem que la xarxa d'arxius de la Generalitat conserva en els seus dipòsits un nombre destacable d'arxius patrimonials, la majoria dels quals estan a disposició de la comunitat investigadora i dels usuaris en general. Segons dades de les comarques gironines corresponents a l'any 2002, el 30% dels arxius patrimonials es conservava en arxius públics i la resta es mantenia en mans privades⁸. Amb tot, aquestes dades han anat canviant amb el temps ja que, a nivell global, en els arxius catalans es produeixen periòdicament ingressos d'arxius patrimonials, a més d'altres tipus d'arxius. Aquesta tendència creixent forma part de la política de preservació del patrimoni documental privat promoguda per l'administració catalana. D'aquesta manera es té constància que al 2010 es conservaven en arxius públics un total de 682 arxius patrimonials, suposant uns 4.841 metres

5. Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials*. Girona: CCG Edicions, 2002.

6. Gifre, Pere. *Els Arxius patrimonials. Possibilitats historiogràfiques*. Figueres: Arxiu Històric comarcal-Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos, 1992.

7. Roig, Marisa. "Inventari d'un arxiu patrimonial: els Delhom-Gibert de Castelló d'Empúries". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos*, 29 (1996): 343-352; Roig, Marisa. "L'Arxiu patrimonial Bosch Aymerich de Castelló d'Empúries". *Villa Castillonis Impuriarum: Revista cultural de Castelló d'Empúries*, 2 (1996): 61-65.

8. Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials...*: 99-103.



lineals de documentació⁹. Aquesta compta amb instruments de descripció en un total de 602 casos, dada que varia periòdicament, ja que els arxius catalans estan duent a terme una important tasca de descripció¹⁰. La política arxivística inclou també la realització d'un cens d'arxius catalans. Aquest ja ha estat finalitzat en 13 comarques, 17 comarques l'estant elaborant en l'actualitat i 11 encara no l'han començat, segons dades del mes de juny de 2012¹¹. L'arxiu que encapçala aquesta política i aquestes iniciatives és l'Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Aquest ingressa arxius empresarials des de fa anys,¹² arxius personals i arxius patrimonials¹³. D'arxius patrimonials, però, en trobem també en altres institucions públiques, com els arxius comarcals o l'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. En aquest darrer hi ha fons patrimonials notables, com ara part de la documentació procedent de l'arxiu dels Sentmenat, la descripció dels quals és accessible a través de la web de l'arxiu.

Aquestes iniciatives, però, no són només fruit de la voluntat política, d'una tendència arxivística o d'un interès historiogràfic. La legislació també s'ocupa dels arxius privats, i la llei mana. La Llei 9/1993 de 30 de setembre, del Patrimoni Cultural Català¹⁴, especifica que els documents privats formen part del patrimoni documental català. També la Llei 10/2001, de 13 de juliol, d'Arxius i Documents, remarca que el seu àmbit d'actuació inclou els arxius privats i s'estableixen diverses disposicions per als propietaris. S'obliga a aquests a tenir inventaris dels seus arxius i a facilitar l'accés als investigadors¹⁵.

I aquí ens endinsem en l'altra idea que es vol desenvolupar en aquest apartat. És a dir, es constata un augment de la recerca amb els arxius patrimonials. Llorenç Ferrer, en la ponència marc del *I Col·loqui Internacional "Els arxius patrimonials: situació actual i reptes de futur"*, celebrat a Barcelona els dies 1 i 2 de juny de 2011, va constatar aquesta evidència. No obstant, va remarcar que l'ús d'aquests arxius és més freqüent entre els historiadors que estudien aspectes de l'època moderna i contemporània que no pas pels medievalistes. També la línia de recerca promoguda pel Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural de la Universitat de Girona posa de manifest que molts dels treballs realitzats dins d'aquest grup pertanyen a l'època moderna. Però no ens interessa tant fer un repàs a la historiografia d'una determinada època que utilitza aquests arxius i lamentar-nos de què no s'utilitzen tant pels medievalistes, si no, al contrari. Pretenem veure la part positiva i el camí llarg que queda per recórrer.

Ja Pierre Vilar va copsar la importància que tenen els arxius patrimonials per a la recerca històrica, i ho incorpora al seu estudi sobre la Catalunya moderna¹⁶. Des de Pierre Vilar, han sigut molts altres els que han utilitzat els arxius patrimonials com a font d'informació. Però sempre ho

9. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura. "Estadística d'Arxius, Informe 2010". 19 December 2012. <http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/CulturaDepartament/SSCC/GT/Arxius%20GT/Informe_Arxiu_2010_def2.pdf>.

10. Arxiu Comarcal de la Ribera. *Butlletí informatiu*, 6 (2012): 5. Un exemple recent és el cas del fons patrimonial de la família Domènech-Martí, de Vinebre. El fons abarca des del segle XVII al XIX, està dipositat a l'Arxiu Comarcal de la Ribera d'Ebre.

11. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura. "Cens d'Arxius de Catalunya". 19 December 2012 <<http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/CulturaDepartament>>.

12. Fernández, Josep. "Los archivos empresariales en Cataluña. Balance de 15 años de actuación del Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya". *Revista de Historia Industrial*, 9 (1996): 183-198.

13. Fernández, Josep. "Aproximació al contingut dels arxius nobiliaris i el seu interès per a la investigació". *Butlletí de l'Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya*, 28 (2011): 2-8. Com a exemple citem el cas de l'arxiu dels Sentmenat, marquesos de Castellsosrius, del qual se n'ha fet la catalogació i indexació dels pergamins, al maig de 2012.

14. Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya (DOGC), n. 1807, 11/10/1993, article 19.2/b.

15. DOGC, n. 3437, 24/07/2001.

16. Vilar, Pierre. *Catalunya dins l'Espanya Moderna*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1986: I, 30 i següents.

han fet tenint en compte aquella idea de Lucien Febvre. És a dir, que no n'hi ha prou amb un sol tipus de font documental ni d'arxiu. Cal completar fonts, cal contrastar-les i elaborar la informació que aporten.

Coral Cuadrada utilitza arxius particulars per al seu treball sobre el Maresme Medieval, a més d'altres arxius. Distingeix entre els que tenen un caràcter de patrimoni nobiliari (arxiu patrimonial del marquès de Barberà) i els petits arxius no nobiliaris (Can Palau, Can Català, Escolapis, Can Vallmajor, Família Cuadrada-Gallifa, Teresa Gallifa (Mataró); Can Beatriu, Can Calopa, Can Pins (Argentona); Can Cabanyes (Barcelona); Can Maïans (Vilassar de Dalt); Can Riera (Premià de Dalt); Can Senromà (Tiana); i Can Prats (Òrrius). Una de les característiques que remarca Coral Cuadrada, en referència a aquests arxius, és que són molt variats i poden tenir des d'uns pocs documents fins a sèries completes¹⁷.

Mercè Aventín també fa ús d'arxius patrimonials en el seu treball sobre el Vallès Oriental¹⁸. Ja a la introducció explica quines fonts utilitza, endinsant-se als arxius parroquials, als arxius senyori- als, a les cases de pagès "per conèixer millor la pagesia, les causes de la seva prosperitat o davallada, les limitacions imposades als seus moviments i a les seves iniciatives econòmiques i familiars". Al llarg del llibre es troben innumbrables referències a documents conservats en arxius patrimonials. La presència d'aquestes dades queda justificada per la pròpia autora dient que "[...] sovint es tracta de documents patrimonials no accessibles als estudiosos"¹⁹. Uns anys abans, la mateixa autora havia donat a conèixer els arxius de Can Llobera (87 documents, de 1284-1630) i de Can Bruniquer (38 documents, de 1336-1604) a través de la publicació dels seus respectius inventaris²⁰.

Encara que no siguin d'època medieval és important recordar que un dels primers treballs notables que va utilitzar documentació patrimonial és el d'Eva Serra sobre els Senmenat²¹. També Carme Sanmartí utilitza el propi arxiu familiar per a fer l'estudi del mas Sanmartí, basant-se en la documentació moderna però sense oblidar la medieval —la col·lecció de pergamins s'inicia al 1182 i arriba fins el 1617—²².

A la vista dels exemples que acabem d'exposar podem veure que la forma com la comunitat científica ha utilitzat els fons patrimonials ha estat sempre en combinació amb l'anàlisi d'altres arxius. Els treballs citats així ho han fet, i ja ho apuntava Pierre Vilar al seu moment. Serveixen per completar dades en estudis, la base documental dels quals és d'un altre tipus, per exemple notarial o d'altres àmbits²³. O han estat la base fonamental d'importants estudis sobre l'època medieval i es completen amb documentació reial, notarial o eclesiàstica²⁴. També, en algun cas molt puntual

17. Cuadrada, Coral. *El Maresme Medieval: Hàbitat, Economia i Societat, segles X-XIV*. Mataró: Caixa Laietana, 1988: 23-27.

18. Aventín, Mercè. *La societat rural a Catalunya en temps feudals*. Barcelona: Columna, 1996: 18.

19. Aventín, Mercè. *La societat rural...*: 65.

20. Aventín, Mercè. *Documents per a la Història de Llinars del Vallès*. Llinars: Museu Municipal-Ajuntament de Llinars del Vallès, 1990.

21. Serra, Eva. *Pagesos i senyors a la Catalunya del segle XVI: baronia de Sentmenat 1590-1729*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1988; Vegí's també Serra, Eva. "L'evolució d'un patrimoni nobiliari". *Recerques*, 5 (1975): 33-71.

22. Sanmartí, Carme. *La pagesia benestant al Bagès: el mas Sanmartí*. Manresa: Angle, 1995.

23. Codina, Jaume. *Contractes de matrimoni al Delta del Llobregat (segles XIV a XIX)*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1997. Utilitza alguns documents conservats en el propi arxiu particular de l'autor. Fernández, Josep. "Grans establiments moliners a la Vall Baixa del riu Llobregat: els casals de Martorell, Sant Vicenç dels Horts i Molins de Rei (segles XII-XV)". *Estudis Històrics de Documents i Arxius de Protocols*, 26 (2008): 7-60.

24. Fernández, Josep. *Una família catalana medieval. Els Bell-lloc de Girona, 1267-1533*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1995.



els arxius patrimonials, o alguns documents conservats en ells, s'han incorporat a edicions documentals. En el *Diplomatari de Cardona* el seu autor inclou documents procedents dels arxius patrimonials del Mas Garriga de Bergús, del Mas Palà de Coma, del Mas Pinell, dels Franch i del Mas Altamís²⁵. Dels 509 pergamins que configuren aquest diplomatari, només un total de 9 pergamins procedeixen d'aquests arxius patrimonials. Però és un encert que l'autor hagi tingut en compte tots els arxius emplaçats físicament a Cardona, incloent-hi els patrimonials.

El treball amb els arxius patrimonials és, doncs, llarg i encara està en les primeres passes. Totes les iniciatives arxivístiques i la recerca historiogràfica donaran fruits. Però en el que cal avançar també és en el coneixement que puguem tenir sobre aquests arxius i l'accés a ells. Així ho afirma Flocel Sabaté, parafrasejant Jacques Heers, quan diu que és molt important l'entrada en joc d'un major nombre de documentació²⁶. Per això quan ens enfrontem amb un estudi històric que tingui per objectiu algun tema relacionat o centrat a l'Edat Mitjana ens preguntem sempre si tenim fonts suficients. Per al cas de la Catalunya medieval la resposta és positiva ja que gaudim d'excel·lents arxius amb conjunts documentals de primer ordre. Des de la documentació generada pel poder reial i conservada en gran part a l'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, del que destaquen les notables sèries de registres de cancelleria, fins a la documentació notarial generada en qualsevol notaria rural, l'espectre de fonts és notable. Però, per molt gran que sigui la quantitat de documentació conservada, podem afirmar que no és tota la que es va generar en cada institució. Només cal veure els instruments de descripció dels arxius, on detectem llacunes en les sèries documentals, que són més grans per al segle medieval i no tant habituals en l'època moderna. Llavors, qualsevol acció que porti a donar a conèixer documentació és benvinguda i necessària, però actuant amb prudència i valorant el material que tenim entre mans²⁷. D'aquesta manera, les dades que s'ofereixen a vegades sobre els arxius poden variar periòdicament, com s'ha vist més amunt. Sobretot poden variar en el moment en què es classifiquin aquells documents que estan fora dels circuits arxivístics, com el cas de l'Arxiu del Marquès de Barberà, amb 12.000 pergamins i que Flocel Sabaté posava com exemple.

2. Problemàtica general dels arxius patrimonials

Quan des de l'àmbit arxivístic català es va començar a abordar la qüestió dels arxius patrimonials, s'apuntaven una sèrie de problemes entorn d'aquests. Per exemple l'accés, la conservació, la falta d'instruments de descripció, etc. Això denota que ja hi havia un interès per copsar la realitat dels arxius patrimonials, posar-la en evidència i, si fos convenient, actuar²⁸. Es va començar per la realització d'inventaris d'arxius patrimonials, essent els primers els de les comarques gironines²⁹. Malgrat l'empenta inicial, la tasca no s'ha continuat de forma sistemàtica, cosa que fa que encara

25. Galera, Andreu. *Diplomatari de la vila de Cardona (anys 966-1276)*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1998.

26. Veure nota 2.

27. Sabaté, Flocel. *L'arxiu d'una masia: Can Prat*. Igualada: Centre d'Estudis Comarcals d'Igualada, 1991: 3. "[...] hem de ser prou assenyats com per no creure que tot paperam que hom troba és històricament transcendent. Penso que no hem de creure-ho ni tan sols com a coartada per autojustificar-se el molt de temps esmerçat en realitzar una classificació i valoració del material documental".

28. Adroer, M. Àngels; Gifre, Pere. "Arxius privats i patrimonials a Catalunya". *Lligall. Revista Catalana d'Arxivística*, 1 (1988): 83-92; Fernández, Josep. "Els arxius familiars i patrimonials. Problemàtica, caracterització i metodologia". *Lligall. Revista Catalana d'Arxivística*, 4(1991): 95-113.

29. Adroer, M. Àngels; Gifre, Pere. "Inventari dels arxius patrimonials de les comarques gironines". *Revista de Girona*, 119 (1986): 80-84. Vegi's també: Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials...*: 99-116.



avui en dia hi hagi un important desconeixement sobre l'existència d'arxius patrimonials, la seva conservació i el seu contingut.

Un dels principals problemes que sorgeixen quan un historiador vol consultar un fons documental conservat en mans privades és el de l'accés a aquells arxius que es conserven en mans dels seus propietaris i no s'han dipositat en arxius públics. Els propietaris no sempre faciliten que els historiadors puguin consultar els seus arxius, ans al contrari, són curosos en no deixar veure els seus papers a qualsevol persona que s'hi acosti, encara que sigui un investigador acreditat. I l'aplicació de les lleis abans esmentades, amb les obligacions que disposen per als propietaris, no són fàcils d'aplicar. Per això massa sovint s'ha hagut de recórrer a estratègies peculiars d'acostament als arxius. Vegem-ne alguns casos concrets.

Pierre Vilar explica que,

en saber que m'interessava pels papers privats, alguns amics m'obtingueren l'accés als arxius de cases nobles: el de Dalmases, gràcies a l'amabilitat del marquès de Vilallonga; el de Guàrdia, gràcies a l'amabilitat del baró d'Esponellà³⁰.

Carme Batlle remarca la importància que té la documentació particular per a un estudi global, en aquest cas sobre el Maresme medieval³¹. A més, igual com va succeir amb Pierre Vilar al seu moment, al·ludeix al fàcil accés que va tenir l'autora de l'estudi en tractar-se d'una família matoronina. També Andreu Galera, compilador del citat diplomatarí de Cardona, remarca que és molt important la disposició de la família a l'hora de poder consultar aquests arxius. Són criteris poc arxivístics i no estan emparats per les lleis, però sí que són una realitat. Així doncs, en la majoria dels casos cal comptar amb la bona voluntat dels propietaris³², afirmació que basem en les paraules que va dir el professor Llorenç Ferrer en la ponència marc "Els arxius privats i la historiografia", en el *I col·loqui internacional: Els arxius patrimonials. Situació actual i reptes de futur*. Ara bé, la bona voluntat dels propietaris no va adreçada únicament als investigadors. També, quan els arxivers volen dur a terme alguna actuació arxivística amb aquests fons, han de negociar amb la família. Sobretot cal explicar molt bé els paràmetres en què es durà a terme l'actuació³³. I pensem que si, tant els arxivers que hagin d'actuar en un arxiu patrimonial com els investigadors que hi vulguin fer recerca plantegen bé el projecte a dur a terme, no hi ha d'haver cap problema. Però som conscients també que cal tenir en consideració el paper dels propietaris en tot el procés de treball amb l'arxiu patrimonial. I els propietaris es refereixen no únicament a la bona voluntat que hi ha de posar sinó també a la confiança que dipositen en els experts. Sobretot perquè els propietaris, tot i ser gelosos i curosos amb la conservació dels seus arxius, no són arxivers i tampoc no són investigadors. Per tant, desconeixen les possibilitats per a la recerca que ofereixen els lligalls que posseeixen i desconeixen les tècniques arxivístiques més adequades per a la conservació, organització i difusió, fins i tot és possible que desconeguin les disposicions legals sobre els seus arxius. D'aquesta manera

30. Vilar, Pierre. *Catalunya dins l'Espanya Moderna...*: 30.

31. Batlle, Carme. "Presentació", *El Maresme Medieval...*:15.

32. Gifre, Pere; Soler, Santi. *Patrimoni i Arxiu. Inventari del fons patrimonial Caramany de Corçà, segles XIII-XX*. La Bisbal d'Empordà: Ajuntament de La Bisbal d'Empordà, 1996: 46.

33. Marugan, Carme Maria. "La recuperació dels fons patrimonials dels Pallars Sobirà. El cas de Casa Subirà, d'Altron, i el projecte de la recuperació de la memòria històrica de la Vall de Cardós". *Lligall. Revista Catalana d'Arxivística*, 29 (2002): 127-141.



es va expressar el Sr. Carlos de Fontcuberta, propietari de l'arxiu Fontcuberta en la taula rodona que tancava el col·loqui internacional citat unes línies més amunt. El Sr. Fontcuberta va agrair la invitació a participar a la taula rodona juntament amb arxivers —el Dr. Josep Fernández Trabal, de l'Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, i la Dra. Raffaella Ponte, de l'Archivio Storico del Comune di Genova—, i professors universitaris —la Dra. Rosa Lluch, de la Universitat de Barcelona, i el Dr. Antonio Castillo, de la Universidad de Alcalá—. La taula rodona va ser presidida i coordinada per la Dra. Rosa Congost, de la Universitat de Girona. El diàleg establert entre propietaris, arxivers i investigadors va ser molt ben valorat.

Malgrat totes aquests consideracions, en els arxius patrimonials encara podem topiar amb un altre problema, que és la destrucció o altres vicissituds per les quals han passat aquests fons. En molts casos, la documentació s'ha conservat en llocs especials de les cases, habitacions habilitades amb mobles adequats per guardar els títols del patrimoni, estances que únicament compleixen la funció d'arxiu³⁴. En circumstàncies de perill, la documentació s'ha arribat a amagar sota terra o en llocs insospitats per tal de salvaguardar-la³⁵. Però també es té constància documental de la destrucció o pèrdua de documentació per causes alienes a la família. Així va succeir en el cas dels aixecaments remences³⁶. O també casos puntuals com el de les comarques tarragonines, on diversos arxius privats de Tarragona, Montblanc i Reus van patir les conseqüències de conflictes bèl·lics³⁷. Les iniciatives dutes a terme pel Govern de la Generalitat durant la Guerra Civil van permetre, no obstant, salvar molts arxius públics i també privats, entre els quals es compta un total de 26 arxius patrimonials³⁸. Però pensem que, actualment, aquesta circumstància no és general i caldria trobar casos molt concrets on hi hagués una veritable destrucció. Llavors, més que de destrucció i espolis hauríem de parlar d'abandonament i desídia, quan no de dispersions motivades per reparticions d'herències, de vendes indiscriminades o de menyspreu³⁹. Aquests casos es podrien donar en ocasions en què els papers vells es converteixen en un destorb i fan nosa i una forma de treure'n un rendiment és la venda als antiquaris, casos que hem de considerar extrems i anòmals. No obstant, hem de tenir present que aquesta no és la situació habitual, per sort, dels arxius. En el cas de patrimonis importants que són objecte de repartiment a través d'herències també es lliura la documentació corresponent que es disgrega del patrimoni principal perquè és una documentació que ha de servir per a la gestió.

Així doncs, les iniciatives que duu a terme l'Administració, les institucions de recerca i alguns particulars van destinades a solucionar aquests dos grans problemes dels arxius patrimonials. Per tal de facilitar l'accés a la documentació privada es segueixen actuacions importants, com les ja descrites, en referència al dipòsit en arxius públics. Però no sempre els propietaris dels arxius patrimonials volen participar d'aquesta via. Ans al contrari, són gelosos dels "seus" documents i els

34. Gifre, Pere; Soler, Santiago. *Patrimoni i Arxiu...*: 41.

35. Adroer, M. Àngels; Gifre, Pere. "Arxius patrimonials...": 270.

36. Gifre, Pere. *Els Farners: vassalls de senyors i senyors de pagesos. Catàleg documental de l'Arxiu Farners*. Santa Coloma de Farners: Centre d'Estudis Selvatans, 1996: 15.

37. Grau, Josep; Güell, Manel. "La crònica negra de la destrucció d'arxius a la demarcació de Tarragona". *Lligall. Revista catalana d'Arxivística*, 18 (2001): 102.

38. Zamora, Jaume Enric. "El salvament dels arxius catalans durant la Guerra Civil espanyola (1936-1939)". *Lligall. Revista Catalana d'Arxivística*, 16 (2000): 85-151.

39. Adroer, M. Àngels; Gifre, Pere. "Arxius patrimonials. Propostes de treball". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos*, 21 (1988): 269-270. "[...] aquests arxius han hagut de passar moltes penúries: saquejos, guerres i, darrerament, la inculcatura dels nous propietaris urbans que menyspreen allò que no és modern".

volien controlar ells directament, una mica aliens al que marca la llei i les possibilitats que aquesta ofereix. Però hi ha altres vies importants i que no cal que siguin dutes a terme per l'Administració. Ens referim, per exemple, a l'edició de documents, que a Catalunya té el màxim exponent en la tasca que desenvolupa la Fundació Noguera, tot i que se centra sobretot en la documentació notarial. Ja s'ha citat el Diplomatarí de Cardona, que inclou alguns pergamins procedents d'arxius patrimonials, i ens hem de referir també al fons de pergamins del Fons Mercader-Belloc⁴⁰. L'edició de fons permet conèixer no només col·leccions àmplies de pergamins, per exemple, sinó de documents excepcionals. Es el cas del *Llibre de la Baronia d'Eramprunyà*, propietat del Sr. Ignacio de Puig Girona i editat recentment⁴¹. Aquest llibre recull còpies de documents de la Baronia, propietat de la família Marc, i també alguns escrits personals i familiars. El llibre, doncs, és un diplomatarí, però a la vegada esdevé un llibre de família, encara que sense arribar a la categoria dels *libri di ricordanze* toscans de la Baixa Edat Mitjana.

Al costat de l'edició podem incloure la publicació de notícies sobre arxius patrimonials, com les citades en el primer paràgraf en relació a dos fons patrimonials de Castelló d'Empúries. O l'article de Montserrat Sanmartí sobre els Martí d'Ardenya⁴². O l'edició dels inventaris i catàlegs, dels que en són un bon exemple el fons patrimonial Caramany de Corçà o l'arxiu dels Farners, citats més amunt. Amb això volem dir que no es tracta únicament de fer una difusió generalitzada, sinó de facilitar el coneixement sobre aquests arxius, incloent els quadres de classificació, tipologies documentals que contenen, història de l'arxiu o les possibilitats de recerca que ofereixen.

Una altra via per acostar els arxius a la comunitat científica és l'ús de la tecnologia informàtica —bases de dades documentals, digitalització i Internet—. Sens dubte, la tecnologia ens pot permetre d'abordar aquests problemes amb una altra perspectiva, amb l'objectiu de trobar solucions que convinguin a totes les parts implicades: propietaris, estudiosos i administració. Cal, però, una reflexió profunda per tal de decidir què es fa i de quina manera es porta a terme.

Per una banda, tenim la inclusió dels instruments de descripció en bases de dades documentals i la inclusió d'aquestes a la xarxa. Aquesta iniciativa ha representat un gran avenç per a la difusió i la recerca documental. Tot i que, en un primer moment, alguna veu es va alçar en contra argumentant que, quan més es difonien els instruments de descripció, menys usuaris acudien a l'arxiu⁴³. Certament, aquest fet és una paradoxa, però també cal tenir en compte que, si bé poden disminuir els usuaris presencials, per una altra banda estem apropant els fons documentals a un públic molt més ampli, mundial, i per tant, els usuaris potencials a distància augmenten en progressió geomètrica. No podem negar, doncs, l'evidència que les tecnologies de la informació i la documentació ofereixen infinites possibilitats per a la recerca i la divulgació del coneixement científic⁴⁴. I en aquest sentit l'accés als arxius patrimonials potser es podria veure'n beneficiat. Amb l'accés públic

40. Fernández, Josep. *Inventari dels pergamins del Fons Mercader-Bell-lloc de l'Arxiu Històric Municipal de Cornellà de Llobregat (segles XI-XVIII)*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1989.

41. Cantarell, Elena; Comas, Mireia; Muntaner, Carme. *El Llibre de la Baronia d'Eramprunyà*. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2011. L'anàlisi del llibre original permet veure com el seu autor va aprofitar els fulls que quedaven en blanc per anotar petits registres d'altres documents que tenia al seu arxiu. Aquests registres no s'han inclòs en l'edició ja que demanen un estudi diplomàtic i arxivístic pormenoritzat que va més enllà de l'edició.

42. Sanmartí, Montserrat. "L'Arxiu patrimonial Martí d'Ardenya". *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics*, 17 (2006): 85-109.

43. Boadas, Joan. "Taula rodona". *Medievalisme: noves perspectives*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2003: 289-291.

44. Sabaté, Flocel. "Medievalisme: noves perspectives". *Medievalisme: noves perspectives...*: 9-16.



als instruments de descripció d'aquests arxius es podria fer front, d'una banda a la possible destrucció i/o fragmentacions derivades dels problemes abans esmentats; d'altra banda, es facilitaria un primer accés a aquests fons per tal de veure les possibilitats que ofereixen cada un d'ells per a la recerca. Això sense que el propietari en perdi la possessió física, que és el que majoritàriament els preocupa. Per tal que aquestes eines —bases de dades o instruments de descripció en PDF disponibles a Internet— siguin útils per a la recerca, és necessari que facilitin el màxim d'informació possible sobre els documents. Cal que les fitxes segueixin uns estàndards basats en la normativa arxivística de descripció (ISAD-G i NODAC) i que tots els projectes d'arxius en línia s'hi ajustin plenament, com ja succeeix en el cas d'arxius públics.

Fins aquí hem parlat d'accessibilitat universal mitjançant les bases de dades i la xarxa. Parlem ara de digitalització. Des del moment en què es van poder transformar els documents d'arxiu en fitxers d'imatge amb una certa qualitat van sorgir infinitat de projectes arreu del món per digitalitzar fonts històriques. Administració, universitats i arxius s'hi van llençar de cap, des de les primeres imatges produïdes pel departament de català de la Universitat de Berkeley⁴⁵ amb la col·lecció de pergamins medievals catalans que posseeixen, fins els projectes actuals que estan en marxa i que es porten a terme arreu.

Però la digitalització té avantatges i inconvenients. Sobretot perquè cal entendre-la com un mitjà i no com un objectiu. Abans de digitalitzar hem de tenir molt clar quins són els objectius, quin és l'abast del projecte i quins són els beneficis que esperem obtenir-ne, així com quin serà el cost final del projecte. I, en primer lloc, cal que ens preguntem per què digitalitzem. En un primer moment es digitalitzava per preservar, però aquesta finalitat s'ha revelat parcialment incerta⁴⁶. Evidentment, la digitalització preserva en el sentit que evita manipulacions de la documentació per part dels usuaris ja que la consulta es realitza a partir d'una imatge en pantalla, evitant així el desgast produït pel contacte. En el cas dels arxius conservats en mans privades, la digitalització pot ajudar també a la preservació en el cas de pèrdues, vendes o cessions de la documentació per part del propietari. Però la còpia digital d'un document mai podrà ser garantia de conservació ja que, com hem vist amb altres tecnologies com el vídeo o els enregistraments sonors, no tenim la seguretat de permanència dels actuals sistemes d'emmagatzematge i de reproducció.

Una altra qüestió que acabem d'introduir i que cal tenir en compte és el cost d'un projecte de digitalització. Cal considerar el volum de la documentació a digitalitzar, el suport original, la destinació final de les imatges i el pressupost disponible. Efectivament, quan el volum de la documentació és molt gran és un projecte només abordable per l'administració i, tot i això, plantejada a llarg termini, com el cas del projecte PARES del Ministerio de Cultura. En quant al suport original cal tenir present que no és el mateix digitalitzar registres en foli que pergamins de grans formats que sovint superen el metre d'amplada, per no parlar de la llargada. En aquests casos la lectura en pantalla de les imatges només és viable de manera puntual. A més, la resolució d'imatge requerida per poder fer una lectura correcta dóna com a resultat uns arxius molt grans —superiors als 4 Mb—. El pes d'aquestes imatges desaconsella totalment la seva inclusió a la xarxa i també encareix l'emmagatzematge pel gran espai de disc que ocupen. Tot i les dificultats esmentades i d'altres que se'n deriven de les qüestions formulades més amunt, la digitalització és imprescindible en el cas dels arxius conservats en mans privades. És la millor manera de dur a terme una recerca exhaus-

45. Aquesta col·lecció es troba en la University of California. *Digital Scriptorium*. 12 Desembre 2012 <<http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/digitalscriptorium/>>.

46. Seton, Rosemary E. *The Preservation and Administration of Private Archives. A RAMP Study*. Paris: UNESCO, 1984.

tiva en aquests fons sense haver de vèncer constantment les reticències d'accés per part dels propietaris. En teoria, tot i que a la pràctica pot resultar el contrari, al propietari se'l "molesta" un sol cop i no cada vegada que cal consultar la documentació per fer correccions o ampliar la recerca. La digitalització sistemàtica de documentació conservada en mans privades queda justificada, ja sigui per a la recerca com per a la difusió de la documentació. Més endavant veurem, a tall d'exemple del que s'ha acabat d'exposar fins ara, el procés i els criteris seguits pel projecte *Arquibanc* en el cas de l'Arxiu Fontcuberta.

Abans, però, vegem alguns exemples concrets relacionats amb arxius patrimonials i/o privats que serveixen de model a seguir, en la mesura que sigui possible, i que s'emmarquen dins d'iniciatives públiques. A l'Archivo Histórico Nacional, dins de la Sección Nobleza, es pot accedir a bases de dades d'arxius nobiliaris a través del portal PARES, formant part del Plan de Informatización y Descripción de Archivos (PIDA). No obstant aquests projectes ministerials, molt ambiciosos, no acaben de funcionar del tot bé. Possiblement per manca de pressupost no es fa el manteniment correcte dels cercadors que estan donant, generalment, resultats erronis. Així, el projecte és només parcialment útil per a la recerca, esperant que aquests problemes quedin resolts en un futur pròxim. Un altre exemple el tenim a l'Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya que, a través de la web, posa a disposició dels investigadors alguns documents digitalitzats dels fons patrimonials que s'hi conserven. Els documents que l'Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya posa a la xarxa no són únicament d'arxius patrimonials sinó que la iniciativa forma part de la política general d'aquesta institució. També volem destacar la tasca que porta a terme la xarxa Monasterium⁴⁷, que reuneix documentació digitalitzada de més de 50 arxius privats europeus, molts d'ells eclesiàstics. Es un bon exponent de la digitalització adreçada a la difusió i a l'acostament dels documents als investigadors.

Però la digitalització també s'impulsa des de l'àmbit de la recerca. Un exemple el tenim en el projecte "Memòria personal", impulsat pel grup de recerca "Manuscrits" de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. El projecte posa a l'abast dels investigadors escrits personals catalans a través d'una base de dades i l'accés a les imatges digitalitzades dels documents⁴⁸. Un altre projecte de recerca que comença a donar fruits és el projecte ARQUIBANC, de la Universitat de Barcelona, que aplega diverses iniciatives entorn dels arxius patrimonials⁴⁹. Alguns resultats ja s'han publicat a nivell internacional, fruit de la presentació de ponències i comunicacions en congressos i fòrums de debat⁵⁰. Aquest projecte es va marcar quatre objectius molt clars per començar a treballar en

47. ICARUS (International Centre for Archival Research). *Monasterium (MOM)*. Associated with Archives Portal Europe. 19 de Desembre <<http://www.monasterium.net>>.

48. El projecte forma part de les activitats del grup de Recerca "Manuscrits" del Departament d'Història Moderna i Contemporània de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, dirigit pel Antoni Simon. *Memòria Personal*. 19 Desembre 2012 <<http://www.memoriapersonal.eu>>.

49. Projecte dirigit per Daniel Piñol i finançat pels projectes del Ministeri de Economía y Competitividad HAR2008-01748 i de la Universitat de Barcelona PGIR-08/09. Formen part de l'equip d'investigació Ignasi Baiges, Elena Cantarell, Mireia Comas, Giacomo Floris, Rosa Lluch, Carme Muntaner i Teresa Vinyoles.

50. Cantarell, Elena; Comas, Mireia. "The ARQUIBANC Project: location, recovery, arrangement, and dissemination of Catalan private archives and documents", *Digital Medievalist* ISSN: 1715-0736. <<http://www.digitalmedievalist.org/journal/7/cantarell>>; Cantarell, Elena; Comas, Mireia. "Localización, recuperación, organización y difusión de archivos y documentos privados catalanes. El proyecto Arquibanc". *La escritura de la memoria: los registros*, Elena Cantarell, Mireia Comas, eds. Barcelona: PPU, 2012: 363-372; Cantarell, Elena. "ARQUIBANC. Les archives privées catalanes on-line. Récupération, préservation et diffusion digitale de documents conservés en mains privées". *Lire demain. Des manuscrits antiques à l'ère digitale. Reading tomorrow. From Ancient Manuscripts to the Digital Era*, Claire C. Clivaz, Jérôme Meizoz, François Vallotton, Joseph Verheyden, eds. Lausanne: PPUR, édition digitale et papier, 2012: 579-590; Piñol, Daniel. "De la casa a la web. Archivos y documentos privados catalanes en Internet". *Télémaque. Archiver et interpréter les témoignages autobiographiques*, Beatrice Barbalato, Albert Minglegrün, eds. Leuven: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2012: 79-89;



l'àmbit dels arxius privats: localitzar, recuperar, organitzar i difondre. Però tot projecte de recerca es va reconduint segons el que es va trobant pel camí. Així, la idea inicial de digitalitzar documents per posar a la xarxa amb la finalitat de facilitar l'accés als investigadors ha derivat en digitalitzar per fer recerca. És a dir, entenem que la digitalització no ha de ser entesa únicament com una via de difusió, sinó que també ha de ser, abans que res, una eina per als investigadors que configuren els equips de recerca que treballen amb arxius patrimonials. Aquesta va ser una de les conclusions a la qual van arribar els participants en el congrés *Digital Diplomats 2011: an International Conference* celebrat a Nàpols al setembre de 2011 i que està en vies de publicació⁵¹. Són unes conclusions similars a les quals s'havien arribat un any abans al *The Digital Middle Ages: Teaching and Research. Third International Margot Conference* (Nueva York, juny de 2010)⁵². Les imatges digitalitzades serveixen, doncs, als investigadors i investigadores que formen part de l'equip de recerca. És aquest equip de recerca que, al seu temps, farà difusió dels documents a través de la publicació de monografies o d'edicions documentals. I els investigadors poden accedir a la informació dels documents mitjançant bases de dades que sí que poden ser accessibles a través de la xarxa. Si a un investigador li interessa veure la imatge es pot posar en contacte amb l'equip de recerca del projecte ARQUIBANC, el qual li facilitarà la imatge del document sol·licitat. Pot ser un investigador interessat en aspectes diplomàtics, paleogràfics o codicològics, en què l'anàlisi de l'original és essencial. El projecte continua treballant però concretant els objectius inicials. D'aquesta manera ha estat renovat el finançament per part del Ministeri i centra els objectius en l'edició de fonts i la recerca històrica a partir dels arxius privats, centrant-se novament en els arxius patrimonials⁵³.

3. Quins documents trobem en els arxius patrimonials i què ens ofereixen?

Ja s'ha dit més amunt que els arxius patrimonials han estat utilitzats com a font d'informació per a estudis centrats, bàsicament, en l'Edat Moderna. Veient els quadres de classificació d'alguns arxius patrimonials, tant els conservats en arxius públics com aquells que estan publicats, observem, efectivament, que molts dels documents que contenen són moderns. O també veiem que molts arxius patrimonials inicien les seves sèries de documents a partir del segle XVI o més endavant. En molts casos, però, les sèries arxivístiques arrenquen del segle XIII o de segles anteriors⁵⁴. Fins i tot, podem trobar-hi documentació anterior de notable importància, com ara el còdex carolingi conservat a Can Viader i datat entre 950-1050⁵⁵. Segons Pere Gifre, "[...]aquest fet hauria d'atreure medievalistes i modernistes interessats en l'estudi de la societat agrària catalana"⁵⁶.

Piñol, Daniel. "ARQUIBANC. Arxius catalans a la xarxa". *Humanitats a la xarxa: món medieval/Humanities on the web: the medieval world*, Lourdes Soriano, Helena Rovira, Marion Coderch, Glòria Sabaté, Xavier Espluga, eds. Berna: Peter Lang, 2014: 383-390.

51. Piñol, Daniel. "Proyecto ARQUIBANC. Digitalización de archivos privados catalanes: una herramienta para la investigación", *Digital diplomats. The computer as a tool for the diplomatist*, Antonella Ambrosio, Sébastien Barret, Georg Vogeler, eds. Viena: Böhlau Verlag, 2014: 99-107.

52. Universitat de Waterloo. 19 de Desembre 2012 <<http://margot.uwaterloo.ca/>>.

53. HAR2012-33755. *Los archivos privados: más documentos para la Historia. Edición de fuentes e investigaciones históricas*.

54. Gifre, Pere. "Quins títols i on es guarden? Els arxius patrimonials, reflex de la dinàmica dels drets de propietat (segle XVI-XVIII)", *Dels capbreus al registre de la propietat*, Rosa Congost, ed. Girona: CCG Edicions, 2008: 183-191.

55. Adroer, M. Àngels; Gifre, Pere. "Arxius patrimonials...": 269.

56. Gifre, Pere, "Arxius patrimonials per a la història agrària". *Revista de Girona*, 135 (1989): 62.

Endinsant-nos en els arxius patrimonials, trobem sèries senceres que s'inicien en els segles medievals i, per tant, són útils per a estudis sobre l'Edat Mitjana. Però també hi podem trobar petits arxius familiars que contenen documents solts que poden despertar l'interès dels investigadors⁵⁷. No obstant, ens interessen més els primers que no pas els segons, perquè la documentació d'època medieval dels arxius patrimonials permet conèixer els orígens dels patrimonis, els orígens de les famílies i les condicions amb què s'instal·len en un territori, com per exemple els Farners, que apareixen documentats com a castlans de la família Vilademany el 1127⁵⁸. O podem trobar referències a les entrades en servitud i reconeixement d'homes propis i solius al llarg del primer quart del segle XIV⁵⁹.

Un dels primers documents que trobem en els arxius patrimonials són els llibres mestres, veritable peça clau dels arxius⁶⁰. Són llibres que reflecteixen una intervenció arxivística però també són el reflex del propi arxiu. En ells s'hi recullen els documents de l'arxiu de forma resumida, incloent la data i fins i tot el notari on es va redactar el contracte original. La majoria són del segle XVIII, tot i que en poden haver de posteriors. I la documentació que inclouen és de segles anteriors. A partir d'aquí podem localitzar documents relacionats amb la constitució del patrimoni, amb la gestió d'aquest, documentació de tipus genealògic i documentació aliena⁶¹.

3.1. Un exemple d'arxiu patrimonial: l'Arxiu Fontcuberta

Sobre el contingut general dels arxius patrimonials, podríem exposar moltes dades i aportar innombrables exemples, sempre a partir de la lectura dels instruments de descripció d'aquells que els tenen disponibles. Però, per tal de fer-ho de forma sistemàtica ens endinsarem en l'exemple concret que ens ofereix l'Arxiu Fontcuberta.

Aquest important arxiu català està format per tres fons documentals corresponents a tres patrimonis, propietat del Sr. Carlos de Fontcuberta. Els tres fons són el patrimoni Fontcuberta, el patrimoni Perramon i el patrimoni Sentmenat. Físicament es conserven junts però cada un d'ells manté l'estructura original, atenent al principi fonamental de l'Arxivística, el principi de respecte pel fons i la procedència. Cada un dels fons reuneix les mateixes tipologies documental.

L'estructura de cada un dels fons de l'arxiu Fontcuberta es manté des del 1897, després que s'haguessin produït dues importants incorporacions de patrimoni a la branca principal. Així, Dolores de Perramon y de Comas de Brugar estava casada amb José Eugenio de Fontcuberta, però, quan va heretar totes les possessions dels Perramon ja era vídua. En tot cas, els patrimonis Fontcuberta i Perramon quedaren units quan Carlos de Fontcuberta rebé l'herència materna l'any

57. Muntaner, Carme. "Els Milà de Sitges (Barcelona, Catalunya): un ejemplo de pequeño archivo familiar en el seno de una comunidad rural". *Archivos de familia, siglos XIII-XX: que presente, que futuro*, M. Lurdes Rosa, ed. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2012: 465-478. Vegi's també: Muntaner, Carme. "Registros notariales y registros de la corte del baile". *La escritura de la memoria. Los registros*, Elena Cantarell, Mireia Comas, eds. Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 2012: 247-262. En aquest darrer treball l'autora localitza notícies sobre documentació notarial desapareguda a través d'una llibreta privada de censos.

58. Gifre, Pere. *Els Farners...*: 17.

59. Gifre, Pere. *Els Farners...*: 45.

60. Bosch, Mònica; Gifre, Pere. "Els llibres mestres dels arxius patrimonials. Una font per a l'estudi de les estratègies patrimonials". *Estudis d'Història Agrària*, 12 (1998): 155-182; Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials...*: 68-75. Gifre, Pere. "Quins títols i on es guarden?...": 195-198.

61. Utilitzem aquí la denominació i la classificació proposada per: Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials...*



1870. A més, aquest hereu estava casat amb Dolores de Sentmenat y Despujol, que va heretar el patrimoni dels Sentmenat a Terrassa i Castellar del Vallès. L'arxiu quedava perfectament organitzat i reflectia l'existència dels tres patrimonis citats⁶². A la vegada es van elaborar uns nous índexs que recullen registres complets, data i notari de cada un dels documents, a més d'indicar el número de document dins de cada sèrie. Aquests índexs es basen en els llibres mestres del segle XVIII que, a la vegada, recullen notícies de la documentació anterior conservada en els tres fons.

En la majoria de casos les sèries —testaments, capítols matrimonials, censos, etc. — estan dividides en dues subsèries corresponents per una banda als documents originals o les còpies d'aquests, i per l'altra banda en un lligall amb les notes prèvies de cada contracte jurídic contingut en els documents anteriors. Les sèries corresponen, físicament, a les unitats d'instal·lació, unes caixes confeccionades expressament i que tenen la numeració corresponent al que indiquen els índexs, juntament amb el títol de la sèrie. Només el fons Perramon està conservat en lligalls, però aquests tenen també l'esmentada numeració i els documents estan ordenats segons els números que consten en els índexs. Al dors de cada document hi ha indicada la signatura estampada en tinta i formada pel nom del fons, el número de caixa o lligall i el número de document. Hi ha casos en què trobem el document original acompanyat d'una o més còpies autèntiques o trasllats. Llavors aquestes còpies mantenen el número del document original però hi afegeixen les lletres A, B, C, etc. segons correspongui. En ocasions les lletres s'afegeixen a documents que no són còpies d'un original, sinó que són documents que s'hi relacionen, com ara una venda acompanyada d'una carta de pagament o d'una possessió juntament amb una còpia d'aquesta darrera. Aquest fet particular ens indica l'interès que té per la gestió d'un patrimoni la conservació de tots els documents, fins i tot de les seves còpies o, com hem dit unes línies més amunt, de conservar les notes que deriven en la redacció notarial d'un contracte jurídic.

L'arxiu no compta amb un quadre de classificació que segueixi els paràmetres actuals de l'Arxivística, però sí que té una classificació i uns instruments de descripció fiables que permeten arribar eficaçment a cada document. Però l'Arxivística ens diu que cal respectar l'estructura i les intervencions anteriors, i l'estructura de l'Arxiu Fontcuberta respon a una necessitat de gestió de la documentació. D'aquesta manera, el que trobem actualment és una estructura i una descripció pensades per a la gestió eficaç d'un patrimoni complex i no tant de cara a criteris històrics o de recerca⁶³.

Les sèries estan ordenades en els tres fons amb la mateixa estructura. S'inicien pels testaments i segueix amb capítols matrimonials, donacions i heretaments, cartes de pagament i renunciacions, inventaris, convenis i concòrdies, sentències, patrimonis (horts, cases, masos, etc.), arrendaments, censos i censals, beneficis i causes pies, cancel·lacions de debitori, trasllat de plets, llevadors de censos, llibretes de notes, genealogies, noblesa i plànols. Evidentment, cada fons conserva les seves peculiaritats, però la configuració general és aquesta a grans trets. També advertim que, dins de cada fons, es manté íntegra i unida la documentació corresponent als masos i propietats que han passat a formar part del patrimoni general. Aquesta documentació no s'incorpora a altres caixes. Així, per exemple, podem trobar establiments emfitèutics, compravendes o permutes relacionades amb aquell patrimoni concret. El cas més clar el tenim en les caixes 10 a 19 del fons Fontcuberta que conserven la documentació referent a les propietats de la família a Vic, Arenys de Munt i diver-

62. Garí, Blanca. *El señorío de Ventalló. Historia de las familias Requesens, Caramany y Perramón, que lo poseyeron*. Ventalló: Casa Perramón, 1989: 126-127.

63. Gifre, Pere; Matas, Josep; Soler, Santiago. *Els arxius patrimonials...*: 31-32.

sos masos i cases —mas Fonctuberta, mas Sant Sixt, mas Talaia, mas Pujol, mas Avenc, mas Rajol, mas Mayans, mas Coromina i casal de Saladeures—, amb dates que van des del 1240 fins al 2002.

Al patrimoni Sentmenat trobem una distribució similar. Les caixes 9 a la 15 i la 23 contenen documentació corresponent al Castell de Castellar —amb documents datats entre 1060 i 1953—. Hi trobem títols de propietat però també documentació per a la gestió dels censos i les rendes d'aquest patrimoni⁶⁴. Un altre patrimoni important dins del fons Sentmenat són les propietats a la ciutat de Terrassa, que ocupen les caixes 16 a 21 amb documents de compravenda que arrenquen la seva cronologia de l'any 949. De fet aquesta és una troballa importantíssima dins d'aquest arxiu ja que els treballs de recuperació, organització i digitalització ens han ofert l'oportunitat de localitzar 6 documents del segle X, l'edició dels quals ja ha estat incorporada en treballs de recerca importants⁶⁵. Aquests documents estan ben conservats i la seva descripció en els índexs abans esmentats és correcta. Però no ha estat fins el moment d'entrar a l'arxiu i revisar la documentació per a iniciar el procés de digitalització que s'han localitzat aquests importants documents. En aquesta caixa de les propietats de Terrassa hi ha més de dos-cents pergamins entre l'any 960 i l'any 1828. Però hem de destacar que la gran majoria són d'època medieval. Què contenen aquests documents? Doncs hi ha documents generats pels Terrassa, pels Centelles, pels Mena, pels Sentmenat, en una seqüenciació històrica que mostra els diferents propietaris que han tingut aquestes possessions. D'aquestes, destaca la documentació corresponent a la Cartoixa de Vallparadís⁶⁶. La documentació localitzada en aquestes caixes ha fet variar algunes dates clau de la història de Terrassa, concretament, la data de creació de la cartoixa. A nivell general aquesta documentació permet millorar el coneixement que teníem de la història de la ciutat de Terrassa. És aquest un motiu que demostra la importància del treball amb els arxius patrimonials i la seva recuperació⁶⁷.

Pel que fa al patrimoni Perramon les caixes 8 a 24 contenen documents de les propietats a Sant Vicenç de Sarrià, Ventalló, Girona, Empúries, l'Escala, Figueres, Girona i La Bisbal, i dels masos Pasqual de les Corts, Martí, Berart, Casa Gran de Piferrer, Vilamala, La Llacuna, Cortalet, Girona, La Bisbal, Cases, Comas i Romaguera. Les dates van des de mitjan del segle XIV fins al segle XX, però la gran majoria de documentació correspon als segles XVII i XVIII.

Pel que fa a les cronologies, no totes les caixes i lligalls, ni tampoc els tres fons, inicien l'arc cronològic en les mateixes dates. Però sí que podem afirmar, a la llum dels exemples citats, que hi ha documentació d'època medieval. I, en referència a l'abast geogràfic, hem de considerar que la majoria d'arxius patrimonials, i aquest no n'és una excepció, abasten zones molt més àmplies que no pas el lloc on s'ubiquen. El patrimoni Fontcuberta es refereix a diverses poblacions de la comarca d'Osona, principalment a Santa Eugènia de Berga i Vic, però també té propietats a Arenys de Munt i a Barcelona. El patrimoni Sentmenat al Vallès Occidental i el patrimoni Perramon a diversos indrets de l'Empordà. Però aquesta documentació pot ser complement d'altra documentació conservada en altres arxius patrimonials. Potser l'exemple més evident seria el de Sentmenat, ja que es conserva documentació d'altres branques de la família a l'Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya i a

64. Piquer, Esperança. "Castell de Castellar". *Catalunya Romànica*. Barcelona: Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1991: XVIII, 96.

65. Baiges, Ignasi. "Documents del segle X al Fons Sentmenat de l'Arxiu Fontcoberta", *La Corona catalano-aragonesa, L'islam i el món mediterrani. Estudis d'Història Medieval en homenatge a la Doctora Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol*, Josefina Mutgé, Roser Salicrú, Carles Vela, eds. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013: 13-21.

66. Piquer, Esperança. "Castell Cartoixa de Vallparadís". *Catalunya Romànica*. Barcelona: Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1991: XVIII, 268.

67. Aquests documents seran objecte d'una edició en col·laboració amb l'Arxiu Municipal de Terrassa.



L'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. La documentació conservada en aquest darrer arxiu va ser utilitzada per Eva Serra per a l'elaboració de la seva tesi doctoral, tal com s'ha citat als primers paràgrafs d'aquest article. També la documentació del patrimoni Perramon pot trobar un complement en l'arxiu Caramany, ja que ambdós llinatges van estar relacionats.

Per acabar volem remarcar que és important endinsar-se en arxius d'aquesta mena i revisar les caixes on es conserva la documentació per trobar-hi documents que no estan descrits en els índexs. En l'Arxiu Fontcuberta hi ha caixes que tenen el títol de "Documents curiosos" o "Documents per classificar" o, fins i tot, "Documents inútils". Segurament no eren útils per la gestió del patrimoni, per això van ser separats en caixes apart. Són documents que estan al fons Fontcuberta, caixa 47, i que analitzant-los en profunditat evidenciem que pertanyen al fons Sentmenat. El perquè de la confusió ve, segurament, del moment en què es va procedir a l'organització dels tres fons i alguna caixa es va ubicar malament. I es va decidir anomenar-la documentació inútil o curiosa perquè no servia per a aquell patrimoni concret. Als ulls de la persona que realitzava les tasques arxivístiques, havia perdut tot valor de gestió. Aquest documents, en el cas d'una futura actuació arxivística, caldrà situar-los en una de les sèries del quadre de classificació. Finalment, un altre element a destacar és que totes les caixes de tots tres patrimonis tenen els mateixos títols —testaments, inventaris, censals, sentències, etc.— Per tant, el criteri normalitzat de la descripció ajuda molt a la recuperació de la informació i a la recerca. Però cal tenir en compte que, per exemple, en la caixa anomenada "Capítols matrimonials i heretaments" no hi trobarem capítols matrimonials de forma regular i continuada fins a mitjan segle XVI. Per als segles anteriors hi trobem heretaments, constitucions de dot o documents relacionats amb el dret matrimonial, però no capítols com a tals, malgrat que la descripció de documents dels segles XIV —en el cas del Fontcuberta— diguin que són capítols matrimonials. Aquesta tipologia documental no es va consolidar fins a finals del segle XVI; abans hi havia, repetim, contractes solts que podien arribar a formar part d'un pacte matrimonial⁶⁸.

3.2. L'actuació de l'equip del projecte Arquibanc

Els objectius del projecte ARQUIBANC eren, com ja hem apuntat més amunt, localitzar, recuperar, organitzar i difondre els fons patrimonials i privats conservats per particulars. Centrant-nos en l'arxiu Fontcuberta, i deixant aquí de banda la resta d'arxius privats localitzats, farem un breu resum del que ha estat la nostra tasca en aquest arxiu. Com ja ha quedat dit, aquest arxiu està en perfectes condicions tant de conservació com d'organització. Ara bé, la classificació que presenta, si bé és útil per als propietaris per dur a terme la gestió del patrimoni, no és la més indicada per a la recerca històrica. La nostra actuació ha anat, doncs, encaminada a fer accessible aquests fons per als investigadors. En primer lloc, es va dissenyar la base de dades que havia de contenir els instruments de descripció, l'arquitectura d'aquesta ha estat ja explicada en diversos articles publicats per l'equip al llarg del projecte⁶⁹. Paral·lelament, es va encetar la digitalització dels fons, com ja hem dit amb la finalitat de poder portar a terme la recerca sense haver de manipular els documents més que dues vegades. Per tal de dur a terme la digitalització, es van tenir en compte algunes consideracions per procurar no cometre alguns dels errors que són habituals i seguir alguns criteris que permetessin

68. Gifre, Pere. "El procés d'implantació dels capítols matrimonials (final de segle XVI-començament de segle XVII)", *Els capítols matrimonials. Una font per a la Història Social*, Rosa Ros ed. Girona: Associació d'Història Rural de les Comarques Gironines-Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural, 2010: 55-69.

69. Veure nota 49.

racionalitzar el procés⁷⁰. Aquest va començar amb la preparació dels documents, tasca que comportava l'elecció individualitzada dels que s'havien de digitalitzar —tots els documents anteriors al segle XVII—. A continuació, es van comprovar els instruments de descripció existents —índexs antics— per tal d'assignar una signatura a cada document, signatura que es correspon també amb la identificació de la imatge digital, finalitzant amb la redacció de les indicacions precises adreçades a l'empresa externa que va realitzar el procés⁷¹. Aquest procés serveix també per a realitzar les necessàries comprovacions de tots i cada un dels documents i la seva inserció als instruments de descripció ja existents, a més de mesurar tots els pergamins per tal d'incloure aquesta dada bàsica en les fitxes documentals. En aquest cas, es van haver de descriure totalment els documents continguts a les caixes de “documents inútils i curiosos” que no estaven inclosos als índexs existents.

Un cop digitalitzada i restituïda la documentació al seu propietari, va començar l'elaboració de la base de dades pròpiament dita, omplint els camps de la fitxa de cada document amb les dades obtingudes de seva la curosa lectura. Per a un arxiu d'aquestes característiques, i encara que hem aturat la recerca al 1600, la tasca és enorme. S'està realitzat també un quadre de classificació que segueix les indicacions establertes per la normativa de descripció arxivística. La nostra intenció és que, a partir del moment en què es doni per finalitzat tot aquest procés, la documentació sigui totalment accessible als investigadors interessats en el tema⁷².

4. Conclusió

La importància dels arxius patrimonials rau en el fet que ens poden ajudar a augmentar el nostre coneixement del passat medieval. En els exemples que s'han exposat hem copsat aquesta realitat. Hem vist com, localitzant nova documentació, podem accedir a més informació i, fins i tot, a canviar algunes cronologies. També el treball amb els arxius patrimonials o amb una part d'ells ens permet localitzar documentació que es donava per perduda, com és el cas del Llibre de la Baronia d'Eramprunyà. Però cal remarcar la necessitat que hi ha de continuar treballant en la recuperació dels arxius patrimonials. Aquest treball demana la participació i consens dels propietaris per tal d'evitar conflictes i recels i per garantir un accés lliure dels equips de treball als arxius privats.

El futur dels arxius patrimonials demana també continuar cercant eines que permetin acostar aquests fons arxivístics a la comunitat científica. En alguns casos seran els instruments que l'administració posa a disposició dels propietaris per tal que dipositin els seus arxius en institucions públiques. Però en altres ocasions les eines poden venir de la mà de les tecnologies i les nombroses oportunitats que aquestes ofereixen. Totes les iniciatives són benvingudes i, com s'ha vist, donen bons resultats que cal millorar i consolidar. Qui en sortirà més ben beneficiat és el coneixement més ampli que cada puguem tenir de la història de Catalunya, sobretot de l'època medieval. Els arxius patrimonials, resulten necessaris per conèixer més coses del nostre passat, sempre en diàleg amb les altres fonts que localitzem en altres arxius.

70. Serra, Eugènia. “Digitalització? Parlem-ne”. BID. *Textos universitaris de biblioteconomia i documentació*, 24 (2010). Accessible a: Universitat de Barcelona. “Digitalització?. Parlem-ne”. *Textos universitaris de biblioteconomia i documentació*. 1 de Juny de 2014 <<http://bid.ub.edu/24/serra1.htm>>.

71. Day, Michael. *Preparing Collection for Digitization*. London: Facet Publishing, 2011.

72. Universitat de Barcelona. *Arquibanc*. 1 de Juny de 2014 <<http://www.ub.edu/arquibanc/home.html>>.



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Connel, William J. *La città dei crucci. Fazioni e clienteli in uno stato reppubblicano del '400*. Florence: Nuova Toscana editrice, 2000: 24-25.
Bisson, Thomas N. *Fiscal accounts of Catalonia under the early count-kings (1151-1213)*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1984: I, 125-129.
- **A chapter in a book:** Author last name, first name. "Chapter of the book", *Book title*, editor of the publication. Place of publication: Publisher, Year of publication: pages.
Leroy, Beatrice. "Les juifs convertis dans les villes de Castille au XVe siècle", *La ville au Moyen Âge*, Noël Coulete, Olivier Guyotjeannin, dirs. Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1998: 365-378.
Cursente, Benoît. "Les montagnes des médiévistes", *Montaignes médiévales. XXXIV^e Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public (Chambéry, 23-25 mai 2003)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004: 415-433.
- **An edition:** Author last name, first name (if there is). *Title*, editor's name. Place: Publisher, date of publication: pages.
Homilies d'Organyà, ed. Joan Coromines. Barcelona: Fundació Revista de Catalunya, 1989: 38-40.
de Troyes, Chrétien. *Le chevalier de la charrette*, ed. Catherine Croizy-Naquet. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006: 70.
Col·lecció diplomàtica de la casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212), ed. Josep Maria Sans i Travé. Barcelona: Departament de Justícia de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997: 109 (doc. n° 33).
- **An encyclopaedia or dictionary:** Author of entry. "Title of entry." *Title of reference book*. (Edition number). Place of publication: Publisher, Year of publication: volume, pages.
Aarab, Rachib. "Islam". *Enciclopèdia de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006: III, 94-95.
- **A periodical (magazine or journal):** Author last name, first name. "Article title." *Title of periodical*, Date of periodical (or, if a journal, volume number, followed by year in parentheses): pages.
Raxhon, Philippe. "Décryptage d'un manifeste d'historiens". *La Libre Belgique*, 25 January 2006: 30.
- **A scientific article:** Author last name, first name. "Article title". *Title of publication*, number (year of publication): pages.
Catalán, Diego. "La historiografía en verso y en prosa de Alfonso XI a la luz de nuevos textos. III: Prioridad de la Crónica respecto a la Gran Crónica". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 2 (1965): 257-299.

- **A website:** Author of webpage. "Article Title." *Title of webpage*. Date of publication. Institution associated with (if not cited earlier). Date of retrieval <url>.

Tambareau, Caroline. "Pierre Nora: la mémoire divise, l'histoire réunit". *Les Clionautes*. 16 October 2005. Centre de Ressources Informatiques 74. 10 August 2006 <www.clionautes.org/spi.php?article872>.

- **Unpublished documents or manuscripts:** Name of archive or library. Section. Series. Subseries, bundle or folder, number of sheet r-v or parchment. If the archive or library is cited more than once, this will be indicated by the habitual abbreviations used in the centre of referred to and the author should write the meaning of the abbreviations used in the first note in the article. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero regular. Premostratenses. Bellpuig de les Avellanes, 1, parchemin 1.
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13. When a work cited in a footnote is repeated, it can be abbreviated with the author and the beginning of the title, followed by an ellipsis and the corresponding page(s):

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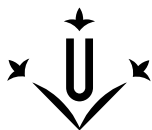
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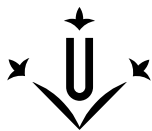
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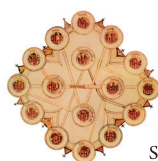
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